

CHINESE ZHENG AND IDENTITY POLITICS IN TAIWAN

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the ideologies and embodiments of identity politics of transplanted music by taking the Chinese *zheng*, also known as *guzheng*, in Taiwan as subject of study. Through examining state policy and Taiwanese *zheng* players' musical behavior, I investigate Taiwanese musicians' ambivalent identity constituted in *zheng* performance—from playing Chinese *zheng* music to creating Taiwanese *zheng* music—under the political tension between the Republic of China (ROC) and the People's Republic of China (PRC).

This dissertation examines the ways that Taiwanese musicians actively contribute to the body of *zheng* music. I demonstrate that cultural ideologies were instrumental during the musical transmission; additionally, I detail the individual approaches of executing these cultural practices. Given that the government policy was inseparable from the way Taiwanese *zheng* musicians played music, the *zheng* thus can be seen as a site of negotiating one's position in the socio-political condition.

This dissertation engages theories on nationalism and identity to demonstrate not only how cultural policies affect music but also how musicians make music and interact with the nations. Rather than viewing Chinese/Taiwanese *zheng* music as merely a musical product, I examine *zheng* performance in Taiwan as a social behavior that allowed performers to participate in a modern China that led to the creation of a local Chinese practice in Taiwan. As a result, the *zheng* became the only Chinese musical instrument that signified both Chinese and Taiwanese cultural identities. This research illustrates how the *zheng*, as a cultural instrument, builds social connections and negotiates identities and conflicts in everyday life. The complex issues of *zheng* music in Taiwan will provide a new understanding of modern

Chinese/Taiwanese history with a focus on identity politics that relates to the cross-strait relationship.

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List of Abbreviations

| | | |
|-------|---|----------|
| BCC | Chinese Orchestra Broadcasting Corporation of China | 中廣國樂團 |
| CCU | Chinese Culture University | 中國文化大學 |
| DPP | Democratic Progressive Party | 民主進步黨 |
| KMT | Kuomintang | 中國國民黨 |
| NTUA | National Taiwan University of Arts | 國立臺灣藝術大學 |
| PRC | People's Republic of China | 中華人民共和國 |
| ROC | Republic of China | 中華民國 |
| TNNUA | Tainan National University of the Arts | 國立臺南藝術大學 |

Note on Romanization

Most of the romanization of Mandarin Chinese in this dissertation uses the *Hanyu Pinyin* system. In writing personal names, I use the established or official spellings for the names of people, such as Chiang Kai-shek. Chinese names are given as surname first and given name second.

Chapter One: Introduction

Project Statement

This dissertation examines the identity politics of Taiwanese *zheng*¹ musicians who are citizens of the ROC performing in a cultural China in which the PRC is the geo-political center. Taiwanese *zheng* musicians' ways of appropriating Chinese cultural resources in Taiwan demonstrate that state ideologies have their limits in time and space. Musicians are able to play music as a means of expressing overlapping ethnic identities, fulfilling their roles as Taiwanese citizens, and participating as members of a cultural China.

Through examining the local history, I investigate Taiwanese musicians' *zheng* music making that was constantly shaped by the socio-political cross-strait dynamic. As the Kuomintang (KMT) promoted Chinese traditions to support the legitimacy of the ROC, the *zheng*, alongside other Chinese instruments, gained popularity in Taiwan after the Nationalist government relocated to Taiwan from Nanjing, China in 1949. The Chinese literati style *zheng* music continued in Taiwan, distinguished from the revolutionary change of *zheng* music in the mid-twentieth-century mainland. Despite the ROC-imposed cross-strait travel ban before 1987, Taiwanese *zheng* players, particularly the younger generation which was keen on innovative sounds, found ways to hear and play modern *zheng* music from mainland China, including lyric-free versions of Cultural Revolution *zheng* music. Soon after the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwanese musicians started making Chinese *zheng* pilgrimages to China at the same time that internal Taiwanese politics underwent a process of Taiwanization in conjunction with the debate of de-sinicization in the 1990s. However, where once the Nationalist government had promoted

¹ The *zheng* is also known as *guzheng* (lit. *gu* means ancient). Chinese people addresses it as *guzheng* because of its ancient historical origin. Because the Taiwanese designates the localized *zheng* music genre as Taiwan *zhengyue* (lit. *zheng* music), I use the term *zheng* in this dissertation.

national standardization, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) pushed cultural localization after it gained the presidency in 2000. Musicians hoping to receive government support had to “localize” their music. Thus, *zheng* intellectuals, several of whom had received postgraduate degrees in the US, reconstructed the *zheng* as an expression of their Taiwanese-ness. As a result, a new music genre—Taiwanese *zheng* music—emerged.

This dissertation is an ethnographic account based on both archival research and interviews. Taking into account political realities, local histories, and social experiences, I investigate *zheng* culture in Taiwan (and mainland China), dividing it into three historical periods: the nationalization of Chinese culture from 1945 to 1987 (Chapters two and three), the integration of one cultural China after 1987 (Chapter four), and the rise of Taiwanese identity post 2000 (Chapter five). In each period, I probe the different dimensions of the in-between position of the *zheng*—a position between the Chinese/elite and Taiwanese/folk classes, between traditional and modern senses of time, and between national and local spaces. Each angle combines to make the *zheng* a productive site to research music making as a social process that facilitates a fluid identity in which Chineseness takes on an ambivalent meaning in the socio-political discourse of Taiwan.

In this dissertation, I use the term “traditional *zheng* music” to indicate *zheng* music as collective work that developed in China before the twentieth century, in contrast to “modern *zheng* music” referring to the music created by individuals after the mid-twentieth century. “Chinese *zheng* music” is a general term for *zheng* music, whereas “Taiwanese *zheng* music” denotes the localized *zheng* music genre in Taiwan whose history can be dated back to 1945. “Cultural Revolution *zheng* music” refers to the *zheng* repertoire that spread in China during this political movement.

An Overview of *Zheng*

The *zheng* is an indigenous Chinese string instrument whose history dates back to the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.). According to its earliest record in the Chinese literature *Shiji* (lit. The Historic Record),² the *zheng* was a folk instrument that spread in the Qin area. Traditional Chinese literature supported the idea that the *zheng* originated from Northern China. However, archaeological work in the 1970s unearthed *zheng* dated to the sixth or seventh century B.C. in Guangxi and Jiangxi Provinces in Southern China, suggesting another possibility of the *zheng*'s origin (Han 2001). Therefore, the origin of *zheng* remains to be studied.

The *zheng* had gone through continuous organological changes throughout history. According to *Fengsu Tongyi* (lit. A Comprehensive Survey of Customs) (189-220), which is the earliest literature regarding *zheng* construction, the *zheng* was in a 5-stringed bamboo-tube form with moveable bridges (see Figure 1.1).³ Its tuning was the ancient Chinese pentatonic scale. Toward the end of the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.-220), *zheng* construction had undergone considerable changes. It transformed into a zither form with a convex upper-board and a flat bottom-board, and the number of strings increased to 12. It was around 512 A.D. that people started making the *zheng* with paulownia wood. Because it brought the *zheng* a refined sound quality, this material is still used today (Cheng 1990:7). The number of strings gradually increased afterwards. The 13-stringed *zheng* was used in the Sui Dynasty (581-618) and became popular in the Tang Dynasty (618-907). 14- and 15-stringed *zhengs* appeared in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and a 16-stringed *zheng* was played during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) (see Figure 1.2). Originally silk, the string material was adapted to steel during the Qing dynasty due to its sonorous volume. In the early twentieth century, different types of *zheng* co-existed in

² 史記·李斯列傳·諫逐客書：「擊甕叩缶，彈箏搏髀，而歌呼嗚嗚快耳者，真秦之聲也。」

³ 風俗通義：「箏，五弦筑身也。」

different regions of China. The 13-stringed *zheng* was used in Northern China, such as Henan, while the 16-stringed *zheng* was popular in Southern China, such as Guangdong. After the 21-nylon-stringed *zheng* was invented in Shanghai in the early 1960s, it gradually replaced previous diverse types and became today's standard one (see Figure 1.3).

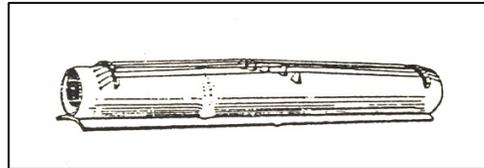


Figure 1.1 Supposed 5-stringed *zheng* (Liu 1967:1)



Figure 1.2 The 16-stringed *zheng*
(112cm x 23cm x 85cm, made by Xian-Jin Chinese Music Store)⁴



Figure 1.3 The 21-stringed *zheng*
(163cm x 34cm x 12cm, made by Songbo Zheng Manufacturer)

⁴ All pictures and transcriptions in this dissertation, unless otherwise noted, are provided and done by the author.

Regarding the performing form of *zheng* in history, in the early period, *zheng* mainly performed in folk music as an accompaniment for human voices. It became popular in the Han Dynasty and was used both in court and various folk traditions. The *zheng* flourished in the Tang Dynasty. In the court, the 12-stringed *zheng* was utilized to play Han-Chinese banquet music (*yanyue*), while the 13-stringed *zheng* played non-Han music. The complexity of playing techniques increased at the time, and several court musical repertoires had *zheng* solo pieces. However, most of the *zheng* music from this era was lost as China went through a series of politically turbulent events over the next two hundred years. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the *zheng* had limited presence in the court. However, it was still popular in folk traditions as an ensemble and a solo instrument.

In traditional Chinese society in which Confucian ideology dominated musical philosophy,⁵ the *zheng*'s status was elastic. As a complementary of ritual (*li*), the ideal music is for self-cultivation and socio-political harmony in contrast to the contemptible music used only for entertainment. With its design for resounding purpose, the *zheng* was mainly used for entertainment. Even during its prosperous period in the Tang Dynasty when it was used in court ritual, its status was less esteemed in contrast to another type of zither (*se*) used for court ritual music (*yayue*) (Chen 1991:100). However, the *zheng* was still popular among the nobility and the literati as an instrument for both self-cultivation and entertainment. Here, the players' approaches to the instrument determined the value of music. The literati as amateur *zheng* player cultivating their disposition and virtue via music were well-respected; on the contrary, professional musicians, including the peasantry and those possessing low social status, focused on musical

⁵ In Confucian ideology, music is one of the disciplines of the education of Chinese culture—*liuyi* (lit. six arts), including rites, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy, and mathematics. The literati play instruments, the *qin* in particular, in their leisure time as a means of expressing cultural values and to cultivate the virtues of a *junzi* (an ideal man).

kinaesthetic matters and were disdained because of the association with popular entertainment and earning.

Despite the fact that the *zheng* was historically used in both court and folk traditions, nowadays the so-called “traditional *zheng* music” is built upon its folk practice of diverse regions. There are five major schools named by region: Shandong, Henan, Chaozhou, Kejia (or *Hakka*), and Zhejiang. Drawing from local vocal, narrative singing and opera music, each school developed its own repertoires and techniques. The music features a monophonic texture. When playing, the player utilizes the right hand to pluck the strings and moves the hand from side to side to enrich the timbre while using the left hand to bend the strings for vibrato articulations and pitch changing. The musical styles of traditional *zheng* music are mostly based on the nuances of *yun* (lit. rhyme, the musical flavor resulting from the left hand bending the strings). In general, vibrato is more rapid in the northern regional schools, such as Shandong and Henan, in contrast to a gentler touch in southern schools, such as Chaozhou.

In the early twentieth century, the *zheng* was mainly played in ensemble settings in social venues, such as ceremonies, celebrations, and funerals. Spurred by the May Fourth Movement to revive Chinese music in the Western-music-favored sphere, many Chinese music clubs were established in large cities in the 1920s. This provided opportunities for the urban literati to exchange *zheng* styles from different regions. In Beijing, Henan native Wei Ziyou (1875-1935), previously a Qing official, taught *qin*, *zheng*, and *pipa*; and Yangzhou-born (in Zhejiang Province) Shi Yinmei (1889-1954), a government officer and an accomplished *qin* player, taught *qin*, *zheng*, and other Chinese instruments. Although they played multiple instruments, they taught *zheng* as a solo instrument. Wei and Shi together with their students Lou Shuhua (1907-1952) and Liang Tsai-ping (1910-2000) developed a literati style of *zheng* practice during the

1920s to 1940s. As a Chinese literati tradition, these urban literati not only played *zheng* but also conducted research and composed for *zheng*. Drawing upon the sonic characteristics of *qin*, they brought to the *zheng* an elegant and classic new sound. Some works were *zheng*-adapted *qin* repertoire; some were folk-music-derived new solos with a more compact form including a climax to suit a Western-influenced listening manner. Moreover, the first anthology of *zheng* solos in *zheng* history—*Ni Zhengpu* (lit. A Proposed Anthology for *Zheng*) by Liang Tsai-ping—was published in 1938. The most important development from this period is that the *zheng* was refined as a solo art presented in a modern concert setting.

With the political change in China in 1949, the literati style *zheng* practice spread to and was kept in the ROC-ruled Taiwan, where Liang Tsai-ping resided. Perhaps ironically, because the PRC's cultural ideology promoted folk traditions in mainland China, regional *zheng* players were promoted and taught in higher education while learned literati musicians were excluded, a condition which redefined the amateur as untrained and not hired by the government (Lau 2008:25).

Since the mid-twentieth century, folk musicians initiated a series of “modernizations” of *zheng* music in mainland China, bringing a revolutionary change to *zheng*'s contemporary soundscape. This new musical style contains a polyphonic characteristic amalgamating Chinese and Western musical components, including applying Western instruments' playing techniques and musical forms to the *zheng*. These new compositions highlight the contrast of musical elements, as revealed on meter (rubato and regular), tempo, dynamics, and theme. These sonic concerns substantially extended the musical expression of *zheng* and influenced the subsequent compositions.

Ethnographic and Historical Background

Taiwan was first officially incorporated into China's territory during the Qing Dynasty in the 1680s. Because of its peripheral geographic location, the Qing authority did not actively rule Taiwan, and ceded it to Japan as a colony from 1895 to 1945. The official construction of Chineseness in Taiwan started in 1945 with the change in government to the ROC. As the Chinese Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, retreated to Taiwan in 1949, controlling the territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu, the Nationalist government implemented martial law in Taiwan in order to suppress Communist activities and consolidate the Nationalists' power. Since then the Chinese nationalism in Taiwan became a presentation of the continuity of the ROC regime, vis-à-vis the PRC in mainland China.

The Nationalist government went about crafting a national Chinese identity through its contrast to pre-1945 Chinese and other local cultures as Taiwanese local. This ideology was reified through the educational system and cultural policy. Chinese history, geography, and language (Mandarin) were taught, while Taiwanese languages were banned in schools; Mainland-China-oriented cultures were promoted while the local cultural traditions, such as folksongs and opera, were suppressed. It was during this period that Chinese music, including *zheng*, brought by post-1945 Chinese immigrants was promoted as national culture and started gaining popularity in Taiwan.

Given these political conditions, *zheng* music in Taiwan has its own path from its counterpart in mainland China. One of the significant cultural trends that set *zheng* music in these two places apart was the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement (*Zhonghua Wenhua Fuxing Yundong*), which emerged in 1966 as a response to the Cultural Revolution. Far from the revolutionary spirit in mainland China, *zheng* transmission in Taiwan highlighted its traditional

values. Liang Tsai-ping's *zheng* music with a Chinese literati style was one of the representations of this trend. As one of the founders of the Chinese Music Association in Taiwan, he not only contributed to the popularization of the *zheng* and Chinese music in Taiwan but also represented the ROC government to promote Chinese music internationally.

Because of the mutual promotion by the government and musicians, the *zheng* became one of the more popular Chinese instruments in Taiwan. In the 1970s, the *zheng* entered the higher education system, *zheng* clubs were established in succession at schools, and *zheng* classes became a commodity in the free market. *Zheng* teachers invented their own teaching methods, resulting in at least five major systems of technical symbols circulating in Taiwan at the time. *Zheng* musicians' new compositions were prosperous at the time for displaying individuals' expressions. In Taiwan, the *zheng* was not only a cultural means for the government to build a Chinese nation but also for the musicians to pursue elite status both socially and economically.

The synchronous development of *zheng* music in mainland China and Taiwan started from 1987 when martial law was abrogated in Taiwan. As cross-strait cultural exchanges started being enabled by both governments, mainland-Chinese *zheng* masters came to Taiwan and an influx of *zheng* publications swarmed into Taiwan. Paradoxically, despite the ROC government's efforts to promote cultural localization since the 1990s, Taiwanese *zheng* players were increasingly traveling to mainland China at that time to refine their musicianship. Because of its innovative sonic effects, a bulk of mid-twentieth-century modern mainland-Chinese *zheng* music, including lyric-free Cultural Revolution *zheng* music, spread to Taiwan and was used for learning materials. As a result, modern mainland-Chinese *zheng* music became popular in the 1990s in Taiwan, while the performance of local *zheng* compositions and the number of new

works by the Taiwanese decreased.

After 2000, the promotion of Chinese culture became a controversial political issue in Taiwan due to the local Democratic Progressive Party gaining ruling power. Responding to this political condition, Taiwanese *zheng* intellectuals undertook a new music genre—Taiwanese *zheng* music—for localizing *zheng* music in Taiwan. They proclaimed Liang Tsai-ping as the father of Taiwanese *zheng* music to justify its origin. During this process, the local was redefined as all-inclusive via Taiwan-related characteristics. Taiwanese *zheng* compositions that had been undervalued by the government and musicians started regaining a reputation.

Due to its transplanted nature, the formation of Taiwanese *zheng* music largely relies on external resources to enrich its body. With resources from mainland China of primary importance, the local, Western, and other cultural resources were also integrated in order to construct a unique Taiwanese image. The composers can be categorized into two groups. The performer-composers are mainly concerned with the musical expression and performing techniques of the *zheng*; Western-trained professional composers are more interested in the sonic effect and view the instrument as a medium. Both brought their idiosyncratic contributions to Taiwanese *zheng* music.

Not merely circulated in Taiwan, Taiwanese *zheng* music started becoming a subject in the *zheng* field. The Millennium National Instrument Competition for *zheng*, hosted by the Ensemble Orientalia of Taipei in 2000 in Taipei, was the first *zheng* competition featuring the theme of Taiwan by assigning the Taiwanese *zheng* repertoire as competition pieces. Both *zheng* players from Taiwan and mainland China participated in this competition. In 2009, the first International Beijing Guzheng Festival consisted of a Taiwan-featured concert, in which Taiwanese performers presented repertoires made up of two-thirds Taiwanese material.

Although the development of *zheng* music in Taiwan had followed its path in China since

the mid-twentieth century, Taiwanese *zheng* musicians had not only absorbed Chinese characteristics but had also selectively utilized them to create their own repertoires. Through advocating Taiwanese *zheng* music, these players constructed their exclusive musical community. *Zheng* music thus went beyond from its counterpart in mainland China and further become an instrument of expressing Taiwanese identity.

Literature Review

To analyze the interplay between *zheng* music and identity politics, I apply theoretical lenses of nationalism and identity to this research. In this section, I discuss the literature by category.

Zheng Music

Scholars have only begun to research *zheng* music in Taiwan in the last few decades. Primarily conducted by *zheng* practitioners and written in Chinese, the bulk of literature discusses *zheng* from historical and musical perspectives, providing great detail in terms of music transmission and performance (Cheng 1990; Huang 1998; Lin 2003). In the historical aspect, Chang Li-chiung (2002) investigates the lineages of *zheng* musicians in Taiwan since 1945; Lin Yue-li (2003) and Chang Li-chiung (2011) review the early development of *zheng* music in mid-twentieth-century Taiwan. Both Lin's and Chang's research of *zheng* in middle-twentieth-century Taiwan filled the knowledge gap of early *zheng* history in Taiwan.

More Chinese literature addresses the applied aspect of *zheng*. Wu Min-jing (2001) and Liang Ming-yue (2003) examine musical styles of new compositions in particular eras; Yeh Juan-reng (2003) and Huang Hao-yin (2005) conduct general surveys of compositional

backgrounds and musical analysis for selected compositions; Bai Wei-zhen (2003) and Liao Zhu-cen (2009) investigate the performance trends of *zheng* in particular periods of time; Yang Pei-hsuan (2006) discusses the *zheng* major teaching practice at school; Hsu Wen-ting (2009), Hsieh Dai-lin (2012), Yu Kai-ting (2012), and Lin Ya-hsiu (2012) probe particular components (Taiwanese materials, world-music elements, and theatrical performance form) of selected compositions. Chang Li-chiung, Lin Ya-hsiu, and Chao Yi-hua (2015) examine the sonic transformation of Taiwanese *zheng* music throughout history. Among these Chinese literature, Chang Li-chiung maintains an authoritative voice on the topic of Taiwanese *zheng* music because of her comprehensive and long-term academic investigation (2002, 2003, 2011, 2017). Her research provides a grounded discussion of the construction and execution of Taiwanese *zheng* music for this study. Compared to most of the natives' study discussing the musical matters, I foreground the socio-political issues and apply the theoretical lens of nationalism and identity to studying *zheng* music in order to illuminate the ambivalent identity of Taiwanese *zheng* musicians.

In terms of the English literature on *zheng* music in Taiwan, a few researchers after the 1990s have taken a different approach to studying this topic from a socio-political perspective, examining how mainland-Chinese *zheng* music impacts its counterpart in Taiwan. Taking socio-political contexts into account, scholars have researched the inter-relationship of state policy, cultural ideology, ethnic identity, and musical change from a sinocentric perspective. The first discussing the topic of *zheng* music in Taiwan is Cheng Te-yuan's PhD dissertation *Zheng, Tradition and Change* (1991).⁶ He gives a brief survey of Chinese *zheng* history and notation and presents the diverse traditional regional schools. In a chapter on the modernization of *zheng*

⁶ Its Chinese version was published in Taiwan in 1990.

music, Cheng discusses cultural ideologies and policies and their impacts on the developments of *zheng* music in mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and points out that mainland China maintains a dominant role in the practice of *zheng* music. As one of the early studies regarding the topic of *zheng* music in Taiwan, this chapter is frequently cited by successive researchers.

Another English study paying attention to *zheng* music in Taiwan is Kao Shu-hui's dissertation *The Development of the Modern Zheng in Taiwan and Singapore* (2003). She investigates how migration impacts on the development of *zheng* music in twentieth-century Taiwan and Singapore. Through examining the process of nation building, she concludes that the need for ethnic identity drives the developments of *zheng* in both places. Her record of the details of *zheng* activities in late-twentieth century Taiwan provides valuable ethnographic data.

Given the limited prior research, *zheng* study with a focus on Taiwan is still an emerging field awaiting investigation. Since Cheng's and Kao's dissertation, the development of *zheng* music in Taiwan has moved toward a new direction to address its local values. Compared to their research, this dissertation will update the musical development from the mid-twentieth century to nowadays. Most importantly, I situate *zheng* music in Taiwan as my primary study subject to investigate the interactions between musicians and their nations with the goal of explaining how Taiwanese *zheng* musicians came to play what they play.

Nationalism

Nationalism is a critical conceptual tool for my research because it provides a fundamental theory to explain the role of *zheng* in the building of a Chinese nation. Nationalism theories contend that nations are constructed ideologically and forge a connection between cultural groups and states. Modernist scholars deem that nations are modern constructions by

states in order to reconfigure space and time. They discuss nation-building through different media. Ernest Gellner (1983) discusses the nation as constructed by cultural homogenization through imposing linguistic standardization, mass education, and national culture; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) highlight the legitimacy of the nation-state through invented traditions that signify historical continuity; Anthony Smith (1986), who deems nations are not entirely a modern construction, argues that nations are based on historical ethnic groups that possess shared mythologies and symbols. Building upon this research, I will analyze the Nationalist government utilizing the *zheng* as an ethnic cultural tradition to facilitate the construction of a Chinese nation in the mid-twentieth century Taiwan. I found Thomas Eriksen's (1993) and Roger Brubaker's (2002) concept of ethnicity in the context of nation building particularly useful for this research. They view ethnicity as a dynamic aspect of social relationships between groups, not merely as a social category to distinguish the Self from the Other. This lays a theoretical foundation for me to deconstruct the *zheng*'s ethnic symbols and to analyze the changing meanings of Chineseness and Taiwanese-ness as ethnic labels through time. Drawn upon Benedict Anderson's (1983) definition of nations as "imagined communities," emphasizing the role of culture and print-capitalism, I examine the *zheng*'s cultural practice and publication that help build the *zheng* community across the strait.

Many ethnomusicologists have researched music as a means of nation-building (Becker 1980; Wade 2000; Yano 2002). Some scholars discuss the usage of Chinese music as political propaganda, especially during the Cultural Revolution (Wong 1984; Yung 1984; Perris 1985; Wagner 1996; Bryant 2007). Moreover, many scholars examine the correlation between music and politics in China in various genres: Richard Kraus (1989) on piano; Andrew Jones (1992) and Nimrod Baranovitch (2003) on popular music; Sue Tuohy on musical representation (2001);

Barbara Mittler (1997) on Western new music. This research provides valuable insights for me to investigate the interplay between *zheng* music and the rise and fall of Chinese nationalism in post-1945 Taiwan. As with Frederick Lau's (1995; 1996) examination of the re-contextualization of Chinese *dizi* solo in post-1949 China and Jonathan Stock's (1996) investigation on the changing meanings of Chinese folk *erhu* musician Abing in contemporary contexts, I will examine the meaning of *zheng* which is not determined as much by the projection of musical text as by how it is practiced and embedded in socio-political contexts. In contrast to Nancy Guy's (2005) discussion of Peking opera in Taiwan thoroughly under the government's control, I will look into how Taiwanese *zheng* players interacted with the nations and actively constructed their own music genre.

The discourse of Chinese nationalism showcases the complexity of the conflation of Chinese culture and nationalism. Prasenjit Duara (1996) contends that the Chinese nation is built upon "Chinese culturalism" with two implications: an ethnic value of Han-elite and a political definition by the imperial state and Confucian orthodoxy. This provides me a grounded tool to analyze the *zheng*'s Chinese cultural tradition that intertwined with the socio-political discourse of Taiwan. Moreover, both Allen Chun's analysis of the reification of Nationalist ideology in Taiwan (1994) and Cathryn Clayton's investigation of the ambivalent construction of Chinese nation in Macau (2009) demonstrate the context-specific Chinese nationalisms outside of mainland China. Building upon these studies, I examine the changing Chinese nationalism of the ROC and its interplay with *zheng* practice in Taiwan.

Identity

Many scholars assert that music making enhances social belonging and facilitates

collective identity. They argue that music constitutes identity rather than merely expressing ideas and values (Seeger 1987; Small 1998; Nettl 1983; Waterman 1990; Slobin 1993; Stokes 1994; Frith 1996). Some scholars argue that music, by invoking a shared historical past, is used to form national identity, strengthening the dominant class' interests (Noll 1991; Averill 1994; Austerlitz 1997). Other scholars discuss how music is used by exclusive social groups, such as locals and immigrants, to distinguish them from others within a nation (Bohlman 1989; Witzelben 1995; Hosokawa 2000; Manuel 2000; Lau 2001). At both national and local scales, the construction of identity often involves the issues of identity politics that consist of contradictory components. This research provides me a conceptual tool to investigate the ambivalent identities of *zheng* in the Taiwanese context. Compared to William Noll's (1991) examination of how similar music is institutionalized and transformed into two contrasting national identities in Poland and Ukraine, I will probe *zheng* music making representing two distinct cultural ideologies in mainland China and Taiwan. As Paul Austerlitz (1997) investigates merengue as a site for negotiating the relationship between race and class, I will analyze the *zheng* as a means to mediate the group conflicts between ethnicity and class in the mid-twentieth century Taiwan.

In this dissertation, I regard identity as fluid and shaped variously by historical process and political conditions, as scholars argue that identity is plural and fragmented in late modernity (Hall 1996; Frith 1996). Stuart Hall's and Richard Handler's insights provide essential conceptual tools for this research. Hall (1996) argues that identity is constructed in the process of *becoming* rather than being. Handler views identity as a communicative process which includes many voices and varying degrees of understanding and misunderstanding (1994:30). They both deem identity formation a constantly constructed process which is built upon the relation with others and relies on the construction of differences from others. I draw upon these notions to

examine the interconnections and the differences between cultural and political identities of Taiwan and to analyze these identities' entanglements with Chinese identity (Niou 2004, Brown 2004, Chang and Wang 2005, Huang 2006; Jiang 2006; Rigger 2006; Chen 2012; Lin 2014). This advances the investigation of identity of *zheng* music in terms of a cultural dimension, affected by, but distinct from, a political dimension, and it will help to understand the deep meanings of Chinese and Taiwanese labels in the formation of *zheng* music genres.

A large body of research questions the boundedness of Chinese identity dominated by China as the geo-political center (Tu 1994; McKeown 1999; Chun 2001; Mackie 2003; Vasantkumar 2012). In order to deviate from the sinocentric definition of Chineseness and to empower the periphery, Tu Wei-ming (1994) proposes the notion of cultural China as a cultural space that encloses and transcends the ethnic boundary. This provides a departure point for my study to examine how the *zheng* as a cultural space, shared by people inside and outside of China, that eventually went different trajectories. Ien Ang (2001) and Jamie Mackie (2003) question the homogeneous notion of Chineseness and propose to understand the heterogeneity of overseas Chinese via the process of hybridization. Their emphasis of hybrid identity rejects the essentialism of ethnicity and implies the continuously evolving identities. This leads to the analysis of the unique hybrid nature of Taiwanese *zheng* music that differentiates it from its counterpart in mainland China. Melissa Brown (2004) argues that Chinese identity is different from Taiwanese identity through examining the uniqueness of Taiwaneseness evolving through the twentieth century based on local people's social experiences not simply on the ROC government's recognition. Her research provides me a fundamental lens to investigate Taiwanese identity embedded in *zheng* music making that is based on local musicians' interactions with other social groups and political authorities.

A number of works on memory discuss the issues of identity construction and group cohesion (Connerton 1989; Gillis 1994; Zerubavel 1995; Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011). Maurice Halbwachs (1992) argues that collective memory serves as a type of social framework in which people locate, understand, and contextualize group-owned memories. He also affirms the plural features of collective memory because it is determined through an individual's group memberships and social differentiations. His notion of collective memory provides me a conceptual tool to construct an ethnography with the multivocality of emic accounts, illustrating the unique social position of Taiwanese *zheng* musicians as a group and as individuals. Both Pierre Nora (1989) and James Wertsch (2002) agree that memory and history are fundamentally opposite. Memory is subjective in that it reflects a particular group's perspective in a social framework; history, on the contrary, is a representation of the past constructed by the intellectual. The distinction between memory and history offers me a lens to deconstruct certain Taiwanese *zheng* players' musical behaviors that seem to contradict the cultural ideologies embedded in Chinese/Taiwanese history.

Building upon this research, I investigate the issues of identity politics regarding group cohesion, ethnic labels, and collective memory. Situating Taiwanese *zheng* musicians in the center of this study, I investigate the plurality and fluidity of these musicians' collective identity. This leads to a more comprehensive understanding of the Taiwanese playing *zheng* as social behavior that negotiates between pursuing individuals' careers and participating as members of Chinese culture.

Methodology

This dissertation is an ethnography of *zheng* practice in Taiwan and mainland China.

Built upon cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz's notion of the interpretation of culture, I take an ethnomusicological approach to look into the formative processes in music and analyze how people "historically construct, socially maintain, and individually create and experience music" (Rice 1987:473).

Rather than drawing a straightforward and abstract structural relationship between culture and music, I apply Thomas Turino's notion of practice theory (Turino 1990) to musical ethnography, emphasizing the lived musical practices and the interplay between conventional cultural structure, non-institutionalized strategies that oppose cultural dominations, and diversely-unified broader context across time and space. In addition, I also incorporate my own position and practice into the musical ethnography.

From 2015 to 2017, I conducted summer fieldwork in Taiwan (Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung) and China (Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou). I regard "the field" in fieldwork as a geographical place that extends to "a broad conceptual zone united by a chain of inquiry" (Kisliuk 2008:189) that ties to intersubjective experiences and the performative nature of music. During these periods, I observed *zheng* events including concerts, rehearsals, and lessons. More importantly, I met personally with *zheng* players and conducted individual interviews. These key informants were selected based on their full-time commitments to *zheng* art. Their occupations included educator, performer, composer, student, and instrument manufacturer. In addition, several follow-up long-distance interviews were conducted via the Internet. These interviews focus on individuals' music "routes" (Gilroy 1993) and personal insights of *zheng* practice, in order to obtain the multi-voices of emic perspectives and build "the broader concentric circles of context [that] emphasizes historically constituted, diversely unified moments of lived social relations" (Turino 1990:411).

By using a phenomenological approach (Titon 2008; Rice 2008), I construct a music ethnography that includes background information, interpretation, and analysis (see also Titon 1977; Feld 1984; Seeger 1987; Waterman 1990) and highlight the experience-weighted insights that illustrates the process of coming-to-knowing (Titon 2008) in order to illustrate the multivocality of music, intersubjectivity of musicians, and the reflexivity of identity.

Positionality

My research builds upon my long-term immersion in Chinese culture in Taiwan. Growing up in late twentieth-century Taiwan, I started learning *zheng* and piano at a young age. I chose to major in *zheng* which led me to study it in three different settings: a Western-oriented music program at a local Catholic middle and high school (Stella Matutina Girls' High School), a Chinese music department at a National Taiwan University of Arts (NTUA), and several short-term summer studies in mainland China in 2001 (Beijing and Zhengzhou), 2005 (Guangzhou), and 2015 (Shanghai and Guangzhou).

Learning *zheng* in these different settings cultivated my ability to distinguish the nuance of Chineseness via aural sensation. Each subtlety was detected as a reflexive awareness when a new learning environment was given. When I studied in the Chinese music department at NTUA, I perceived that my previous *zheng* practice contained a Western flavor because of my piano experience and Western musical training at school. It was not until I studied *zheng* in Beijing that I discerned that my *zheng* playing possessed a “Taiwanese flavor,” similar to how people speak with different accents of Mandarin. Later I met musicians in and from different regions of mainland China, which further expanded my experience of multilayered Chinese flavors of music.

My background is as a Taiwanese native who grew up in the 1980s and 1990s when the schooling remained steeped in sinicization. Before my high school, the curricula of language, history, geography, and society were designed from a sinocentric viewpoint and Taiwan was only their secondary field; the design of the music program was Western-centric while Chinese music was a secondary area. In addition to these Chinese and Western musical experiences, I enjoyed watching Taiwanese opera with my parents (whose families have resided in Taiwan for generations before 1949) on television at a young age, but this local musical experience was disconnected from my music training at school. It was not until I studied *zheng* under Wang Ruei-yu and Chang Li-chiung at the NTUA in the late 1990s and early 2000s that I was first enlightened about the connection between *zheng* music and Taiwan.

Given this background, I position myself as Han-Chinese, particularly Han-Taiwanese, having the ability to examine the ambiguity of cultural boundaries and to probe the deep meanings of these identities. After 2001, I established my career as a professional *zheng* player and have since represented Taiwan in cultural events in several countries. Among my performing experiences, I was the founding director of the alumni *zheng* ensemble of the NTUA (Da Guan *Zheng* Ensemble), one of the missions of which was to promote Taiwanese *zheng* music. I also worked with Taiwanese composers to enrich the repertoire of Taiwanese *zheng* music. In this dissertation, my experiences in Taiwan provide an insider perspective from which I problematize the Chinese and Taiwanese ethnic labels and to deepen the understanding of musical culture in light of identity politics.

In addition, after I moved to Hawai‘i to pursue my PhD, my experience in Hawai‘i and observation of the relation between mainland US and Hawai‘i provided me a fresh lens to look into the issues of nation/local and center/periphery, leading me to re-examine the sociopolitical

relationship between Taiwan and mainland China.

Significance

As the first dissertation in English focused on the issues of *zheng* music in Taiwan, this dissertation contributes to the literature on this topic by providing a new understanding of modern Chinese/Taiwanese history with a focus of identity politics that relates to the cross-strait relationship. Whereas most existing literature approached this topic from a purely musical perspective, I engage theories of nationalism and identity, and adopt indigenous Chinese and Taiwanese cultural concepts to probe the process of music making and to understand the appropriation of materials during this process. Drawing upon the insights of Eriksen (1993) and Brubaker (2002) regarding ethnicity, I resist discussing ethnicity as an internally homogeneous group and instead use it as an evolving designation that allows people to identify their relationship with others in social contexts. Instead of centering on the substance, I probe the meanings behind the ethnic labels of the Chinese/Taiwanese and their musical practice as a social process.

My research also contributes to the literature on nationalism and identity studies in China and Taiwan. I seek to offer an alternative cultural perspective to understand the relationship between China and Taiwan. The issue of Taiwanese identity, which is built upon the assumption of the Chinese as the “Other,” has been frequently discussed in the fields of politics and history (Niou 2004, Brown 2004, Chang and Wang 2005, Huang 2006; Jiang 2006; Rigger 2006; Chen 2012; Lin 2014). However, research into Taiwaneseness in the field of Chinese music is relatively rare. My research will fill this gap by discussing the conflation and complexity of *zheng* music, Chinese, and Taiwanese identity. This study will provide insights into Chinese and

Taiwanese identity by articulating the unique socio-cultural experiences of Taiwanese *zheng* musicians in order to contribute to a more comprehensive discourse of Chineseness, Taiwaneseeness, and identity.

Outline of Chapters

This dissertation examines the historical process of *zheng* music making in Taiwan from nationalization to localization. Chapters two and three explore the *zheng* practice in Taiwan before the lifting of martial law, whereas chapters four and five are situated afterwards. Each chapter investigates interdependent themes and interrelated subjects regarding the interplay between *zheng*, identity, and politics.

Chapter two provides an overview of *zheng* transmission in Taiwan from 1945 to 1987. I problematize the conflation of Chineseness, class, and music. In this period, the national meaning of *zheng* was built upon the Chinese/Taiwanese group division with class distinction constructed by the government. Even still, *zheng* music making mediated the group gap because it provided individuals an opportunity to elevate their social status. Through analyzing the cultural logic of *zheng* practice in Taiwan, I conclude that playing *zheng* as a means of *becoming* Chinese elite illustrates the *zheng*'s dual functions for facilitating nation building and social mobility in modern Taiwan.

Chapter three discusses the divergent developments of *zheng* music in mainland China and Taiwan under two distinct regimes from 1945 to 1987. I problematize the conflation of politics and music through examining the contesting Chinese nationalisms between the ROC and the PRC. More importantly, by using the contextualization and re-contextualization of the Cultural Revolution *zheng* music as a case study, I provide a detailed analysis of how the *zheng*

was utilized as a cultural instrument by the governments and the musicians and how it created a cultural identity—distinct from a political identity—that transcends the borders of nations and ideologies. I come to conclude that playing *zheng* is an art of negotiation.

Chapter four explores Taiwanese musicians' participation in a cultural China across strait after the lifting of martial law. I problematize the conception of Chineseness and its interplay with the representation of authenticity. Through discussing the evolving details of kinesthetic practice and aural sensation of *zheng* performance, I show the historical and internal differences of Chineseness. Examining the musical synchronization across the strait, I conclude that Taiwanese *zheng* players' musical behavior is present-oriented. Although pursuing mainland-Chinese *zheng* trends seems paradoxical with the ROC government's political stand, its contemporary-applied tendency eventually led the musicians to follow the internal political wave to localize *zheng* music in Taiwan.

Chapter five covers the emergence of Taiwanese *zheng* music after the 2000s. I problematize the interplay between cultural, political, and ethnic identities. Through examining the musicians' social positions and relationships, I demonstrate how ethnic identity functions differently when it combines with cultural identity and political identity, and how these two confluences both contribute to the localization of *zheng* practice. Through probing the meaning of Taiwan in socio-political and musical dimensions, I conclude that the *zheng* in Taiwan has transformed into an instrument for expressing Taiwanese cultural identity.

Chapter Two: Performing *Zheng*, Playing Chineseness

This chapter examines the development of *zheng* performance from 1945 to 1987 in Taiwan as a social phenomenon. First, I will analyze how nationalizing Chinese culture and institutionalizing and commodifying *zheng* performance contribute to the transmission of *zheng* in Taiwan. Moreover, I will demonstrate that the ROC government and musicians promoted a particular kind of *zheng* music, which was brought by the post-1945 Chinese immigrants to Taiwan, to represent Chinese culture while overlooking the pre-1945-existing local *zheng* music in this period. Through examining social-political history and music ethnography, I argue that the *zheng* as a powerful symbol of the Chinese elite was a mutual reinforcement for the ROC government to build the legitimacy of the Chinese nation as well as for the musicians to gain elite status during this period.

Nationalizing Chinese Musical Culture

People of Han Chinese ancestry make up ninety-seven percent of the population in Taiwan. Most of these people came from Fujian Province and arrived in Taiwan in the seventeenth century. Although they brought their cultural traditions from mainland China, the wide distribution of Chinese *zheng* music in Taiwan started after 1949 when the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan. In this section, I will discuss the Nationalist government's cultural policy and related cultural activities that promoted the *zheng* as a part of the building of a Chinese nation.

China as Nation, Taiwan as Local

The Nationalist government imposed Chinese culture as the “national” culture in order to legitimate its authority to represent China after 1949. In the first two decades, the cultural policy of the Nationalist government aimed for a “cultural reunification” with mainland China through promoting Chinese culture while de-colonizing the fifty-year Japanese influence and suppressing local Taiwanese cultures (Chun 1994:56). Standard Mandarin as the main tool to transmit the Nationalists’ political ideology and social values was imposed as the language of instruction in schools and for everyday communication. The building of the Chinese nation involved the naming of cultural terms from a Sino-centric perspective: Mandarin as the national language (*guoyu*), Chinese music as national music (*guoyue*), and Peking opera as national opera (*guoju*). Moreover, the re-naming of roads and streets in Taipei was systematically undertaken by using the cities’ names used in China according to their geospatial coordinates. The overarching policy aimed at constructing a homogenous “imagined community” (Anderson 1983) in which all of its members would embrace a collective “Chinese” identity, as Hall argues that “a nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings—a *system of cultural representation*” (Hall 1996b:612, emphasis in original). While the government was promoting a centralized Chinese culture, at the beginning the majority of people still listened to local musics. Wang Ruei-yu (b.1949) recalled that his childhood memory of music before learning the *zheng* included *Hoklo* songs and Taiwanese talking and singing, and Taiwanese opera (personal interview 2017).

A governmental-imposed Chinese culture was constructed as a high culture on Taiwan, replacing the previous diverse local cultures, such as *Hoklo*, *Hakka*, and indigenous cultures, with a shared culture in order to establish a homogenous and anonymous society (Gellner

1983:57). This contrast of high/low culture in the construction of a Chinese nation created a national/local division, in which Chinese signified an elite culture and Taiwanese a grassroots one. During the process of national integration, Chinese culture, such as history, geography, and language (Mandarin), was promoted and taught at schools while local cultures were devalued. The Taiwanese dialect, for example, was banned at schools.

Gellner (1983) points out there are different ways to construct national culture. One is to use pre-existing high culture as a basis for national culture; another approach is to transform a “folk culture” into a high culture. In the case of Nationalist government’s rule in Taiwan in the mid-twentieth century, Confucian ritual music as a pre-existing high culture helped legitimate the ROC as the official representative of China. More important for this study, it was during this process of cultural sinicization in Taiwan, where the *zheng*, alongside other Chinese instruments, was transformed into an instrument of elite national culture.

Zheng and the Modern Chinese Orchestra

From 1945 to the 1970s, the *zheng*, alongside other Chinese instruments, was primarily incorporated into to the modern Chinese orchestra for the mission of promoting national music (Lin and Chang 2011:349). During this period, the Chinese orchestra of Broadcasting Corporation of China (BCC) was the leading modern Chinese orchestra in Taiwan. As the first modern Chinese orchestra in history, it was originally the Chinese orchestra of the Central Broadcasting Station in mainland China, established in the capital Nanjing in 1935 in order to promote national music (Fang 1970:1).⁷ To celebrate the three-year anniversary of recovery of Taiwan from Japanese rule, the Chinese orchestra of the BCC was invited to perform in Taipei

⁷ The BCC moved to the temporary capital Chongqing during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). Later it was reformed and renamed as the Broadcasting Corporation of China (BCC) in 1946.

for three days in 1948. In this program, the *zheng* was presented both as part of the ensemble as well as a solo instrument. Yang Jingming performed the *zheng* solo “Daoyi qu” (Lament of A Laundry Lady), which was transcribed for *zheng* by Liang Tsai-ping from a *qin* piece. This was the first record of *zheng* performance in an official occasion in Taiwan (Chang 2011: 352).

In 1949, the BCC Chinese orchestra followed the Nationalist government to Taiwan, and served as representative of the ROC government to promote Chinese music both in Taiwan and on the international stage. Since 1950, the BCC Chinese Orchestra had hosted short-term training courses every six months for six sessions (Chen 2010). This not only drove the trend of learning Chinese music but also cultivated a population of *zheng* learners.

The instrumentation of the BCC Chinese orchestra was built upon the models of Chinese silk and bamboo ensembles and the Western late-Romantic-Period symphony orchestra (Han and Gray 1979:14-16). The layout of modern Chinese orchestra is similar to the four sections of Western orchestra: string, woodwind, brass, and percussion. However, due to the lack of Chinese brass instruments, this section was abandoned. The plucked-string instruments, including the *zheng*, are incorporated because this type of instruments abounded in China (Han and Gray 1979:22). Regarding the role of *zheng* in modern Chinese orchestra, it is similar to its Western harp counterpart, functioning to add colored ornamentation rather than playing the framework of music as do bowed-string instruments. This implies the *zheng*'s limited presence, both in numbers and voice, in the orchestra. As a complementary approach, *zheng* was also present as a solo and small ensemble instrument in concerts. For instance, in the one-month BCC concert tour in the Philippines in 1951, a *zheng* solo performance was featured in the program, in which Zhou Qi-feng (1922-1978) played a Henan *zheng* solo piece “Yuzhou changwan” (Fisherman’s Song at Dusk).

Zheng and the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement

In order to legitimize the continuity of the ROC, the Nationalist government launched the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement on the centennial celebration of Sun Yat-sen's birthday, November 12, 1966.⁸ The government proclaimed that the goals of this movement were the promotion of the renaissance of Chinese culture based on the Nationalist's political ideology, the Three Principles of the People (*sanmin zhuyi*)—nationalism, civil rights, and livelihood (*minzu, minquan, minsheng*). The Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement Promotion Association was established,⁹ with Chiang Kai-shek as president. As a national organization, it had chapters not only in each county in Taiwan but also overseas. In this sense, the Association's goals were not only promoting traditional Chinese culture but also enhancing the international prestige of the ROC.

This movement promoted Chinese traditions that supported the government's nation building, as its policy reveals:

The art and literature for which the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement advocated needs to take root in the soil of national culture. By assimilating national history and

⁸ The ROC government did not officially end the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement.

⁹ The Association comprised five committees. They were the Citizens' Livelihood Coaching Committee, the Literature and Art Promotion Committee, the Academic Research and Publication Promotion Committee, the Education Reform Promotion Committee, and the Funding Committee.

Following the political and social trends, this association had been renamed several times. It was renamed as the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement Association in 1991, the National Culture Association in 2006, and the General Association of Chinese Culture in 2011. The impact of this association started decreasing when the committee for Cultural Reconstruction was established in 1981. Later, due to the localization wave in Taiwan, this association started to promote Taiwanese local culture since the 2000s (Lin 2011).

culture, the resulting national art and literature will display the spirit and characteristics of the [Chinese] nation.¹⁰

This movement was linked to all-embracing cultural agencies inside Taiwan and overseas. It embodied multiple aspects, including promoting school and family education on the basis of Confucian principles, reissuing and translating classical Chinese literature into different languages, preserving and restoring ancient Chinese culture, and encouraging new art and literary works related to the ideologies underpinning the cultural renaissance.

During this process, certain Chinese traditions were used to give meaning to the Kuomintang's ideology. One of the prominent examples is the revival of Ming-dynasty style Confucian ritual in Taipei in 1968 to help establish the legitimacy of Nationalist government.¹¹ Moreover, as a systematic endeavor to cultivate people's Chinese consciousness (Chun 1994: 57), ideology was transformed into everyday practice. Confucian values, such as filial piety and respect for authority, provided the ethical framework for social life.

Any art and culture that had a national prefix (*guo*), such as national music, national opera, national painting (*guohua*), obtained relatively more resources from the government (Chang 2017:122). At schools, Chinese music clubs and *zheng* clubs were established in succession.¹² Among all of the instruments in the Chinese orchestra, *zheng* had its own club outside of Chinese music club (for Chinese music orchestra) because of its popularity and limited

¹⁰ 「文化復興所倡導的文藝，是要植根於民族文化的土壤中，以吸取民族歷史文化的滋養，而後才可開出民族文藝的花朵，以表現出民族文化的精神和特性。」 In *Chinese Encyclopedia Online*. Accessed October 4, 2017. http://ap6.pccu.edu.tw/encyclopedia_media/main-philosophy.asp?id=230&nowpage=4.

¹¹ The Confucian ritual music and *yayue* were revitalized and preserved in Taiwan and continued to be produced and consumed contemporarily. As a result, when in 2011 cultural institutions in mainland China planned to stage a performance of ancient court music, they sought out Taiwanese professors for help.

¹² Some of the *zheng* clubs were subordinated to Chinese music clubs before and became independent clubs. For example, the Tien-Sheng Zheng Club of National Taichung University of Education (since 1972) was independent from the university's Chinese music club (since 1962); the Huai-zhu Zheng Club of National Taiwan University (since 1987) was independent from the university's Chinese music club (since 1952).

seats in the orchestra. Outside of schools, the China Youth Corps (*Jiuguotuan*)¹³ regularly offered Chinese music lessons and held intensive Chinese music workshops during summer and winter vocations (see Figure 2.1 and 2.2).¹⁴ During this period, learning Chinese music was a social trend.

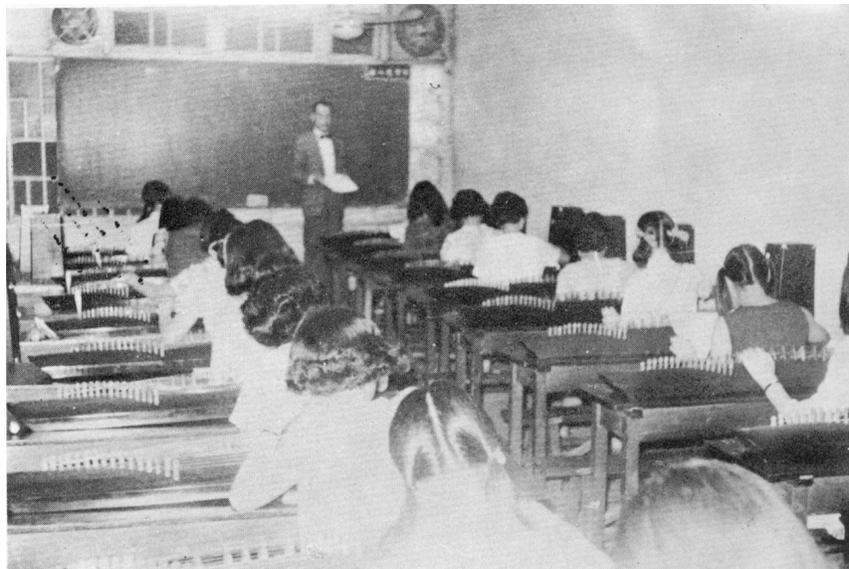


Figure 2.1 Huang Zhong-shi taught *zheng* lesson hosted by the China Youth Corps (Huang 1972:25)

¹³ The China Youth Corps, originally named China Youth Anti-Communist Corps, was a central official political organization, established in 1952 and affiliated to the Ministry of National Defense. Chiang Kai-shek was the first director until 1973. Since 1969, it unchained its affiliation with the Ministry of National Defense, but still remained an official organization. In 1989, it became a corporate corporation providing public education and services. In 2000, it was renamed as the China Youth Corps.

¹⁴ The intensive Chinese music workshop was held at the Pingtung Normal School (today's National Pingtung University) from 1967 to 1973.



Figure 2.2 The intensive Chinese music workshop hosted by the China Youth Corps at the Pingtung Normal School in 1969 (Chang 2017:123, provided by Lin Yue-li)

Influenced by the cultural wave of this movement, the development of *zheng* music in Taiwan from the mid-1960s through the 1970s was traditional-oriented. The particular type of *zheng* music promoted by the ROC government was a continuity of the *zheng* trend during 1920s-1940s in mainland China. At that time, the urban literati drew upon *qin* tradition and played *zheng* as a solo instrument in a literati musical style. Liang Tsai-ping had been one of the core *zheng* performers in mainland China. After he moved to Taiwan, his music was highly promoted. In his compositions for 16-stringed *zheng*, he kept the monophonic feature of traditional *zheng* music and applied the *qin* sonic features of pitch bending to *zheng* (*qin yun zheng sheng*), resulting in an elegant and classic sonic effect.

Released by Four Seas Records in 1969, Liang Tsai-ping's album *Zheng Solo Complete Works* (*Liang Tsai-ping Guzheng Duzouqu Quanji*) was one of the cultural products of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement. This album cover projects an image of Chinese elitism. Wearing a Chinese gown, Liang plays *zheng* with a *qin*-like performing position with

Chinese musical instruments and calligraphy as background hanging on the wall (see Figure 2.3). This album consists of three long-playing records. The music content includes twenty-one pieces of three types of compositions: (1) traditional *zheng* music; (2) Liang's arrangements of traditional Chinese music; and (3) Liang's compositions.



Figure 2.3 Album cover of Liang Tsai-ping's *Zheng Solo Complete Works*

In Taiwan, people who were interested in traditional Chinese culture and literature followed the Confucian ideology in considering music a mandatory discipline. In the traditional Chinese definition, this music specifically meant *qin* music which is associated with royalty and scholars.¹⁵ However, some people in Taiwan learned *zheng* instead due to the *zheng*'s similarities to *qin* in terms of instrumental construction and literati cultural image that was promoted by the ROC government. Learning the *pipa*, *erhu*, and *zheng* during the 1960s, Wang Ruei-yu told me

¹⁵ In Confucian ideology, *siyi* (lit. the four arts)—*qin*, chess, calligraphy, and painting—were the required artistic accomplishments for the Chinese aristocratic literate.

that his parents were most pleased by his learning of *zheng*, probably because of its connotation with the elite culture of *qin* (personal interview 2017).

In 1981, a committee for Cultural Reconstruction was established. Different from the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement which promoted national culture through arts, this cultural reconstruction was intended to be non-political. However, instead of depoliticizing culture, this cultural trend was the Nationalist's attempt to indigenize Nationalist ideology (Chun 1994:65-66). For the field of *zheng*, this political transition of culture was important because it enabled culture to “become *categorized* (as an object of gazing, discourse and practice), *commodified* (for public consumption), and *totalized* (through universal accessibility) in a way which was not previously possible” (Chun 1994:67). It further created a golden age of *zheng* in the 1980s; at least two hundred thousand students registered for *zheng* classes during that decade (Liang 1996:5).

Popularization and Institutionalization of *Zheng* Performance

In this section, I will discuss folk organizations and individuals that contributed to the promotion of *zheng*, the characteristics of each generation, and how the incorporation of Chinese music into the official school system helped to elevate musicians' social status.

Popularization of Zheng Performance

The establishment of the nationwide non-profit organization Chinese Music Association¹⁶ in Taiwan in 1952 was critical for promoting Chinese music in Taiwan because it agglomerated human resources from different Chinese orchestras and music clubs. This organization was

¹⁶ The initial Chinese name of this organization was *Zhonghua Guoyuehui*. It was renamed as *Zhonghuamingguo Guoyuexuehui* in 1982.

initiated by Kao Tzu-ming of the BCC Chinese Orchestra, *zheng* player Ho Ming-chung (1913-2000) and Liang Tsai-ping, who was the president of this association from 1954 to 1979. At the beginning, the main mission of this organization was organizing nationwide music exchange events for Chinese music groups. Later it extended to multifaceted activities, including transmission, research, publications, competitions, examinations, scholarships, and instrument improvement. This organization is still thriving today. In particular, its annual competitions for Chinese instruments attracts Chinese music players from all over Taiwan.

In the 1960s, *zheng* was one of the most popular Chinese instruments in Taiwan. For instance, the Chinese Female Chinese Music Orchestra recruited members and students every six months since 1963. Within a decade, it recruited in total more than four thousand students, of which more than two thousand were studying *zheng* (Liu 1978:1). In the 1966 concert of the You-Shi Chinese Music Club (since 1958), *zheng* ensemble performance was featured alongside the performance of Chinese music orchestra (Chang 2017:119-120) (see Figure 2.4). This shows that the *zheng* was favored by amateur players and could be scaled to a larger performance mode.



Figure 2.4 *Zheng* ensemble performance of the You-Shi Chinese Music Club on April 28, 1966 (Chang 2017: 120, provided by Lin Yue-li)

Several *zheng* musicians played a key role in promoting *zheng* and Chinese music at the beginning stage of developing Chinese music in Taiwan. Huang Zong-shi (1909-1994), a Chaozhou-born musician, established the Chaosheng Chinese Music Club (*Chaosheng Guoyueshe*) in 1951 to promote Chaozhou (*zheng*) music. Liu Yi-chih established Chinese All-Women Chinese Music Orchestra (*Zhongguo Nuzi Guoyuetuan*) in 1963, which was well-known in that era due to its women-only feature. Ho Ming-chung was the core character of the Zhongxing Chinese Music Club (*Zhongxing Guoyueshe*) (since 1950). He established the Chinese Musical Instrument Association (*Zhonghuaminguo Yueqi Xuehui*) in 1973, improving and re-inventing Chinese instruments and promoting Chinese music in Taiwan and the international stage. While most of these clubs promoted Chinese music in general, Liang Tsai-ping's Haitian Qin Club is the only club that focused on the transmission of *qin* and *zheng* (Chang 2002:6).

The first generation of *zheng* players in Taiwan shared three features, some of which were rarely found in the following generations. First, these musicians grew up and completed their education in mainland China. For example, Zhou Qi-feng, graduate of Nanjing University of the Arts and *zheng* player for the BCC Chinese Orchestra, was one of the few people who possessed a music degree at that time. Liang Tsai-ping was a graduate of Shanghai Jiao Tong University and studied *zheng* and *qin* outside of school. Second, many of the first generation did not pursue music as a career at the beginning when they relocated to Taiwan. Liang Tsai-ping worked as a civil servant in Ministry of Transportation and Communication of the ROC (while many local people could not have a job in the government). This indicates that there were very few full-time musicians at the early stage of the Chinese music development in Taiwan. Third, most players of this generation played and taught multiple instruments rather than specializing in

a single instrument. For instance, Zhou Qi-feng played *zheng*, *erhu*, and *pipa*; Huang Zong-shi played *zheng*, *dizi*, and *sanxian*.

Institutionalization of Zheng Performance

In traditional Chinese society, professional musicians possessed a low social status because Confucian ideology placed the literati at the top of the social ranking and other persons in lower ranks (Thrasher 1981; Lau 2008). However, in the wave of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement, Chinese music officially became a major in the higher education system. This incorporation of Chinese music into the official education system connected *zheng* with intellectual practice, resulting in the professionalization of *zheng* performance and the elevation of social status of *zheng* musicians to a new level.

When juxtaposing Chinese and Western music, the Nationalist government and the general public in Taiwan, generally speaking, valued Western music more than Chinese music. This is a tendency that resulted from the ideas of the May Fourth Movement in the early twentieth century. At that time, Chinese music was considered unscientific while Western music was seen as scientific and modern. However, the official promotion and institutionalization of Chinese music helped reconcile the gap. Chang Li-chiung, *zheng* professor of the NTUA, told me of her initial days learning *zheng* in 1978 when she was in the music-major program at the affiliated middle school of Stella Matutina Girls' High School, a local well-known Catholic high school.¹⁷ At that time, the school had two music sections: one for (Western) music and the other for Chinese music. She entered the school by passing the entrance examination for piano, so she

¹⁷ Fourteen years later, I entered the same high school in 1992. At that time, the Chinese music section was replaced by a choir section. There were still students who studied Chinese instruments, but the ratio was very low, around five students out of one hundred.

was assigned to the (Western) music section. According to the school policy, she needed to choose a music minor. Although Western flute was recommended to her, she eventually chose *zheng* as a minor (personal interview 2017).¹⁸ She was able to do so because Chinese music was institutionalized and juxtaposed with Western music in the school system as an option for her.

In Taiwan, Western music has been the dominant musical culture in the official school system since the 1940s. Chinese music, for its part, first appeared as a school major in the higher education system at the Chinese Culture College (today's Chinese Culture University, CCU) in 1969,¹⁹ and later at the National Taiwan Art School (*Guoli Taiwan Yishu Zhuanke Xuexiao*, today's NTUA) in 1971.²⁰ Before that, Western music was already a major in both schools, as it was in 1963 at CCU and in 1957 at NTUA. At the beginning of Chinese music in the school system, it was featured together with Western music in one department. During the re-formation of the education system, the name "Music Department" was assigned for Western music, while "Chinese Music Department" specified the music genre. This showed that Western music continued being the dominant one in the education system. At the universities without Chinese

¹⁸ Chang's choice of *zheng* as a music minor resulted from the interplay between the institutionalization of Chinese music in the school system, the lasting impact of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement (including the filial piety as a Confucian tradition), and the family's economic realities. She described the process of choosing the minor, "after school started, the students needed to pick another instrument as a minor. The teacher gave a list of advice. I remembered the well-known flute player Niu Hsiao-hua coming to our class and looking at the shape of students' mouths. She said that I was suitable for playing flute and recommended that I learn it. I was a child at that time. I did not know very much about musical instruments, and did not have any decisive idea in my mind. Now came the problem. It already took a lot of effort and money to learn piano, and now I needed to buy another instrument. It was not easy for a common family. At that time, my mother recalled that she used to learn the *zheng* in a folk club. She said to me, 'we have a *zheng* in our house. Why don't you learn *zheng*? It is a nice instrument.' This was how I started learning the *zheng*" (personal interview 2017).

¹⁹ The Chinese Culture College established the Dance and Music Department in 1963, and added the Chinese music program in 1969. The Chinese Music Program re-formed as the Chinese Music Department in 1996 (Chang 2011:374).

²⁰ The National Taiwan Art School established the Music Department in 1957, and included Chinese music classes in 1969. The Chinese Music Department established in 1971 (Chang 2011:375). The school was re-formed as college in 1994 and upgraded as today's National Taiwan University of Arts in 2001.

Music Departments, such as the National Taiwan Normal University, the Music Departments were for Western music and only had single-digit numbers of Chinese music majors.

Even in the Chinese music department, Western musical culture still took prominence because people believed that learning Western music would facilitate the performance of Chinese music. The Western musical theory and ear training were built into the curriculum as mandatory classes to provide students a solid music foundation. Some schools even mandated that the students take Western music (instruments) as a minor. For instance, when I studied in the Chinese Music Department at the NTUA during the late 1990s, the department required the students to have piano as a minor for two years.²¹ As for *zheng* performance, the most prominent influence of Western music is its facilitation of performing techniques. Speaking from my own experience, the training of systematic pedagogy of piano performance indeed helped me learn *zheng* in terms of the agility and independence of fingers and the ability to read music (grand staff notation) used in modern *zheng* music. Although Chinese music occupies a smaller domain in the education system, the official recognition and its juxtaposition with Western music at schools certainly helped elevate its status.

Soon after the first *zheng* generation, including Liang Tsai-ping and Zhou Qi-feng, was invited to teach at schools, the second *zheng* generation has followed in their footsteps since the late 1970s. There are three shared features of the second generation. First, they contained multi-tasked music ability that was something they had in common with the first generation. Besides playing multiple instruments, they were also involved in conducting, composition, research, and administration. (This musical feature is seen less in the next generation due to the music specialization in the school system.) Second, the second generation consisted of well-educated

²¹ The regulation nowadays is to have piano as a minor for one year, and an open choice of minor for the second year (personal interview 2017).

people in a traditional Chinese sense, pursuing a non-music degree at school and learning Chinese music alongside. For example, Wang Ruei-yu graduated from the Philosophy Department at Chinese Culture University while Cheng Te-yuan received his master's degree in hydraulic and ocean engineering at the National Chen Kung University. Later, some of the second generation pursued a music degree after they started their music career. For example, Lin Yue-li received her master's degree of music education at the Hyogo University of Teacher Education in Japan and Cheng Te-yuan studied with Mantle Hood for his PhD in ethnomusicology at the University of Maryland. The third feature that set this generation apart from the previous generation is their affection for Taiwan through family bonds and life experiences. This was reflected in their Taiwan-related compositions, such as Cheng Te-yuan's "Danjiang muse" (Danjiang at Dusk) (1972), Huang Hao-yin's "Chunfeng ganlin bian baodao" (Spring Wind and Good Rain over the Precious Island) (1979), and Wei De-dong's "Yuetao xiangman yuetaoshan" (Fragrance of Yuetao Full of Yuetao Mountain) (1982). This was the seed of Taiwanese *zheng* music that emerged after the 2000s.

Outside of the official school system, the institutionalization of *zheng* practice has been realized with *zheng* examinations for amateurs since 2000. These examinations empower professional musicians because it permits them to serve as judges and to bestow the musical talent upon others. Inspired by Western music examinations, standard repertoires are established by each institution. Objective criteria, including pitch, rhythm, timbre, and manner, are used to assess *zheng* players' musical capacities. With the professional musicians as the authority of the examinations, the examinees are assessed with a hierarchical order with examination levels. There are three institutions offering *zheng* examinations with different numbers of levels: the Chinese Cultural University (nine levels), the Chinese Music Association (ten levels), and the

Ensemble Orientalia of Taipei (eleven levels). Each level contains both traditional and modern repertoire. Among them, the CCU one is an extension of the system of the Central Conservatory of Music in China. The other two contain more Taiwan-related repertoire, especially the examination organized by the Ensemble Orientalia of Taipei.

From the school system to the extra-school examination for amateurs, music is used as a means of social control that reinforces the social order. More importantly, the establishments and operations of these institutions and systems transformed the low social status of the professional musician into a person of high status in modern society, encouraging the new generation to pursue *zheng* performance as a professional career.

The Locals' First Encounters with *Zheng*

Whereas the nationalization of Chinese culture was initiated by the Nationalist government, it could not be accomplished without the people as participants. The object of Chinese music promotion did not separate *benshengren* (Chinese immigrants who arrived Taiwan before 1945) from *waishengren* (Chinese immigrants who arrived Taiwan after 1945). On the contrary, it brought the two groups together. While the first *zheng* generation was *waishengren*, the second *zheng* generation was a mixed group of *waishengren* and *benshengren*. This section records two accounts of the locals' (*benshengren*) first encounters of *zheng* in the 1960s. Both people had affection for Chinese culture. However, one did not know what the *zheng* was before his first encounter with the instrument and the other never intended to learn *zheng* in the first place. These cases illustrate *zheng* performance as a transplanted art at the early stage of development in Taiwan.

Because the circulation of information in the 1960s was not as advanced as today, the attachment of the *zheng* to the Chinese orchestra became advantageous for *zheng* promotion and led to its popularity. Although Cheng Te-yuan (b.1950) had learned *dizi* and *yangqin* before attending college, he did not know of the *zheng* before he joined the Chinese music club at university. He described his first experience in the club:

In the first lesson, the upperclassmen demonstrated every instrument of the Chinese orchestra and asked the students who liked the instrument to gather around the instrument he/she choose. At that time, I saw someone play a long instrument which I hadn't seen before. I liked its beautiful sound. After I walked by,...I learned the name of this instrument was *zheng*. Before that, I completely did not know what it was.²²

The *zheng* attracted people not only by its sound but also by its cultural image. Wang Ruei-yu initially aspired to learn *pipa* and *qin* because these two musical genres contained more traditional Chinese features than did other instruments. He started learning *pipa* with Zhou Qi-feng in the Chinese music club of Cheng Kung High School in 1964. When Wang was in his second year of high school, he consulted the club teacher Li Zhao-xing about learning the *qin*. Li's response set Wang's music path in a different direction to learn *zheng*. Wang recalled,

Li was surprised about me asking about the *qin* because people rarely wanted to learn *qin* at that time. Because of the underdeveloped information circulation, Li said there was no one to teach *qin* and suggested I learn the *zheng* due to the similarities of the construction of these two instruments. At that time, Li's full-time job was accountant and his accountant office, which was near the Taipei Main Station, was also the classroom for the

²² Hong Kong Zheng Art. "Zhengren Zhuanfang—Cheng Te-yuan Fangdanlu 箏人專訪—鄭德淵訪談錄." *Hkzhengart.com*. Accessed September 10, 2017. <http://www.hkzhengart.com/stories/item/story2015111501>.

zheng group class of the You-Shi Chinese Music Club. Therefore, I started learning *zheng* there. (personal interview 2017)

While the *qin* is not incorporated in the instrumentation of Chinese orchestra, the spread of the *zheng*, once again, gained an advantage through its affiliation with the Chinese orchestra.

Commodification of *Zheng*

The *zheng* as an elite instrument was not only shown in the cultural domain but also embodied in its high cost. In this section, I will discuss the process of *zheng* production from rarity to prosperity and its social backdrop from the mid-1940s to the 1980s.

Rarity of Zheng

During the first decade of the Nationalist government's ruling of Taiwan, there were few people learning *zheng* music due to the war recovery and the poor economic conditions. At that time, Chinese instruments were rare. There were only four instrument manufacturers, and the quality of instruments was not good. Because of the lack of instruments, the first *zheng* generation, including Liang Tsai-ping and Huang Zong-shi, offered their instruments as models for the manufacturers to duplicate (Chang 2011:375-377). There was no standardized *zheng* construction at this initial stage because *zheng* were brought by the first generation from different regions of mainland China. The cost of a *zheng* at that time was not affordable for common people. One *zheng* cost NTD 350 (app. USD 12) in 1959, which was nearly the monthly salary of a civil servant (Chang 2011:376).

In the 1950s and the 1960s, the instrument was still rare and the cost of lessons was expensive. At that time, individual *zheng* lessons were not common and students needed to bring

their own instruments for class. In the 1960s, a private *zheng* lesson cost NTD. 300 (app. USD 10), whereas the average monthly salary of a civil servant was ca. NTD. 500 (app. USD 16) (Lin 2003:10-11). Most people took group lessons and shared instruments with others in the Chinese music club. The lack of instrument was a common issue. One Chinese music club usually had one or two *zheng*(s) and the students practiced in turn (Lin 2003:10-11). When Cheng Te-yuan learned *zheng* in the Chinese music club at the National Cheng Kung University in 1968, the club had two types of *zheng*. One was a repurposed Japanese *koto*, which was originally thirteen strings and was modified to sixteen strings. The other type was the *Zhonghua* brand *zheng* which had sixteen steel strings. There were four *zheng* shared among forty students. The club was open for only two hours, so each person could only play four or five minutes during the club practice hour.²³

Prosperity in the Production of Zheng

Following the trend of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement, local instrument manufacturers started mass production of *zheng* in the 1960s. It was during this time that the Xian-Jin Craft Shop, originally a shop for making Japanese wooden sandals (*geta*), was transformed into the Xian-Jin Chinese Music Store, becoming one of the largest Chinese music stores in Taiwan until today.

With the domain of Chinese music keeping pace in the 1970s, the second *zheng* generation rose. More *zheng* teachers established their owned *zheng* studios and ensembles. Each teacher had their own pedagogies and teaching materials.²⁴ Cheng Te-yuan described this

²³ Hong Kong Zheng Art. “Zhengren Zhuanfang—Cheng Te-yuan Fangdanlu 箏人專訪 — 鄭德淵訪談錄.” *Hkzhengart.com*. Accessed September 10, 2017. <http://www.hkzhengart.com/stories/item/story2015111501>.

²⁴ Liang 1962; Liu 1967/1978; Li 1971; Huang 1972; Lin and Pan 1973; Xia 1973; Huang 1975/1976; Wang and Chen 1975; Wei and Wei 1977; Cheng 1980; Lin and Huang 1980.

flourishing scene as *baijiazhengming*, meaning contentions between a hundred schools (Cheng 1990:347, emphasis in original).

During the 1980s, the transmission of *zheng* was highly commodified. The decor and atmosphere of music studios were well-designed and elegant. In order to attract students, many music studios advertised *zheng* lessons for two hundred dollars (NTD) per month or offered free instruments or lessons when signing up. Although the economic situation in Taiwan was improving at that time, two hundred dollars was still a significant expense for an average family. At that time, the demand for teachers was much higher than for students. Therefore, some studios hired inexperienced teachers, some who had only been learning *zheng* for three months, to teach the lowest-level beginners. After a few months, the studio would assign a better teacher to the students and charge a higher tuition fee (personal interview of Chen Gui-zhen 2017).

As economic conditions gradually improved in Taiwan during the second half of the twentieth century, commodification enabled the *zheng* to become an affordable luxury, and profit-making sustained the continuity of the *zheng* community. As a result, the middle class became the majority of *zheng* students as well as the main contributor in promoting Chinese culture.

Becoming Chinese Elite

Mainstream *zheng* music in Taiwan in the second half of twentieth century was a transplanted art that continued the early-twentieth-century urban-literati *zheng* trend from mainland China. Within a few decades, the *zheng* had come to be perceived as a Chinese elite instrument and gradually gained popularity in Taiwan. The association between *zheng* and Chinese elite culture was constructed both politically and culturally. First, Chineseness that

represented a high culture during 1945 to 1987 was built upon the distinction of Chinese/national versus Taiwanese/local. In this contrast, the *zheng* music played by *waishengren* was selected to represent a Chinese high culture. Second, the *zheng* music brought by *waishengren* drew from *qin* tradition. This associated the cultural image of *zheng* with the literati class. The *zheng* thus became an instrument by which the local people could become Chinese elite, spurring them to participate in the building of a Chinese nation.

The *zheng* as a Chinese elite instrument in this period (1945-1987) projects two dimensions of meaning: nation and class. For the government and musicians, these two meanings are mutual reinforcement foregrounded in different social contexts, resulting in the *zheng* becoming a powerful cultural symbol of building a Chinese nation. The national significance is important for the Nationalist government because the *zheng*'s Chinese symbol facilitates its legitimacy of representing China. The elite implication is valuable for *zheng* musicians because it differentiates them from other Chinese groups in Taiwan. What is new of this elite connotation is its (trans-)formation of social position that can be attained through individual efforts, in contrast to a hereditary social status as a destiny in traditional Chinese society. When the *zheng* entered the education system as a school major, the elite signification of Chinese music began a new age. While amateurs continued the practice of a Confucian world-view in which pursuing music and art is a reserved virtue for the literati, the professional musicians, who were despised in traditional Chinese society, elevated their social status by institutionalizing *zheng* performance.

I deem that the notion and practice of using *zheng* as a means to become elite corresponds to the cultural logic of using Confucianism as an instrument to become Chinese. Although the conception of the Chinese nation signifies an exclusive ethnic community, the historical building of the Chinese nation is based on the values of Han-Chinese elite culture. Membership is defined

by the culturalism of Confucianism that defies ethnic boundaries. Through a process of education and cultivation, people need not be Han in order to be Chinese (Duara 1996). In a similar way, the *zheng* practitioners did not need to be elite in order to be qualified to participate in this music community. What they needed was access, and it was provided by the Nationalist government through its intention to naturalize Chinese culture in Taiwan. As a result, low-cost or even free group *zheng* lessons and workshops (training seminars) were offered by the China Youth Corps. Several students that received this benefit later went on to become professional *zheng* players, such as Hsu Huei-san, current *zheng* player in the National Chinese Orchestra Taiwan. The low cost not only helped popularize *zheng* performance; more importantly, it represented an equal access to Chinese elite culture. Both the *zheng* and Confucianism within the formation of imagined communities are based on, and bounded by, nation as a categorization of a group of people. These two cases illustrate that the categorization is not essential but artificially constructed.

Silenced Local *Zheng* Music Practice

In the mid-twentieth century, the group and class divisions caused the different Chinese traditions in Taiwan to take distinct routes. The *zheng* music brought to Taiwan by the post-1945 Chinese immigrants was promoted by the Nationalist government. On the contrary, the local (*benshengren*) *zheng* music, which had been played in Taiwan before 1945, was underrepresented. In this section, I will discuss *zheng* practice in pre-1945-existing local music genre *xiyue* (lit. refined music) and its implication of social class.

Xiyue was originally a *wenren*²⁵ musical tradition that came to Taiwan before the Japanese colonial period. This music genre was important for *wenren* in traditional Chinese society because music was essential at *wenren* social gatherings. After the Japanese arrived, *xiyue* started to decline. This was not because of the oppression of Japanese government but people's choices. In traditional Chinese society, the aspiration of *wenren* was to seek scholarly honor through the imperial examinations (*keju zhidu*) and to serve the state bureaucracy. Because there was no Chinese examination system in Taiwan under the Japanese rule, some of the *wenren* returned to mainland China in order to continue their aspiration, while some stayed and worked in commerce. Because of social mobility, *xiyue* spread to the gentry merchant group and the common people (personal interview of Wang Ruei-yu 2017). As a result, the local people still viewed *xiyue* as *wenren* music, but the people who practiced *xiyue* at that time might not have been *wenren*.

My *zheng* teacher Wang Ruei-yu first encountered *xiyue* when he participated in the Confucian ritual as a part of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in 1968 (see Figure 2.5). Before his performance of the Liu-Yi Dance, which is the music and dance performed for the public in the main hall, he saw a small group of people playing *xiyue* in the ceremony held in the inner chamber. This ceremony was attended by Confucius' pupils. Its notion is similar to *jiqiji* (lit. funeral service attended by family members), in contrast to the formal one as *gongji* (lit. public memorial ceremony). At that time, Wang Song-lai (1910-2000) was the chief player, and he could play all of the instruments. Since then, Wang Ruei-yu studied for over ten years with Wang Song-lai. The learning of *xiyue* is not like today's time-structured music lessons. The people would stay for few hours to play music, to chat, and to drink tea and eat. The performance

²⁵ *Wenren* means well-educated literati. In the traditional Confucian culture, they not only contain literary mastery but also artistic cultivation.

of *xiyue* is not for profit-making. The main performance occasion was the Confucius ritual once a year. Other than that, the people played in wedding and funeral services only for acquaintances (personal interview 2017).



Figure 2.5 Wang Ruei-yu (left 4) participating in the Confucian ritual in 1968 (provided by Wang Ruei-yu and Chang Ken)

Xiyue is an ensemble music containing the instruments *zheng*, *erhu*, *pipa*, *sanxian*, *guan*, *dizi*, *sheng*, *xiao*, and percussion. The ensemble does not contain the *qin* because its volume was too soft. The *zheng* was the leading instrument of the ensemble. The size of the *zheng* used in *xiyue* was around 80 centimeters (app. 31 inches), much smaller than today's standard one.

There are two positions to play *zheng* in *xiyue*: sitting and standing position. The music was mostly composed in heptatonic scale. When playing in a sitting position, *zheng* performers played music in heptatonic scale. If standing, they simplified the music into pentatonic scale and only played the framework of the tunes because they would hold the *zheng* with the left hand and could not bend the strings for certain notes and ornaments. The standing position was used in the

parade. As Wang Ruei-yu recalled, Wang Song-lai was the first person in the parade and held the *zheng* because he was the chief of the group. The parade was held one month before the formal Confucian ritual. It consists of two functions. The first one was to give advance notice for the formal ritual, and the second one was to recycle the *li-tsua* (lit. word paper) and burn it in the ritual. *Li-tsua* was the paper that had written words on it. In traditional society, Chinese people would preserve the used written paper and separate it from other trash because of their respect for words affiliated with education (personal interview of Wang Ruei-yu 2017).²⁶

Although the *zheng* was played in *xiyue*, this music genre was rarely transmitted in the *zheng* field before the 1990s. When I studied *zheng* with Wang Ruei-yu in the late 1990s at the NTUA, I mainly learned the *zheng* solo music imported into Taiwan after 1945. It was not until I organized a Taiwan-related concert in 2007 that I started learning of Wang Song-lai and his music. Although Wang Ruei-yu had learned *zheng* music from Liang Tsai-ping and Wang Song-lai, it was not until the social trend after the 2000s recognizing the value of the local that enabled him to transmit the local genre to a larger group of recipients. This delayed transmission and learning gap between generations displays the problem of *zheng* performance as a transplanted art that developed under the Nationalist government's ideology.

In addition, the backgrounds of these musicians illustrate the conflation of Chineseness and class. Both Liang Tsai-ping and Wang Song-lai were born in 1910 and passed away in 2000. As a *waishengren*, Liang was born in Gaoyang County in Hebei Province. His father was a law professor and used to be county magistrate, and his mother was from a distinguished local family. He started learning *zheng* and other Chinese instruments when he was in middle school,

²⁶ The *xiyue* tradition is vanishing today. The Ci-Yun Club was the last group that conducted this tradition in Taiwan. In 2014, they declared that this was their last parade due to the lack of members (personal interview of Wang Ruei-yu 2017).

and published his first *zheng* book in 1938. He studied at the Yale University before he moved to Taiwan in 1949. Later he promoted *zheng* and Chinese music in Taiwan and internationally, and started teaching *zheng* in the universities in the 1970s. On the other end of the economic spectrum, born to a poor family in Taipei and never having left Taiwan, *benshengren* Wang Song-lai was an illiterate civilian. He started learning music, including *xiyue*, in the music club of the Long-Shan Temple from an early age. In 1950, he became the music chief of the Confucian temple. It was not until 1995 that he was invited to teach the local music genre *beiguan* at the Taipei National University of the Arts.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I addressed the *zheng's* national symbolism complicated by class, resulting in the selective process of *zheng* promotion in Taiwan from 1945 to 1987. I also showed three key factors that catalyzed the construction of *zheng* as Chinese elite culture in Taiwan: the nationalization of Chinese culture enhancing *zheng* transmission, the institutionalization enabling the rise of professional musicians; and the commodification helping to enlarge the *zheng* community. In the next chapter, I will discuss how Taiwanese musicians approached the politicization of music in relation to the contesting nationalisms of the ROC and PRC during the same period of time.

Chapter Three: Two Chinese Nations

This chapter discusses the interplay between *zheng* music and politics from 1949 to 1987 in mainland China and Taiwan. First, I provide a detailed analysis of the divergent developments of *zheng* music under two distinct regimes of the PRC and the ROC. In particular, I will illustrate the impacts of the political ideologies on *zheng* music during the Cultural Revolution and the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement. Through examining the presentation of Cultural Revolution *zheng* music in Taiwan, I argue that the *zheng* is an instrument of negotiating identity politics, illustrating the creation a cultural identity—distinct from a political identity—that transcends the borders of nations and ideologies.

Cultural Ideology and *Zheng* Music Making in mainland China

In mainland China, the idea that art and literature should “serve the people” was clearly articulated in the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art in 1942 (Huang 2012). This ideology not only set basic guidelines for cultural values and policies but also shaped the development of music in mainland China, profoundly influencing musicians’ conceptualization of music. The title and program notes for the *zheng* solo “Zhan taifeng” (Fighting the Typhoon), composed in 1965 by Wang Changyuan, for instance, describes the proletariat dockworkers’ perseverant spirit as they stand up to natural disasters and protect national assets.

From 1953 to 1964, ten music conservatories and art schools were established nationwide. Due to the Communist cultural ideology to promote folk arts, many folk *zheng* musicians were designated to work as professionals in schools and in governmental-sponsored troupes. The institutionalized school system was a critical component of developing modern *zheng* music. Not only did it allow the musicians to make a full-time commitment to *zheng*

performance and research, it gave them the prestige of teaching in the institutions of higher education. In addition, while there were not many people playing *zheng* in the 1950s and 1960s, the centralized system had the power to allot human resources and assign people to learn *zheng*. In the late-1950s; several piano students in the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, such as Xiang Sihua, Fan Shange, and Zhang Yen, transferred to *zheng* as a response to the cultural policy of developing national Chinese music.

Creation of Modern Zheng Music

The development of *zheng* music in the mid-twentieth century was a process of modernization. The core value of its practical approaches was best-described as “using the past to serve the present, making the foreign serve China,”²⁷ as seen in the letter *To Lu Dingyi* written by Mao Zedong in 1964 (Mao 1983:598). The collective efforts of *zheng* players in mainland China brought revolutionary changes to *zheng* music, including modernizing *zheng* music, reviving *zheng* tradition, advancing playing techniques, and improving instrumental construction. In the following, I will discuss these musical inventions in order.

Many works of Chinese literature referred to Zhao Yuzhai’s work “Qing fengnian” (Celebration of a Bumper Year) (1955) as a milestone of modern *zheng* music (Sun 2015:81). Zhao was from Shandong, where the *zheng* tradition was derived from local ensemble music (*lao baban*) and narrative singing music (*qinshu*). The traditional Shandong *zheng* style contains a monophonic texture with bright sonic effects. It features playing techniques such as tremolo played by the right thumb, large-amplitude vibrato, and accents at the beginning of

²⁷ 「古为今用，洋为中用。」

the *fuyin* technique.²⁸ Beginning as a folk musician in Shandong, Zhao was designated to teach at the Northeast Music Academy (Today's Shenyang Conservatory of Music) in 1953. At that time, he started learning piano with his colleague and applied Shandong *zheng* playing techniques to his compositions. Zhao's innovative ways of blending traditional and new materials brought excitement to the musical atmosphere. In the traditional aspect, "Qing fengnian" uses the local tune "Xiaoxi Liushui" (Small Stream and Flowing Water) as the main theme and applies traditional Shandong *zheng* school playing techniques to the variations. What distinguishes this piece from other traditional *zheng* repertoires is its intensive polyphonic sound effects resulting from using both hands to play chords (see Figure 3.1). While playing *zheng* with two hands was not new for *zheng* music, as it is mentioned in Chinese poems from the Tang and Song dynasties (Liu 1978), Zhao's music challenged the convention of using right-hand plucking and left-hand bending strings in traditional *zheng* music.

²⁸ The *fuyin*, or *liushui* (lit. flowing water) *fuyin*, indicates the *zheng* technique that utilizes the thumb or the index finger to pluck multiple strings continuously.

Ad Lib.

The musical score is written for piano and consists of five systems. The first system is marked *pp* and the second *p*. The music is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a complex polyphonic texture with multiple voices in both hands, including chords, arpeggios, and melodic lines. The piece concludes with a fermata in the right hand and a final melodic flourish in the left hand.

Figure 3.1 The polyphonic section of “Qing fengnian” (mm.1-5)

As a *zheng* school bridging the traditional and the modern, the modernization of the Zhejiang *zheng* school was initiated by Wang Xunzhi at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music during the second half of 1950s and the 1960s. Assisted by his students, he conducted research on local music, including narrative singing music (*tanhuang*) and silk and bamboo music (*sizhu*), and adapted several tunes as *zheng* solos. His arrangements not only referred to the traditional local *zheng* music but also blended playing techniques from *pipa*, *sanxian*, *yangqin*, and Western instruments. For instance, inspired by the *pipa* technique *lunzhi*,²⁹ his new approach of the technique *yaozhi*, playing the same string continuously with thumb, enabled the *zheng* to play long note values without the decay created from a single plucking motion. Moreover, he enhanced the application of left hand, enriching *zheng*'s musical expressiveness as in “Jiangjun ling” (General Command) (see Figure 3.2). As a result, this new style of Zhejiang *zheng* music creates a novel sonic effect and contrasts of dynamic, timbre, and texture. The promotion of Zhejiang school *zheng* music began in the 1960s and attained nation-wide popularity by the 1970s. Its impact was heightened by Wang's first generation of students, including Sun Wenyan (b.1940), Xiang Sihua (b.1940), Fan Shange (b.1942), and Zhang Yen (1945-1996), and Wang Changyuan (b.1946), who later became influential *zheng* masters. The modernization of Zhejiang *zheng* music and playing techniques had a lasting impact on the subsequent compositions, including the *zheng* music composed in Taiwan.

²⁹ Similar to the guitar's tremolo technique, the *pipa*'s *lunzhi* technique rapidly plucks one or multiple strings with five fingers alternatively in order to sustain note values.

Vigorously ♩ = 92

Figure 3.2 The section of right-hand *yaozhi* with left-hand accompaniment in “Jiangjun ling” (mm. 1-15)

Alongside the modernization of the existing traditional *zheng* schools, the revival of the Shaanxi *zheng* school was conducted at the Xi’an Conservatory of Music. This *zheng* school is also known as *qin zheng*, as its historical name in the Qin region in the earliest *zheng*-related Chinese literature *Shiji*. However, when the Xi’an Conservatory of Music was established in 1956, the practice of *zheng* was barely found in this area. Therefore, its *erhu* student Zhou Yanjia, who had never seen a *zheng* before entering the conservatory, was sent to the Northeast Music Academy to study *zheng* with Cao Zheng (1920-1998) in 1956, and Shandong *zheng* master Gao Zicheng was designated to teach at the Xi’an Conservatory of Music in 1957 (Sun

2015:96-97). The revival of Shaanxi *zheng* school was initiated by Zhou Yanjia when he started teaching *zheng* in the Xi'an Conservatory of Music in 1959. Zhou deemed that the revival of *qinzheng* was feasible by using *zheng* to play Shaanxi opera genres, such as *qinqiang*, *mihu*, *wanwanqiang*, and *daoqing*. He thus started with going to opera music academy to learn it. The opera instrumental musicians played one phrase on the *banhu*, two-stringed Chinese fiddle, and he played it on the *zheng*. Since then the *zheng* started speaking Shaanxi dialect (personal interview of Zhou Zhan 2015).

Coined by Cao Zheng, the slogan *qinzheng guiqin* (lit. returning *qinzheng* to the Qin area) was elaborated and practiced by his student Zhou Yanjia in his *zheng* anthology of Shaanxi narrative music *mihu* (1960). Following in Zhou's steps, his student Qu Yun conducted research on Xi'an drum music and adapted the tunes to the *zheng*. Moreover, this revival involved not just adapting folk music on the *zheng* but also composing new works based on local music. These representative works include Zhou's "Qin sang qu" (Song of Mulberry Field of Qin) (1979) based on opera music *wanwanqiang* and Qu's "Xiangshan shegu" (Drum Echoes on Incense Mountain) (1980) utilizing the musical materials from Xi'an drum music. After the 1980s, more professional composers from the Xi'an Conservatory of Music, including composer-professor Rao Yuyan and Zhou Yuguo, wrote *zheng* compositions with local musical materials, contributing to new *qinzheng* repertoire.

Speedy Fingering Sequence Technique (*kuaisu zhixu jifa*), an unconventional *zheng* playing method, was invented in the 1970s by Zhao Manqin. As a professional *zheng* performer in the orchestra, Zhao was not satisfied that the *zheng* was only played as a decorative instrument in the orchestra due to its constructional mechanism that prevented it from playing transposition

freely.³⁰ At that time, the musicians only used three fingers (thumb, index, and middle fingers) to play *zheng*. The traditional fingering principle was built upon the symmetrical playing pattern of plucking inward (by index and middle fingers) and outward (by thumb) in turn. Based on the theories of anatomy and mechanics, Zhao invented a new playing method that broke through the limit of symmetrical playing pattern in traditional *zheng* music. He utilized four fingers (adding the ring finger) independently and created the cycling sequences of fingering in conjunction with different positions on *zheng* (Zhao 2001). This enrichment of fingering combinations not only increases the playing speed but also allows the musicians to play non-pentatonic melodies more freely and to transpose faster. Zhao's playing method gradually gained popularity starting in the 1990s. Due to its virtuosity, this type of composition is a mandatory part of the high-level repertoire for today's *zheng* players. One of Zhao's representative compositions is “Jinggangshanshang Taiyanghong” (Red Sun Over Jinggang Mountain) (see Figure 3.3).

³⁰ As Zhao Manqin described, “during the Cultural Revolution period, a lot of instrumental music adapted the tunes of model operas (*Yangbanxi*). The *zheng* was not able to do so because of the frequent transposition. In addition, because the composers did not understand the features of the *zheng*, it was not used frequently in the orchestra.” 「文革期間，各種樂器都在移植樣板戲，古箏用不上，因為配器者需要經常轉調，需要快速技法，當時古箏做不到。而且作曲家不了解箏的特點，箏在樂隊中很少用到。」 (Wang 2012:141) This musical phenomenon still exists in today's Chinese orchestra. When I interviewed Zhou Zhan, he told me that he used three *zheng* for orchestral piece “Honglou meng” (Dream of the Red Chamber). However, it needs a total of five *zheng* in order to present it completely: One is for D or basic key, one for a sharp key, one for a flat key, and the other two for accidental notes (personal interview 2015).



Figure 3.3 The application of Speedy Fingering Sequence Technique in “Jinggangshanshang Taiyanghong” (mm.1-9)

The development of modern *zheng* music could not be completed without the innovation of the instrument. Several *zheng* musicians, including Zhao Yuzhai and Zhou Yanjia, were committed to the improvement of *zheng* since the 1950s. Led by Wang Xunzhi and *zheng* manufacturer Xu Zhengao, today’s standardized 21-stringed *zheng* was invented in the Shanghai No.1 National Musical Instruments Factory in 1958 and finalized in the early 1960s. In order to improve the *zheng*’s sonic effects and to increase its volume, the string material was changed from steel to a steel-nylon combination, the number of strings was increased from sixteen to twenty one, the instrument’s body was enlarged, and the original straight line design at the end of *zheng* was changed to an S shape.

Unified Notation and Technical Symbols

In traditional practice, *zheng* music was notated in *gongchepu* (see Figure 3.4) and *ersipu*, which is only for Chaozhou *zheng* music (see Figure 3.5). In these notation systems, the tunes

are notated in Chinese characters and the texts are written from right to left and from top to bottom. These systems only notated the melodic frameworks of tunes and do not provide the detailed instructions of fingering and playing techniques. They were used as supplements during transmission, in which the players learned *zheng* as an oral tradition from listening to and observing others' performances. When playing, the performers' musical individualities, including the abilities of improvisation and applying playing techniques, were highly valued. Therefore, the traditional practice of *zheng* music neither imposed a unified playing technique nor notated the technical symbols very often (Chang 2001:41).

During the mid-twentieth century, a great amount of *zheng* music was notated in cipher notation (see Figure 3.6).³¹ Due to the need for systematic teaching materials and technical symbols in music conservatories across China, the Ministry of Culture hosted the first nationwide Zheng Teaching Material Symposium in Xi'an in 1961. This event consisted of thirteen experts from nine music conservatories and art colleges in mainland China. As a result, 240 pieces as teaching materials were chosen, published, and promoted nationwide (Sun 2015:89); a unified system of *zheng* technique symbols was generated, including twenty-two types for right hand and nine types for left hand (see Figure 3.8). This system was derived from the notation system of Cao Zheng in the 1950s. He referred to the symbols of the *qin*, and further simplified it for the *zheng* (Chang 2001:46). In cipher notation, more playing details, including fingering and ornamentations, was recorded. This facilitated *zheng* learning transformed from an aural process into a visual one.

³¹ People in mainland China started to use cipher notation in the nineteenth century through the introduction from Japan (Yung 1989:123). By the early 1900s, this new type of notation gradually replaced Chinese traditional notation systems of many types of Chinese music (Xue 1990: 549).



大八板

 輕三六調

上十板

 頭板

六五六。三四五六四。六五。二四二三五。三四。三。二三四。五。七。六。五。四。

 六五六。三四五六四。六五。二四二三五。三四。三。四。五。三。三。三。二。

 二。四。三。二。六。五。六。二。四。三。四。五。四。五。六。七。六。五。四。六。五。四。三。四。六。五。

 四。五。七。六。五。五。六。五。二。三。二。三。三。三。三。四。三。三。六。六。二。三。二。

 六。六。二。六。六。二。五。六。七。五。七。五。六。七。六。六。三。六。六。二。五。五。六。五。二。三。二。

 四。五。六。七。六。五。四。六。五。四。三。四。二。四。三。四。二。三。二。五。四。五。二。三。二。

 四。五。六。七。六。五。四。六。五。四。三。四。三。四。五。六。

 五。七。七。五。七。七。五。六。六。五。六。六。四。六。五。四。三。四。

 二。四。三。四。二。三。二。五。四。四。二。三。二。四。五。六。七。六。五。四。五。四。

Figure 3.5 *Ersipu* of Chaozhou music “Da baban” (Su 1995:7)³³

³³ The top right stamper indicates that this score is transmitted by Su Wenxian. In the first line from right, the texts indicate the music title “Da baban,” mode (*qing sanliu diao*), the numbers of measure (68 measures), and first section (*tou ban*) was recorded.

慢板 $\text{♩} = 60 - 76$

Figure 3.6 Cipher notation of the opening passage of Kejia *zheng* solo “Chushui lian”³⁴ (Li 2003:35, performed by Rao Ningxin, transcribed by Li Meng)

Cultural Ideology and *Zheng* Music Making in Taiwan

Although the Nationalist government promoted Chinese music as a part of Chinese nation building, the development of *zheng* music was slow in the first few decades after the establishment of the ROC in Taiwan (Cheng 1990; Chang 2002). Due to the uneven distribution of governmental resources on things like Peking opera, which was a comprehensive project coordinated by the government and comprised of military-supported troupes and state-administrated schools, developing other kinds of Chinese music as national music in Taiwan relied more on the musicians themselves and folk organizations.

The institutionalization of *zheng* performance in Taiwan did not happen until the late 1960s. Unlike in mainland China, there was no centralized official authority directing the development of *zheng* music in Taiwan. The motivation of people in Taiwan in learning *zheng* mostly stemmed from individual choice rather than family tradition or governmental assignment, as were the cases on the mainland.

³⁴ Before the metronome mark, the Chinese texts (*man ban*) means slow tempo.

Multiple Sources of New Zheng Music

As a transplanted art, the *zheng* repertoire that circulated in Taiwan during the 1940s and 1950s was limited. Because of the Nationalist government's promotion of traditional Chinese culture, the *zheng* music that circulated in Taiwan was oriented more toward traditional style, mostly traditional Henan and Chaozhou music. This repertoire was brought by the Chinese immigrants after 1945, including Liang Tsai-ping,³⁵ Zhou Qi-feng (1922-1978), Huang Zhong-shi (1909-1994), He Ming-zhong (1913-2000), Liu Yi-zhi (b.1922), Yan Wei (b.1924), and Sun Che (b.1927).

The repertoire started expanding in the 1960s. During 1963 to 1970, Queen Records released a series of Chinese music records in Taiwan, consisting of a total ninety albums. Among them, the *zheng* repertoire includes traditional and 1950s- and 1960s-composed works that were created under the PRC rule. This series of records was very popular among Taiwanese musicians. Although it was not admitted publicly, the Taiwanese knew that the performers of these records were from mainland China (Chen 2010). Due to the lack of score, these musicians painstakingly transcribed the music by listening to the records in order to learn it.

Despite the bans on travel between Taiwan and mainland China before 1987, Taiwanese musicians found their own ways of obtaining more Chinese music, whether traditional or modern. One of the major approaches was through the *zheng* musicians from Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Singapore. More traditional Chaozhou *zheng* music was presented in Taiwan by Chen Lei-shi, music professor of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He was invited to perform in Taiwan several times during the late 1960s and early 1970s and had taught at the National Taiwan Art School and the Chinese Culture University from 1974 to 1975 (Chang

³⁵ Liang Tsai-ping brought Chaozhou *zheng* music that he learned from Shi Yinmei and Henan *zheng* music that he learned from Wei Ziyou.

2002:21). Meanwhile, his records were released in Taiwan, generating a wider and lasting impact on Taiwanese musicians (Chang 2011:386). His input of Chaozhou *zheng* music elevated the playing techniques and the vision of Taiwanese musicians, as Chang Li-chiung's insight reveals:

The southern and northern style *zheng* music are in relative terms. We classified Liang Tsai-ping as the master of northern style *zheng* music versus Chen Lei-shi as southern style. In fact, Liang's performing style was more gentle and feminine, whereas Chen's was more masculine. It is very interesting that their musical genres and performing styles were complementary with each other, and they were good friends. (personal interview 2017)

Chinese Malaysian Lin Junmao brought both traditional and modern *zheng* music into Taiwan in the 1960s. He learned *zheng* performance in Malaysia and played a leading role in teaching *zheng* in the Chinese music club at school while he studied mechanical engineering at the National Cheng Kung University. Additionally, he also taught outside of school, such as the Chinese music workshops of the BCC Chinese orchestra (Chang 2002:22). The modern *zheng* music that he brought into Taiwan included repertoire that was composed from the 1950s to 1970s in mainland China, including "Qing fengnian," "Fangzhi mang" (Busy Knitting) (1955), and "Xingfushui" (The Water of Happiness) (1974).

In the late 1970s, Malaysian *zheng* performer Chen Guo-xing introduced the new 21-stringed *zheng* and mid-twentieth-century composed *zheng* repertoires to Taiwan, resulting in revolutionary changes to *zheng* practice in Taiwan (Cheng 1990; Chang 2011). While it enhanced the transmission of modern *zheng* music, the traditional 16-steel-stringed *zheng* was gradually replaced by the 21-nylon-stringed *zheng* in the 1980s and 1990s. As a result, the

traditional monophonic musical feature with the emphasis of the variable *yun* was replaced by the fast, technical, and colorful modern polyphonic musical style (Cheng 1990).

Besides these overseas musicians visiting Taiwan, Taiwanese musicians had their own ways to go outside of Taiwan during the confines of martial law. At that time, artistic workers were only allowed to travel overseas for cultural exchange as official delegates of the ROC. However, business workers were allowed to conduct their own trips and investigations outside of Taiwan. As a co-investor of the Long River Industrial Company manufacturing Chinese instruments, Wang Ruei-yu went on a music business trip to Hong Kong in 1979 as the manager of its overseas department. During this trip, he had an opportunity to contact Chinese musicians and engaged in a Chinese music community outside of Taiwan.

In addition, there were other indirect means for importing Chinese music. One was through the PRC broadcasts, which were secretly listened to by Taiwanese musicians. Another approach was bringing the mainland-Chinese records and scores into Taiwan via Hong Kong and Malaysia. When Taiwanese musicians did so, they had to disguise the publications in order to avoid censorship. For example, they would get rid of the record booklets and replaced the original covers with others. If it was score, they would separate one piece into several parts and put them in different places. Even if they knew the meaning or lyrics of this music, they would not speak about it to others, otherwise, they would be sent to jail (personal interview of Fan Wei-Tsu 2015 and Chen I-yu 2017).

Alongside the imported *zheng* music, the first *zheng* generation also composed music during their residency in Taiwan. Many of their new compositions were related to their local experiences. In Huang's (1972) book, the *zheng*-adapted local tunes were included, such as "Wang chunfeng" (Wind of Spring) and "Gaoshan qing" (High Green Mountain). In Liang Tsai-

ping's composition "Shaobing youtiao" (Song of the Sweetcake Vendor), its four-note motif is derived from the pronunciation in Shandong dialect of "Shaobing youtiao" (lit. clay oven biscuit and fried bread stick) (see Figure 3.7), recalling the hardship of living in the 1950s when the Chinese immigrants hawked breakfast pastries on the streets in the early morning for meager earnings.



Figure 3.7 The motif of "Shaobing youtiao," whose corresponding Chinese texts marked by the author (mm.1-2)

The 1970s was the most productive period of local composition (Chang 2011:391). The new generation of musicians started applying playing techniques that they had learned from mainland-Chinese modern *zheng* music to their compositions. For example, Cheng Te-yuan's "Danjiang muse" incorporated playing techniques from "Fangzhi mang." Although the musical text of these Taiwanese-composed repertoires in this period imitated its counterpart of mainland-Chinese music, its cultural ideology and music meaning were different from the modern *zheng* music from mainland China (Cheng 1990:348). Here these compositions were categorized by its ownership, creating the divisions between mainland-Chinese and Taiwanese composers. This distinction was significant at that time because of its political correctness. As the Nationalist government's censorship measures prohibited the presentation of *zheng* music that came from the PRC, mainland-Chinese-like musical styles were allowed when the music was composed by the Taiwanese.

Starting in the 1980s, more musicians started composing for the 21-stringed *zheng*. These performer-composers' works were largely influenced by mid-twentieth-century Chinese *zheng* music. For instance, the musical structure features the standardized ternary form of its counterpart in mainland China during the 1960s to 1980s (Wu 2002; Chang, Lin, and Chao 2015). By using this format of musical structure—an introduction, A, B, A, Coda—composers created contrast, dynamic variance, and themes in their compositions, such as Hsiang Hsin-mei's "Wusuli chuange" (Wusuli Boat Song) (1981). Moreover, professional composers started composing for *zheng*. Different from the performer-composers, they intended to create a non-traditional musical expression on the *zheng*. This type of composition was mainly influenced by Western classical music, featuring atonal music, such as Lu Yen's "Xunyouqu" (Tune of Seeking Enchantment) (1986) and Chang Pang-yen's "Qiu zhi lu" (Journey in Autumn) (1986).

Diversity of Technical Symbols

Although cipher notation was adopted in Taiwan as a unified *zheng* teaching material, individual teachers had their own systems of notating playing techniques. These systems kept sprouting branches, and there was no consensus regarding the notation of new techniques.

There were at least five systems of *zheng* technical symbols circulating in Taiwan during the 1970s: the systems of Huang Zhong-shi, Xia Yen, Liang Tsai-ping, Liu Yi-chih, and Li Zhao-xing (Huang 1975/1976, Li 1987, Cheng 1990, Chang 2001) (see Figure 3.8). Among these systems, the principles of the first two systems are derived from the Chinese characters while the other systems are based on the graphic signs that may be related to the playing motion. The details are as follows:

- (1) Huang system: It notates the name of the thumb, index, and middle finger as big (大), two (二), and three (三) in Chinese characters.
- (2) Xia system: This system is derived from *Xian Suo Bei Kao*, the score collection of Chinese ensemble music in the Qing dynasty.³⁶ Its logic originates from *qin* notion *jianzipu*, taking the radicals or parts of the Chinese characters of the terminology of the fingering as the signs of *zheng* techniques (Chang 2001:44). For example, the sign of fingering *tuo* 乇 (thumb plucking outward) comes from the right part of the Chinese character 托; the sign of fingering *mo* 木 (index finger plucking inward) derived from the Chinese character 抹. These two signs, alongside some of the signs of this system, are the identical to its counterpart of *qin* because *zheng* and *qin* shared the same name of the basic fingering. Liang Tsai-ping also used this system in the 1930s.
- (3) Liang system: Invented by Liang Tsai-ping, the logic of this system is using the arc sign as the foundation to indicate the image of plectrum while it touches the strings. One line is added when the same finger plucks strings with the other direction. The rules of this system are logical and easy to learn (Chang 2001:46).
- (4) Liu system: The direction of signs is consistent with the direction of plucking, as the systems of Liang and Li.
- (5) Li system: This system is the most widely-used one in Taiwan. Meanwhile, it reveals the inconsistent usage among its branches, such as the signs of middle and ring fingers in Wang's, Cheng's, and Chen's systems.

³⁶ Edited by Mongolian Rong Zhai, *Xian Suo Bei Kao*, also known as *Xian Suo Shisan Tao*, is a score collection of thirteen sets of Chinese ensemble music which were popular in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The instrumentation of the ensemble is mainly string instruments, including *pipa*, *sanxian*, *zheng*, and *erhu*.

| Term | Technique | Taiwan | | | | | | | | | | Mainland China Unified System | |
|----------------|---|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---|---|-------------------------------|---|
| | | Huang System | Xia System | Liang System | Liu System | Li System | Wang System | Cheng System | Chen System | | | | |
| <i>Tuo</i> | thumb plucks outward | 大 | 毛 | ㄣ | ㄣ | ^ | ㄣ | ^ | ^ | ^ | ^ | ^ | ㄣ |
| <i>Pi</i> | thumb plucks inward | | 尸 | ㄣ | ㄣ | ∨ | ㄣ | ∨ | ∨ | ∨ | ∨ | ∨ | ㄣ |
| <i>Mo</i> | index finger plucks inward | 二 | 木 |) | 、 |) | 、 |) | 、 |) | 、 |) | 、 |
| <i>Tiau</i> | index finger plucks outward | | 乙 | ㄣ | 、 | ㄣ | 、 | ㄣ | 、 | ㄣ | 、 | ㄣ | 、 |
| <i>Gou</i> | middle finger plucks inward | 三 | ㄣ | ㄣ | ㄣ | 、 | ㄣ | 、 | 、 | 、 | 、 | 、 | ㄣ |
| <i>Ti</i> | middle finger plucks outward | | ㄣ | ㄣ | 、 | 、 | 、 | 、 | 、 | 、 | 、 | 、 | 、 |
| <i>Da</i> | ring finger plucks inward | | | (| |) | |) | |) | |) | 、 |
| <i>Zeh</i> | ring finger plucks outward | | 商 | ㄣ | | (| | (| |) | |) | |
| <i>Dacuo</i> | thumb plucks outward and middle finger plucks inward together | 雙 | 早 | (| | 、 | | 、 | | 、 | | 、 | 、 |
| <i>Xiaocuo</i> | thumb plucks outward and index finger plucks inward together | | | ⊕ | | ⊕ | | ⊕ | | ⊕ | | ⊕ | ⊕ |

Figure 3.8 The systems of *zheng* technique symbols in Taiwan and mainland China (Huang 1972; Xia 1973; Liang 1962; Liu 1967; Li 1971; Wang and Chen 1975; Cheng 1980; Chen 1994; Shanghai Music Publishing House 1993)

Regarding the reason of wide distribution of Li's system, Wang Ruei-yu considered that it was resulted from the *zheng* transmission in a free market (personal interview 2017). The invention of this system was probably a group effort. In 1971, Li Zhao-xing published a series of *zheng* score collections *Guzheng Jiangyi*, which was probably one of the earliest publications using this system. This system was used by the You-Shi Chinese music orchestra because Li was one of the instructors. Another You-Shi instructor Zhou Wen-yong, later the president of Chinese Music Association (1979-1989) and a legislator of the Nationalist Party's representative, taught *zheng* lessons held by the China Youth Corps, a group which utilized Chinese culture as a strategy of promoting Nationalist ideology through education. Because the participants of the China Youth Corps were college students, these participants brought this system back to their schools and enhanced the circulation of this system. As a result, the majority of Taiwanese *zheng* players used this system today.

Among these five systems, the usages of several symbols are contradictory. Although Taiwanese musicians have pointed out this inconsistency since the 1970s, these diverse systems are still used in Taiwan today, revealing the continuous multiple channels of *zheng* transmission.

Contesting Chinese Nationalisms and *Zheng* Music

Music as a means of governance has been a Chinese convention since the Zhou dynasty (1122-211 B.C.). In China, it was common for a new regime to change the previous regime's systems in order to establish its new authority because the success of the state was associated with "good" music. For instance, the standard pitch of the *huangzhong* (lit. yellow bell), the first and fundamental note of the Chinese "scale," was usually changed at the beginning of a new

dynasty, or even during the same dynasty when a new emperor received “the Mandate of Heaven.” The same approach was taken by the PRC government after establishing itself.

Although sharing the same cultural history, the official national Chinese policies imposed by the Communist PRC government on the mainland and the Nationalist ROC government in Taiwan generated distinct cultural policies. The PRC instituted a cultural revolution from the 1950s to the 1970s, while the ROC government advocated for the preservation of Chinese tradition. As a result, the *zheng* represents two conflicting meanings of Chineseness in its respective territories: a revolutionary folk art in China versus a traditional elite culture in Taiwan. Following Noll (1991), who examined the shared musical tradition presenting two distinct national identities among Polish and Ukrainian peasants, in this section, I will use two contesting government-led cultural events as examples to illustrate the separate positions and practices that led to the *zheng*'s two different social realities in China and Taiwan during the late twentieth century.

Cultural Revolution Zheng Music

In China, *zheng* music that was widely distributed during the Cultural Revolution period was known as Cultural Revolution *Zheng* Music, as *wenge zhengqu* in Chinese. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, most traditional Chinese arts were publicly attacked and the *zheng* was no exception. *Zheng* activities in China were not completely banned but limited. It was allowed to play revolutionary songs on *zheng* but not traditional music (Wang 2012:97).

After the 1970s, the *zheng* started gaining political officials' support due to the need of cultural diplomacy. After the PRC joined the United Nations in 1971, more countries established formal diplomatic relations with the PRC and cultural diplomacy was needed. According to the

international custom, these countries proposed the exchange programs provided by the PRC to include traditional Chinese culture. As a result, the PRC government initiated projects for Chinese traditional music in the 1970s (Dai 2011). The *zheng*, alongside other Chinese instruments, was officially promoted.

There are two state-led projects included the *zheng*. The first one is the Reform Group for *Qin, Zheng, and Se*.³⁷ Supported by the political leaders Jiang Qing, Ye Jian-ying, and Yu Huiyong, the Ministry of Culture appointed the China National Opera and Dance Drama Theater to execute this project in 1973. The goal was to modernize these instruments, ensuring its music served politics. By using Western instruments as model, the reformed *zheng* was designed to have a wider register and be easier to modulate. As a result, 25-stringed modulation *zhengs* were invented and Zhejiang *zheng* school master Xiang Sihua was assigned to test these new instruments. Responding to the central government's policy, regional culture departments also appealed to *zheng* players to reform the *zheng*. The state-led instrumental reform group was established from 1973 to 1977. After that, neither the reformed instruments nor their compositions were widely spread (Wang 2012:98-100).

The other project is an Audio and Video Recording Group established by the Culture Ministry of State Council in 1975. The recording contents included opera, singing and talking, instrumental music, and classical songs. In this project, Xiang Sihua was recruited to adapt the intonation of Chinese vocal and opera music to the *zheng*. She adapted Peking opera repertoire

³⁷ The *qin*, *zheng*, and *se* are plucked string instruments originated in China. They are highly associated with each other in the history. The *se* is a Chinese 25-string instrument with moveable bridges attached to each string. It was first recorded in the *Shijing* (lit. Classic of Poetry, 11-7 BC). In the traditional setting, the *qin* was played in a formal occasion in which people concentrated on listening to the music, in contrast to the *se* was played in an informal occasion as background music. When these two instruments were played together, the *qin* played as the main character while the *se* played accompaniment. As to the relation between the *zheng* and the *se*, in his book *Shinsen Gakudō Ruijū Taizen* (新撰樂道類集大全, lit. The Newly Compiled Encyclopedia of Gagaku, 1727), Japanese court musician Oka Masana points out that the *zheng* was an instrument derived from the *se* (Huang 1976:12).

“Wenji guihan” to the *zheng* and presented it to the U.S. President Richard Nixon during his visit to China in 1975 (Wang 2012:101).

The *zheng* as a mechanism of political propaganda was not only used to play revolutionary songs and operas. Several pieces from the *qin* repertoire were adapted for *zheng* because, unlike the *qin*, which was considered an instrument of the literati, the *zheng* was closer to the masses (Wang 2012:114). *Zheng*’s “folk” roots meant that it was considered suitable for serving the people, much as the *dizi* and *erhu* music in the post-1949 China had similarly been legitimated (Lau 1995; Stock 1996).

Moreover, *zheng* musicians, particularly a new generation of Zhejiang *zheng* players, were able to compose new works for 21-stringed *zheng* that fit the PRC’s cultural ideology. There were two common strategies that musicians applied to incorporate ideology into music: through music titles and program notes (Lau 1995). As a result, these works spread rapidly throughout China.

Several *zheng* solos that were composed in the early 1970s have become part of the classical *zheng* repertoire today. A large amount of the musical materials used for *zheng* compositions during this period consisted of vocal music adapted for *zheng*, including folksongs and opera. One of the representative solos is “Liuyang he” (Liuyang River). Originally a folk song from the Hunan flower drum opera, “Liuyang he” was rewritten in 1951 with lyrics to praise Chairman Mao. Geographically speaking, this river was the largest tributary of the Xiang River, which passed through Mao Zedong’s hometown Xiangtan County, Hunan Province. This song was popular during the Cultural Revolution, and the *zheng*-adapted version was composed by Zhang Yen in 1972 using modern *zheng* techniques, such as harp-like arpeggios (see Figure 3.9).



Figure 3.9 The opening passage of harp-like arpeggio section in “Liuyang he” (mm. 45-52)

Another representative *zheng* solo is “Shandandankai huahongyanyan” (Red Lilies Blooming on the Mountains).³⁸ Musically, this is a rearrangement of two Northern Shaanxi folksongs by Liu Feng. Combining two songs, the leisurely and resounding “Xintianyou,” and the passionate and unrestrained “Langong diao” (Working Song), the new arrangement contains musical and emotional contrasts, blending into one piece. The *zheng* solo version was composed by *zheng* performer Jiao Jinhai in 1972. The musical structure of this piece is a standard form of modern *zheng* music in this period, containing an introduction and ABA sections. The two main sections not only express the leisurely-passionate contrast of the original songs, but also the monophonic-polyphonic contrast of the traditional-modern *zheng* musical style.

This *zheng* piece was soon widespread in mainland China due to the political “correctness” embedded in its new lyrics. As a Cultural Revolution song, it is a paean to the

³⁸ To celebrate the fifty-year anniversary of the PRC in 1999, China Central Television (CCTV) designated this song as one of the centennial classical musical compositions.

greatness of revolution and Chairman Mao. Composed by four authors,³⁹ its lyrics depict the significant historical event in which the Central Red Army, led by Mao Zedong, relocated to Northern Shaanxi Province in 1935. This event is historically significant because it marks the turning point when the center of revolution began to shift from South to Northwest China. Subsequently, Northwest China became the base for the Communist Party and Yan'an became a sacred place of revolution. The lyrics are as follows:

“.....Our central Red Army is coming to the Northern Shaanxi Province
.....Our troops are strong and powerful
Open doors to welcome the soldiers who are like our family.....
The sky is full of dark clouds
Wind blows the dark clouds away
Chairman Mao comes and the sky turns sunny
The sounds of thunder resound for thousands of miles, the mountains extend for ten
thousand miles
Our power of revolution is growing
Red lilies bloom on the mountains
Chairman Mao leads us to fight for our land...”

Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement and Zheng Music

As mentioned in chapter two, musicians in Taiwan were encouraged to present art that appealed to “national” culture in the late-1960s, as shown in the 1968 Current Art and Literature

³⁹ The authors are Li Ruobing, Guan Heyan, Xu Suo, and Feng Fukuan.

Policy (Chiang 1968).⁴⁰ Some compositions were promoted due to their adherence to the intent of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement, such as Liang Tsai-ping's piece "Fuxing song" (Praise of Revitalization) promoting the great aspiration to liberate mainland China. However, in general, political concern was not the primary factor in composing *zheng* music. Therefore, although the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement was the ROC's counterpart to the Cultural Revolution in mainland China, there was no counterpart to the Cultural Revolution in terms of a targeted effort of *zheng* musical reform.

The *zheng* music making in these two political regimes was fundamentally different. Compared to the centralized authority supervised the *zheng* music making process in mainland China, Taiwanese *zheng* players were allowed to have more individual approaches of *zheng* in the free market.

Beyond Contesting Chinese Nationalisms

Ethnomusicologists have explored how politics impact the development of music by tracing the ways that politics and culture become powerfully conflated (Wong 1984, Yung 1984, Wagner 1996, Guy 2005). In these contexts, music, for example pieces such as those from the Peking opera repertoire and songs of the Red Guards, has often been utilized to transmit official nationalist ideology and to solidify sovereignty, while musicians passively act as disseminators of political propaganda with limited personal choice.

⁴⁰ "The mission and direction of today's workers of art and literature needs to combine national culture and contemporary spirit, using the both principles of nourishing roots and pursuing innovation, enhancing the responsibility of inheriting the past and ushering in the future." 「今天文藝工作者的使命與路向，必須使民族文化與時代精神結合起來，以把握務本與求新的原則，而增強其承先啟後的責任。」 (Chiang 1968). Accessed October 4, 2017. http://www.ccf.org.tw/ccfd001/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1621:0009-94&catid=421&Itemid=256&limitstart=1.

In this section, I examine a case in which musicians have actively negotiated the politicization of music with two opposite political authorities at the same time. Despite the political tensions of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement and the Cultural Revolution between the ROC and PRC governments, Taiwanese *zheng* musicians did not refuse to play the Cultural Revolution *zheng* music. Instead, it was popular in Taiwan even before martial law was lifted. By examining the ethnography, I argue that performing Cultural Revolution *zheng* music in Taiwan operates as both a depoliticization of Communist ideologies and a politicized artistic expression of being Chinese.

Performing Cultural Revolution Zheng Music in Taiwan

Although Taiwanese people were not imbued with Communist political ideology, the *zheng* versions of Communist songs were delivered to Taiwan. At the beginning of the transmission of Cultural Revolution *zheng* music in Taiwan, most Taiwanese *zheng* players did not know its political and cultural context because of the disconnection between Taiwan and mainland China at that time. In contrast to the PRC government's repurposed existing folk music as political propaganda, the lyric-free *zheng* music was simply seen as a new arrangement of old folk songs whose original lyrics were not related to Mao or the Cultural Revolution. Chen I-yu, *zheng* professor of the CCU, told me when she learned modern *zheng* music before martial law was lifted, she did not know some of them were Cultural Revolution compositions. At that time, she did not learn either their lyrics or their compositional backgrounds. Although she knew that "Zhan taifeng" paid tribute to dockworkers, she thought there was nothing wrong in praising the workers (personal interview 2017).

Taiwanese *zheng* musicians not only learned this music but also performed it in public. In 1986, one year before martial law was lifted, Taiwanese musician Fan Wei-Tsu, current *zheng* professor of CCU, presented *To the Peonies* as the finale of his *zheng* recital at the Taipei Cultural Center (see Figure 3.10). Fan told me that this piece is actually Cultural Revolution *zheng* solo “Shandandankai huahongyanyan.” He renamed it for the concert in order to pass the censors (personal interview 2015). In fact, this was not an isolated case. Taiwanese players changed the politically-related musical titles to locally acceptable ones in order to present them publically. Despite the adapted titles, the music content was identical as the originals and the Taiwanese players tried to play as similarly as possible to the original interpretations.

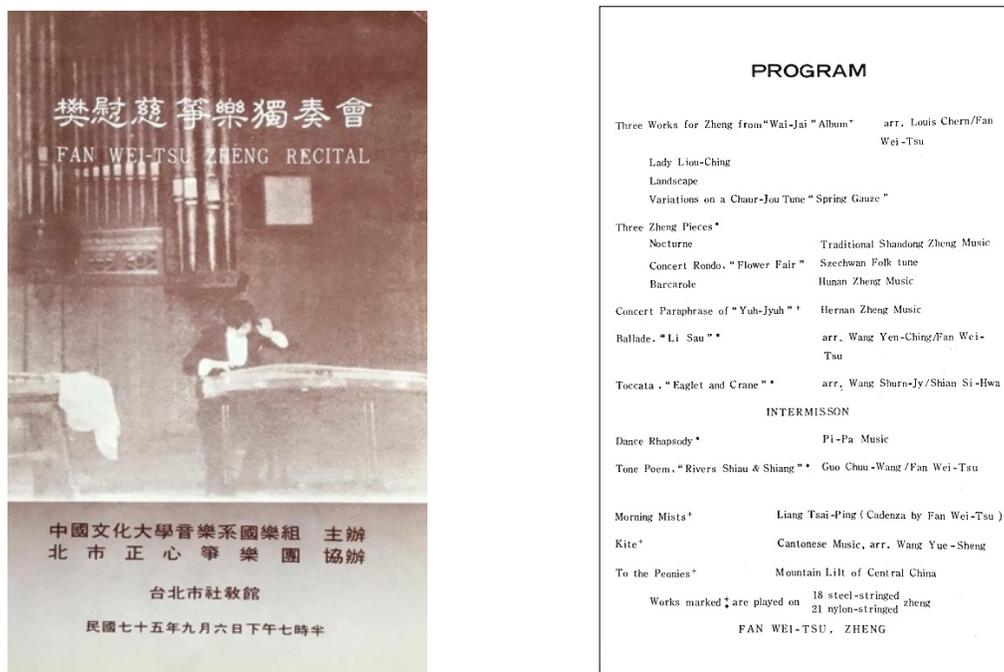


Figure 3.10 The Program of Fan Wei-tsu *Zheng* Recital on September 6, 1986 (provided by Fan Wei-tsu)

There was no consensus regarding the principles of re-naming these Cultural Revolution compositions, but some common approaches existed. One was to shorten the original title such

that, for example, “Maozhuxi songlai xingfushui” (Chairman Mao Sending the Water of Happiness) became simply “Xingfushui” (The Water of Happiness). Another approach was replacing the subject for its counterpart in Taiwan. For instance, the musical title “Liuyang he” was presented as “Tamsui he” (Tamsui River), a landmark in Taipei, Taiwan.

It is a puzzle to identify who were the first artists to re-name these compositions, and the re-naming depended on individuals’ needs. Chang Li-chiung told me when she studied at school, her *erhu* classmate wanted to perform “Sanmenxia changxiangqu” (The Sanmen Gorge Rhapsody). Because of the concern for censorship, her classmate changed the title to “Shimen shuiku changxiangqu” (The Shihmen Dam Rhapsody) when she submitted the title. Thus, basically, the first person who played the piece would present it under a new title. Later when other people wanted to play the same piece, they might adopt that same title. (personal interview 2017)

Another re-naming scenario was publication concern. In the *zheng* collection *Thirty Years of Ripples in the Silver River* (1989) that published in Taiwan, the original title of “Xinyuan” (Aspirations) was, in China, “Taiwan ernude xinyuan” (Aspirations of Taiwanese Children). This piece was renamed because its title indicated a perceived desire of Taiwanese people to return to the homeland of mainland China. Therefore, the musical title was changed in Taiwan because of the editor’s concern for passing the censorship of the Information Bureau.

Speaking to the reason why Taiwanese musicians played this type of *zheng* music, Chang Li-Chuang told me that the priority for players to select music was based on music itself instead of ideologies. As artists, their goal is to pursue creativity and variety. The new music from mainland-China met this demand. Compared to traditional *zheng* styles that circulated in Taiwan at the time, the musical styles of Cultural Revolution *zheng* music was relatively new, containing

novel sonic effects, wider musical register, more contrasted dynamics, and more complicated playing techniques (personal interview 2015).

After the 1980s, the presentation of Cultural Revolution *zheng* music kept spreading and became part of the standard repertory in Taiwan. At the beginning, these compositions became a mandatory part of the repertory for students majoring in *zheng* performance. Led by professionals, it later extended beyond the boundaries of academic institutions to reach amateur players. Today, all the *zheng* examinations for amateurs hosted by three Taiwanese institutions include Cultural Revolution *zheng* compositions as the mandatory repertoire.

Re-contextualization of Cultural Revolution Zheng Music

The musical compositions and performances during the Cultural Revolution were shaped and constrained by political circumstance. Musicians often involved political actions, such as composing works to fit political ideology and changing musical titles to avoid censorship. However, nowadays musicians frame it as non-political, in order to present these compositions for their art value. The attempts at depoliticization of *zheng* music occurred not only in Taiwan but also in mainland China.

The meaning of performing Cultural Revolution *zheng* music in today's China is different from its original context. The mainland-Chinese musicians acknowledged that the Cultural Revolution *zheng* music was the cultural product of its era. Meanwhile, they also proposed to view these compositions from a musical perspective. During our interviews, Li Meng, *zheng* professor of the Central Conservatory of Music, and Rao Shuhang, *zheng* professor of the Xinghai Conservatory of Music, both contended to categorize this music as “composed *zheng* music” whose composers can be identified, in contrast to traditional *zheng* music as a collective

work whose composers were anonymous (personal interview 2015). Their claim was based on the historical perspective of *zheng* music in mainland China. At the beginning of developing modern *zheng* music, most of the *zheng* compositions during the 1950s to 1980s were derived from folk music; so were the musical materials in the Cultural Revolution period. Also, the musical style and playing techniques of Cultural Revolution *zheng* music are not very different from the *zheng* music before that, including Western musical characteristics and the techniques of Zhejiang *zheng* school. Therefore, they deem that the term Cultural Revolution *zheng* music does not speak for music itself (personal interview 2015).

Re-contextualizing the Cultural Revolution *zheng* music from a musical perspective is important because it points out a continuity of musical development that was not thoroughly segmented by the political conditions. This lens of categorizing *zheng* music from the musical perspective is shared by Taiwanese musicians (Cheng 1990; Chang 2003; Yang 2006), displaying today's *zheng* players striving to distance music from its political ideology.

The Politics of *Zheng* Performance

The cultural image of *zheng* as a Chinese orthodox instrument was allied with the Nationalist government's cultural ideology of constructing a Chinese nation from 1945 to the mid-1980s. Although national identity is represented as unified, it consists of "deep internal divisions and difference" (Hall 1996b:617). While the Nationalist government advocated the traditional values of Chinese culture, the *zheng* musicians embraced it in such a way as to be appropriate to the government's political ideology as well as to express their music identity.

The government and musicians are two interdependent entities. On the one hand, the political authority directs and regulates *zheng* performance; on the other hand, the musicians are

the practitioners who play and create music in reality. The gap between the government and musicians is illustrated in the case of modern *zheng* music, in particular, the Cultural Revolution *zheng* music. Despite the contesting Chinese nationalisms between the ROC and PRC governments, playing the Cultural Revolution *zheng* music in Taiwan is a depoliticization of Communist ideology, dismissing the music from its political origin. Meanwhile, its component of performing Chineseness is a politicized presentation that fits the Nationalists' ideology.

The de-politicization and re-politicization of the Cultural Revolution *zheng* music is a negotiation between the ROC government and Taiwanese *zheng* musicians. This shows that the relation between politics and music is not a binary choice that ends with the polarity of either compliance or resistance but a negotiation that falls in between these two polarities. The negotiation as an adjustment results in musical change according to time and space. While the politics draws the territory, music creates cultural space with a non-threatening approach that mediates the political conflict. During the process of negotiation, the key is to identify what is governed by the government and what is controlled by the musicians. In this case, the musical context was subjected to the government while the musical text was determined by the musicians. When there was a conflict between the regulation of the government and the intention of the musicians, the title of musical text becomes a negotiable condition that creates a space to cushion the clash.

The self-determined musical text resulted from the cultural consciousness of Taiwanese musicians. It might be derived from the cultural policy. In the *Principles of People's Livelihood—Education and Recreation*, Chiang Kai-shek (1953) proclaims that playing solo music is a self-cultivation and influences listeners' minds, while collective musical performance enhances

the spirit of collaboration.⁴¹ As a Chinese instrument, the *zheng* represents a collective cultural identity. More importantly, while most players learned *zheng* as a solo instrument, the self-cultivation component denotes the importance of individuals' existence in the practice of music. For Taiwanese *zheng* players, it emphasizes a personal space of cultivating cultural consciousness that allows the musicians to re-interpret the Nationalist's ideology of being "Chinese."

From smuggling the musical materials to renaming their titles, modern Taiwanese *zheng* musicians strategically obtained and presented their musical selections in order to be allied with the ROC government's policy. For Taiwanese musicians, the *zheng* is a site of negotiating identity politics. While the cultural practice is bounded by political ideology, the state's territory transformed into a cultural space for the musicians to exercise their creativity. As a result, by connecting with the political agents, the musicians are able to access a cultural space that is shared by the Chinese across the states' borders.

Conclusion

The nation-state is "a powerful source of meanings for modern cultural identities" (Hall 1996b:612). Although a nation is bounded by a shared heritage of ethnic group, such as mythologies and symbols (Smith 1986:14), ethnicity is "constantly negotiated between state and self: the dialogue is ongoing and regularly redefined in changing social contexts" (Gladney 2004:174). While the ROC and the PRC governments used cultural policies against each other and utilized music as a form of political propaganda representing "Chineseness" in order to legitimize themselves as the authorities on what Chinese culture was, Taiwanese *zheng*

⁴¹ 「個人獨奏的音樂一方面是自己修養的方法，他方面也影響聽眾的情感。集體演奏的音樂和集體合唱的歌曲，更能使參加者培養合作的精神。」三民主義—增錄民生主義育樂兩篇補述（Sun 1985:384）。

musicians re-contextualized the politicization of music of these two political authorities, and further created an art-centered space in the politicized music environment for the art to burgeon in the future. In the next chapter, I will discuss the process and results of importing mainland-Chinese *zheng* music after the lift of martial law.

Chapter Four: One Cultural China

This chapter examines the musical techniques of a mainland-Chinese trend that Taiwanese *zheng* musicians pursued after 1987. First, I will discuss the importation of mainland-Chinese music via musicians and publications. Additionally, I will detail musical practices during this process in two cases. The case of evolving techniques demonstrates that Chinese *zheng* is a collective art containing multiple centers, while the case of changing tempo displays the internal differences in one local center and the micro-level variety of one player. These case studies reveal the internal differences and historical layers of Chineseness, leading to probing the issues of authenticity. Through examining the musical synchronization across the strait, I argue that the Chinese *zheng* pilgrimage of the Taiwanese was driven by a longing to participate in a present-oriented cultural China rather than an imagined, nostalgic China.⁴²

Mainland Fever

On the path to democracy, President Chiang Ching-kuo proclaimed the lifting of martial law in 1987. In press interviews, Shaw Yu-ming, director of Taiwan's government information office, emphasized that "the fundamental reason for this decision is humanitarian" and stated that this did not represent Taiwan's "compromise with the government in Beijing, which is still viewed as an 'enemy' regime."⁴³ This report reinforces the two distinct positions of the political authorities and the people towards cross-strait relations: the competing regimes of the ROC and PRC governments versus the cultural and familial bonds of people on both sides. By separating

⁴² Nostalgia is a form of past presenting that "indicate a more or less general longing for the past" (Macdonald 2013:87).

⁴³ Southerl, Daniel. 1987. "Taiwan to End 38-Year Ban on Travel to Mainland China." *Washingtonpost.com*. Accessed June 22, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1987/09/20/taiwan-to-end-38-year-ban-on-travel-to-mainland-china/7e409425-46a6-4390-9034-8668640a64b6/?utm_term=.21b5bd7bcca8.

the political and cultural concerns, Taiwanese people eventually were able to have legal contacts with mainland-Chinese people.

Due to the nearly-forty-year separation, Taiwanese people were highly interested in information related to mainland China. Following the lift of the travel ban in 1987, there was a rise of non-official cultural exchange and imports of mainland-Chinese resources, as products for consumers seeking “authentic” Chinese music became increasingly available. In the following section, I will discuss these musical phenomena in terms of Chinese *zheng* pilgrimages and music publications.

Chinese Zheng Pilgrimages

Soon after martial law was lifted, traveling to mainland China to study *zheng* performance became a trend among Taiwanese *zheng* players. Chang Li-chiung describes the tremendous attraction that mainland China held for Taiwanese students of Chinese music by comparing it to the attraction that India held for Xuan Zang (Chang 2003:173). For many, this was a musical pilgrimage,⁴⁴ a near-religious journey to a sacred site that would transform one’s musical power in order to achieve legitimate professional status. Most of these studies were short-term visits, usually from two-week to two-month lengths during summer vacations. The primary sites included the cities where the leading music conservatories were located, such as Beijing and Shanghai, as well as *zheng* masters’ privately-owned schools in places such as Zhengzhou and Guangzhou.

Pilgrims going to mainland China to conduct short-term studies included not only Taiwanese students but also teachers. During the 1990s, many professional Chinese instrumental

⁴⁴ In a religious definition, pilgrimage is conceptualized as a journey from ordinary daily life to a sacred place (Bohlman 1996).

musicians, whether they played *zheng* or other instruments, went to mainland China to study during the summers. Then they brought new repertoires back to Taiwan to perform in public and to teach at schools. This had a significant impact on the transmission of *zheng* in Taiwan.

Besides these short-term trips, a few Taiwanese chose to enroll at schools in mainland China and Hong Kong. Peng Ching was the first Taiwanese student to study *zheng* performance at the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing from 1993-1999, receiving her BA and Masters degree in *zheng* performance. She later returned to Taiwan and taught at the NTUA. Yu Hsu-ling studied *zheng* performance at the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts under Zhejiang *zheng* school master Xiang Sihua, receiving her BA in 1993 and returning Taiwan to teach.

The musical transmission occurred not only when Taiwanese went to mainland China but also when mainland musicians came to Taiwan. Mainland *zheng* musicians were invited to teach in Taiwan, such as Zhejiang *zheng* school master Zhang Yan, who taught at the NTUA and the CCU from 1990 to 1995. Moreover, mainland musicians could now travel to perform in Taiwan. Some of these concerts were *zheng* recitals; others were joint concerts with other Chinese instruments, hosted by professional art management companies.

After the 2000s, though the mainland-Chinese musical influences remained, the wave of Chinese *zheng* pilgrimages eventually waned due to decreasing demand. First, because the first generation of Taiwanese *zheng* players who directly studied with the mainland-Chinese teachers gradually took positions to teach at schools, the demand for face-to-face lessons with mainland teachers lessened. Moreover, because advances in communications technology, especially the Internet, facilitated the circulation of information, music sources became more easily and quickly shared across the strait, resulting in the reduced need for travel to obtain new information.

Music Publications

In addition to studying with the mainland-Chinese teachers, another important *zheng* resource from mainland China were publications, including scores, albums, and tutorial videos, which were written, edited, and taught by the *zheng* professors of leading music conservatories.

These publications had diverse foci, from classical repertoire to contemporary compositions, from particular regional schools to extensive collections. One of the representative publications is a three-volume comprehensive *zheng* anthology—*Chinese Music for Zheng*, published by Shanghai Music Publishing House in 1993. The first volume contains one hundred and thirty-three traditional *zheng* pieces, including versions of representative pieces of the masters of nine schools. The second and third volumes total one hundred and thirty-eight modern *zheng* pieces (including program notes) that were composed from the 1950s to 1993, revealing the musical trend of the second half of the twentieth century. In addition, it includes eleven articles regarding *zheng* history and traditional schools, providing details on the backgrounds and conceptualizations of *zheng* performance.

Because of the advances in technology, tutorial videos in the form of VCDs and DVDs became available in the 1990s and soon became an important resource. Most discs included explanations of the pieces by *zheng* professors, and demonstrations of these pieces performed by the professors and their students who won awards in nationwide competitions.

These publications elevated the *zheng* transmission in Taiwan to another level. In terms of traditional *zheng* music, the written and audio/video materials exposed the different layers of existing regional schools. Taiwanese *zheng* musicians used to play certain compositions that were brought by post-1945 Chinese immigrants. Now the repertoire expanded because *zheng* anthologies of each traditional school were introduced to Taiwan. Some materials were different

versions of the same piece played by different masters, while some were different versions of the same piece played by the same master. These varied versions of scores and recordings captured the improvisatory essence of traditional *zheng* music in both written and aural forms, mitigating the lack of oral transmission. In terms of modern *zheng* music, Taiwanese musicians were able to access not just the original scores (rather than the transcripts), but also tutorial videos, allowing them to obtain the updated information more directly and completely.

Compared to the difficulty of obtaining mainland China's *zheng* resources in former years, the 1990s saw an intense influx era of new information. All of the compositions that had not been heard or played during the nearly-forty separation years were imported to Taiwan all at once. Chang Li-chiung, at that time a *zheng* player of the Experimental Chinese Orchestra (today's National Chinese Orchestra of Taiwan), told me that she did not have enough time to practice all of them because the new information was updated every month and even every day (personal interview 2017).

These publications functioned in a way similar to print-capitalism (Anderson 1983). Due to the demand of Taiwanese musicians, they were available in Taiwan and then became part of Taiwanese musicians' must-study materials. Its circulation resulted in a cognitive transformation, fostering the building of an imagined *zheng* community across the strait.

Evolving Techniques

This section examines the revolutionary changes of two essential aspects of *zheng* performance—plectrums and *yaozhi* technique—in the second half of the twentieth century in mainland China. Using Chen I-yu and other musicians' narratives, I will detail the process of Taiwanese musicians catching up this trend after 1987.

From Fingernails to Plectrums

In the mid-twentieth century, most *zheng* players used their fingernails to pluck the strings. When the fingernails were not strong enough, the players attached plectrums outside of their fingernails. The plectrums were usually made from plastic or bamboo (see Figure 4.1). This traditional way of playing *zheng* was practiced in Taiwan until the early 1980s. Chen I-yu told me that she did not use any plectrums when she started learning *zheng* in 1980. She deemed that it was easier to pluck strings bare-handed because then there was no need to adapt to an external tool. During the 1980s, most people began learning *zheng* with the traditional steel-stringed *zheng*, but few people had her experience of not wearing plectrums because other people might start learning *zheng* a few years later than her did when the trend of wearing plectrums started in Taiwan (personal interview 2017).



Figure 4.1 *Zheng* plectrums wore outside of the fingers for thumb, index, and middle fingers

The formalization of wearing plectrums on the right hand was initiated by the Zhejiang *zheng* school in the 1960s, in conjunction with the new 21-nylon-stringed *zheng* and new playing techniques. The common materials of this type of plectrums consist of turtle shell, ox horn, celluloid, and plastic (see Figure 4.2). This new method changed the manner of wearing

plectrums from the outside to the inside of the fingers. Wearing plectrums on the inside of the fingers offers a strong touch and a brighter sonic effect to play modern techniques, such as *yaozhi* and *saoyao*,⁴⁵ which require instant momentum and constant strength. It is possible to use the fingernails or outside plectrums to play these new techniques, but it would not be effective to generate the dynamic contrasts characteristic of modern *zheng* music. Therefore, most musicians would choose to follow this trend of wearing plectrums when they play modern *zheng* music. Because of the political separation between Taiwan and mainland China, this wave did not reach Taiwan until the mid-1980s. Chen I-yu remembered that she went through a series changes of playing during a short period of time in the 1980s. First, she started playing the nylon-stringed *zheng* when she was in middle school, then started wearing four plectrums on her right hand in the summer when she finished the high school entrance examination (personal interview 2017).



Figure 4.2 *Zheng* plectrums wore inside of the fingers for thumb, index, middle, and ring fingers

In the early 1990s, wearing plectrums on both hands became a trend. Due to the popularization of the Speedy Fingering Sequence Technique and the need for playing new compositions, *zheng* musicians in Beijing started promoting the wearing of four plectrums on

⁴⁵ The *saoyao* is an advanced right-hand *zheng* playing technique. It uses the thumb to play the same string repeatedly and rapidly while adding accents with middle finger on multiple strings. It creates a vigorous sonic effect and great momentum on the *zheng*.

both hands, and this gradually became mainstream. In this trend, Taiwanese musicians were able to adapt the new method sooner than before due to the lifting of the travel ban in the late 1980s. Chen I-yu told me that when she studied at university in the early 1990s, her classmates already went to Beijing to study *zheng* short-term under Li Wanfen, *zheng* professor of China Conservatory of Music, and they started wearing plectrums on both hands. She adapted this new method in 1997 when she went to Beijing to study under Qiu Dacheng, *zheng* professor of China Conservatory of Music. Chen deemed that wearing plectrums on the inside of both hands was necessary for playing the new compositions of certain composers, such as Xu Xiaolin, because they requested both hands played the unified timbre as piano (personal interview 2017).

The adaptation of the new way of wearing plectrums is a radical challenge for the players. This entailed a long process of adaptation, especially for experienced players. If the players had already learned to play *zheng* with their bare hands or wearing plectrums on the outsides of their fingers, they would need to unlearn these old habits and re-learn a new way of touching the strings. This not only occurred in Taiwan but also in mainland China. When I interviewed Zhou Wang, *zheng* professor of Central Conservatory of Music, in Beijing, she shared with me her multiple steps of adapting different plectrums. She started learning *zheng* bare-handed with her father, Shaanxi *zheng* school founder Zhou Yanjia. After her fingers became blistered,⁴⁶ she started wearing plectrums on the outsides of fingers for a long time.⁴⁷ At that time, she studied with Shandong *zheng* school master Gao Zicheng, who wore plectrums on

⁴⁶ The blisters of her fingers were especially a result of practicing northern style *zheng* music because the strings used in these schools were harder than those used in the southern schools.

⁴⁷ Zhou Wang's first pair of plectrums was handmade by his father's friend. The plectrums were made from thin red plastic sheets, which was originally for padding things. To make it, it needed to be cut in the shape of a fingernail and hollowed out in the middle, then put on a plectrum-shaping device and heated for a while in order to make the shape fit the fingers. When using these plectrums, she needed to have her fingernails a little longer. When she put her fingers in the holes of the plectrums, a small part of the tips of the plectrums would serve as extensions of fingernails. She then used these extensions to pluck the strings (personal interview 2015).

the outside of the fingers.⁴⁸ She started wearing plectrums inside when she studied with Zhejiang *zheng* school master Xiang Sihua and Fan Shange. At the beginning, she only wore the plectrums inside due to the needed of performance. In her recital in 1991, she wore plectrums outside in the first half of this concert, and wore plectrums inside for the second half of concert. Interestingly, she told me that at the beginning she only wore one plectrum inside on middle finger because of the *saoyao* technique. Later she completely adapted to wear four plectrums inside on the right hand, and then four on the left hand (personal interview 2015).

Although wearing four plectrums on both hands is standard practice nowadays, there are still players in Taiwan and mainland China who do not follow this trend. For instance, Cheng Te-yuan and Fan Wei-tsu still play *zheng* with bare fingers. This highlights the player's individuality, as Zhou Wang shared her insight.

I tried many different types of plectrums. I deem that it is merely a tool as long as you can use it handily. This just like how the Westerner eats noodles by turning a fork and the Chinese picks up noodles with chopsticks. The *zheng* plectrums also function in the same way. (personal interview 2015)

From Tuopi to Yaozhi Technique

The *yaozhi* is an advanced *zheng* playing technique that involves plucking the same string(s) continuously and rapidly in order to sustain the time value of note(s). It sustains the string vibrations and generates long note values without the sonic decay created from a single plucking motion. The *yaozhi* technique can be played by thumb, index finger, or middle finger,

⁴⁸ Gao's plectrums were made of stainless steel. They were similar to the *pipa*'s plectrums that covered the entire fingernail. Wearing *zheng* plectrums outside of the fingers was suitable for playing the northern schools' *zheng* music because it consists of a lot of *tuopi* technique. Nowadays wearing the plectrums on the insides of the fingers makes it harder to play the *pi* technique.

or a combination of these fingers, and even by both hands. In this section, I will explicate the transformations of the kinesthetic aspect of this playing technique.

The traditional *yaozhi* technique was known as the *tuopi*. *Tuo* is the technical term for the thumb plucking outward; *pi* is for the thumb plucking inward. The *tuopi* technique is frequently played by the northern *zheng* schools with the moving of different parts of thumb: the Henan *zheng* school uses the motion of the thumb root to play this technique; the Shandong *zheng* school uses the middle joint of thumb. When playing this technique, the players place the ring finger on the *zheng*'s right-side bridge in order to stabilize the hand motion. Nowadays *zheng* musicians still apply these techniques when playing traditional music.

Because of the limitations and difficulty of the *tuopi* technique for controlling dynamic and playing long melody, a series of new playing methods of *yaozhi* has been invented for playing modern *zheng* music since the mid-twentieth century. Inspired by the *yaozhi* technique of *pipa*,⁴⁹ Ying Qiyong used the *yaozhi* technique on the index finger in his *zheng* solo re-arrangement of “Yaozu wuqu” (Dance of Yao People) in 1957, which is originally a Western orchestral composition. The method *yawanyao* (lit. pressing wrist *yaozhi*) places the wrist on the top of right side bridge of the *zheng*. When playing, the player uses the thumb to support the index finger and the gesture of the other fingers is like a half fist, rotating the wrist to initiate the movement of index finger. However, because the wrist was placed on the bridge, it is hard to connect with other fingerings before and after this technique. Therefore, another *yaozhi* method was invented.

The Zhejiang *zheng* school initiated an agile method of playing thumb *yaozhi*—*zhazhuangyao* (lit. pricking *yaozhi*), which has been widely-adopted today. When playing, the

⁴⁹ The *pipa*'s *yaozhi* is an advanced right-hand playing technique. It uses a single finger to play the same string repeatedly and rapidly. It can apply to thumb, index, or middle finger.

index finger supports the thumb that plucks the string repeatedly while the little finger is placed on the *zheng*'s right-side bridge to stabilize the hand motion. This new method increases the frequency of *yaozhi*, allowing the thumb to move in between strings more flexibly and enabling the *zheng* to play a long and floating melody. Although studying under Wang Xunzhi, these representative Zhejiang *zheng* masters had their own applications of this method. In the following section, I will list Chen I-yu's experience of catching up with learning the thumb *yaozhi* technique in the 1990s and her insights on Zhejiang *zheng* school masters' individual approaches.⁵⁰

- (1) Wang Changyuan's method: Chen I-yu learned this method under Taiwanese *zheng* professor Wei De-dong. This method uses the strength of the arm and did not bend the wrist. It did not work for Chen because her hand would ache after playing for a long time.
- (2) Zhang Yan's method: Chen directly learned under Zhang Yan when she was an undergraduate student. Because Zhang's hand was small, she contracted all of her fingers close together in order to generate an explosive force. However, Zhang's method did not work for Chen as well because her hand got stiff.
- (3) Sun Wenyan's and Fan Shange's method: After Chen graduated from the university, she learned under Sun Wenyan during Sun's short-term visit in Taiwan. This method places the index, middle, and ring fingers in a triangle shape and uses the wrist as the fulcrum to initiate the plucking motion inward and outward repeatedly. Chen only had few lessons with Sun, and she kept practicing by herself for almost three months. Then she adapted this method and used it until today (personal interview 2017).

⁵⁰ Before learning the thumb *yaozhi* technique, she learned the index-finger *yaozhi* without wearing plectrums from Cheng Te-yuan, who used his own nails to play *zheng*.

The next evolution of *yaozhi*—*xuanwanyao* (lit. hanging wrist *yaozhi*)—was invented by Li Wanfen in the late 1980s (Li 1988). In the former methods, *yaozhi* could only be played close to the right-side *zheng* bridge due to the placement of the ring or little finger on the *zheng*. Li's method broke through this limitation. She merely uses the control and strength of the wrist to exercise the inward and outward motions of the thumb without any fingers as fulcrum attaching to the *zheng*. It allows the players to play *yaozhi* on any part of the string, resulting in the change of timbre. Chen I-yu told me that she learned *xuanwanyao* under Wang Zhongshan, Li Wanfen's student. She noticed that while most players placed the little finger on the side of the string on which they play *yaozhi*, she observed that Wang places his little finger two strings away so his hand is flatter, but he also could generate the same timbre (personal interview 2017). This *xuanwanyao* method does not conflict with Sun's *zhazhuangyao* method. Therefore, Chen I-yu used both alternatively according to the need of music.

It is common nowadays for *zheng* players to learn multiple methods of performing *yaozhi*. It is good for the players to explore and to find methods that best suit them. More importantly, professional players are expected to be skillful at different methods because certain types of *yaozhi* coordinate with particular musical styles and texts. For instance, using the strength of arm without bending the wrist is good for playing intense dynamics, such as the *saoyao* technique. When playing a long melody, it is better to use the motion of the wrist in order to gain a fine timbre and dense frequency.

As with adapting plectrums, learning different methods of the *yaozhi* technique is a long process. I re-learned *yaozhi* under Chen I-yu after I played *zheng* for six years. It took intensive practice and continuous consciousness during this process to undo the old habit in order to

cultivate a new one. After few months, I started gaining the stability of using the new method. Then it took ongoing practice to maintain it.

The evolution of *yaozhi* technique in the twentieth century shows that each new performing approach is built upon the previous ones, mirroring Coplan's claim of "creating continuity between familiar and alien realms of experience through the display of cultural knowledge" (1991:42). These new types of *yaozhi* do not entirely replace the previous ones because each type of *yaozhi* derived from its own historical contexts and consists of its own particular sonic features for its corresponding musical texts. In particular, these new *yaozhi* techniques invented after the mid-twentieth century did not replace the traditional *tuopi* technique. Although the players may substitute the old methods with the new ones, this would result in a timbre and flavor of music that is different from the original one.

In sum, the case of evolving techniques displays the internal differences of Chinese *zheng* music through time and regions. Taiwanese musicians pursued the new trend after 1987, resulting in not only the improvement of their playing techniques but also the musical synchronization across the strait. This further informs that the differentiation of practice does not necessarily map onto the mainland China/Taiwan divide.

Changing Tempos

Focusing on my own learning experience on one traditional *zheng* music school, this section discusses how musicians conceptualize and practice *zheng* music as an art of time, leading to the understanding of the micro-level varieties of Chineseness in a local place.

Rao Ningxin (b.1941) is a Kejia *zheng* master and *zheng* professor of Xinghai Conservatory of Music in Guangzhou. He is well-known for his superb improvisation ability and

refined touching of the strings that give *zheng* art a profound meaning. I first met him when he was a visiting professor at the NTUA in 2004. Caught by his music and personality, I studied with him for few lessons in Taiwan and later went to Guangzhou to study with him during the summer of 2005, and again in 2015 for the field research of my dissertation. In the following section, I will elaborate on the fluidity and flow of traditional music through a detailed analysis of my *zheng* lesson with Rao on June 29, 2015.

Tempo on the Fingertips

At the beginning of this class, I consulted with him about his comment on the tempo of my playing of the Kejia *zheng* piece “Chushui lian” (Lotus Flowers Emerging from Water). I commented to him that “during our last class (on June 26, 2015), you said I played it too fast. Yet I listened to Luo Jiuxiang’s (1902-1978, Luo was Rao’s teacher) recording after our class. He also played that fast.”

“Chushui lian” is one of the classical Kejia *dadiao quzi* (lit. big tunes), which originated from *zhongzhou gudiao* (lit. ancient tunes from the central land). This musical category embodies Kejia people’s migration history from central to southern China, including the carrying of their musical culture. Each *dadiao quzi* contains sixty-eight *ban* (lit. the first downbeat of each measure, extended meaning as measure), and the structure of musical phrase is symmetrical and orderly. “Chushui lian” is a slow piece. Traditionally, after playing it, Kejia people would immediately continue with a middle tempo piece “Xunfeng qu” (Tune of Summer Wind) without stopping. “Xunfeng qu” is also a *dadiao quzi*. When playing, the musicians would gradually increase the tempo.

The performing versions of Luo and Rao are obviously different in terms of length, section arrangement, and tempo. In Luo’s recording in 1961, he plays “Chushui lian” two times without following it with “Xunfeng qu.” The total length of this version is 3’41’’, beginning with the tempo of 76 and attaining a tempo of 104 at its fastest point. In Rao’s version, “Chushui lian” is played one time and continues with three to five instances of “Xunfeng qu.” In his album released in 1989, the total length of both pieces is 5’49’’, and the tempo ranges from 52 to 152. In the version that he recorded for me in the class in 2004 in Taiwan, the tempo ranges from 44 to 136. Later, the tempo of the recording in our class in 2015 ranged from 32 to 100. In addition, on Rao’s performing score that transcribed by Li Meng and published in 2003, the tempo range is from 60 to 144 (see Figure 4.3 and 4.4). The diversity of these versions reveals that the flexibility of traditional *zheng* musical practice existed not only between performers but also between performances.

Figure 4.3 List of five performing versions of “Chushui lian” and “Xunfeng qu”

| Performer | Year | Media | Total Length | “Chushui lian” | | “Xunfeng qu” | |
|--------------|------|--------|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| | | | | Time | Range of Tempo | Time | Range of Tempo |
| Luo Jiuxiang | 1961 | Record | 3’41’’ | 2 | 76 - 104 | 0 | N/A |
| Rao Ningxin | 1989 | Record | 5’49’’ | 1 | 52 - 92 | 3 | 44 - 152 |
| | 2003 | Score | N/A | 1 | 60 - 76 | 3 | 44 - 144 |
| | 2004 | Lesson | 8’05’’ | 1 | 44 - 72 | 5 | 36 - 136 |
| | 2015 | Lesson | 9’10’’ | 1 | 32 - 52 | 3 | 36 - 100 |

Figure 4.4 Transcription of five performing versions of “Chushui lian” (mm. 1-8)

This block contains the first system of musical notation, showing five different performing versions of the piece. Each version is represented by a separate staff, all in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The versions are labeled on the left as Luo (1961), Rao (1989), Rao (2003), Rao (2004), and Rao (2015). Above each staff, the tempo or performance range is indicated: Luo (1961) is marked with ♩ = 76-104, Rao (1989) with ♩ = 52-92, Rao (2003) with ♩ = 60-76, Rao (2004) with ♩ = 44-72, and Rao (2015) with ♩ = 32-52. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and accents (marked with a double wavy line) over the notes.

This block contains the second system of musical notation, continuing the five versions from the first system. It features five staves in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first measure of this system is marked with a '3' above the staff, indicating a triplet. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and accents (marked with a double wavy line) over the notes. The bottom staff of this system includes a triplet of eighth notes marked with a '3' above it.

5

Musical score for measures 5 and 6. The score is written for five staves in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). Measure 5 contains five staves of music. Measure 6 contains five staves of music. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks such as accents and slurs.

7

Musical score for measures 7 and 8. The score is written for five staves in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). Measure 7 contains five staves of music. Measure 8 contains five staves of music. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks such as accents and slurs.

When Rao explained the differences between Luo's and his tempo, he first emphasized the notion of *inheriting tradition critically* through examining musicians' backgrounds. Luo and Rao were one generation apart. Luo was born in a relatively wealthy business family, so his purpose of learning music was not for making a living, as most people would not consider playing music as a respectable career in traditional Chinese society if they had other better options. Luo played music as a hobby and learned it in a casual entertainment setting, so he played for entertainment. Rao said that Luo usually played lively and pleasing music with an easy mood, and seldom played sad music, such as "Zhaojun yuan" (Lament of Lady Zhaojun) and "Yashan ai" (Sorrow at the Cliff) (personal interview 2015).

Luo was not Rao's first *zheng* teacher. Rao grew up in a musical family and his father Rao Congju (1897- 1974) was a folk musician, played multiple instruments, and was good at playing Guangdong *Handiao*. In the 1930s, Shanghai's EMI Records released Rao Congju's album of vocal Guangdong Han drama, which was popular in China and southeast Asia. Growing up in a musical family, Rao Ningxin started learning *zheng* and other Chinese instruments with his father from a very young age. Although Rao's and Luo's families both lived in Dapu County, they lived in different areas and spoke different Kejia dialects. Rao said that Luo's home was fifty or sixty kilometers away and close to the Chaozhou area, so his music contained Chaozhou flavor. In contrast, Rao's family lived in Chaoyang County where the music was quaint and solemn. The tempo of music there was not fast. Therefore, when Rao started to learn *zheng* with Luo, his father told him to focus on learning the musical framework rather than styles (personal interview 2015). Rao's account explicates and reveals the internal differences of Kejia *zheng* school.

As to the tempo differences between his performing versions, he said that the tempo was faster in his album because of the request of the record company. For commercial reasons, the company aimed at recording thirteen or fourteen pieces on one album. As a result, Rao shortened the music and played it with a faster tempo during the recording sessions. Rao was willing to make this change because he understood that very few people would buy a record with only five or six pieces. If he recorded this music as he played before, one piece would be more than ten minutes. He said that six minutes was considered long for the album because the record company asked him to cut it to four minutes. Therefore, he remarked that the music in his album was not completely the same as the genuine Kejia music (personal interview 2015).

Rao's agility in musical performance was revealed not only in traditional music but also in modern *zheng* music. When he worked in the Guangdong Music and Folk Art Troupe as a *zheng* soloist, one night he was assigned to play a *zheng* solo between two balladry performances. One actor asked him to play his *zheng* solo longer because she performed in both repertoires before and after Rao's solo. She needed enough time to change her outfits. The *zheng* solo that Rao played at that night was a modern *zheng* piece "Liuyang he," whose standard version length is around three minutes. When performing, Rao added a lots of *fuyin* techniques to interpret the water in "Liuyang he" flowing lively. By the time the actor gave him a signal to end his performance, he had been playing it for six minutes (personal interview 2015). This was the way that Rao cultivated his ability and perception of improvisation on stage, as this troupe had more than one hundred performances each year with an average of one performance every two days.

Timing and Tempo of Improvisation

When Rao taught me “Chushui lian” again in 2015, he played the *yehu* while I played the *zheng*, as he taught me in 2005. This re-presentation of the traditional ensemble setting in today’s transmission enabled me to perceive and to experience the way that Kejia people cultivated their musical sense and quality in a collective and interactive musical surrounding. While I listened to Rao’s adding flowers on *yehu*, I imitated his musical expressions and applied it to my playing on the *zheng*.

Adding flowers, *jiahua* in Chinese, is a traditional Chinese musical concept regarding improvisation. In the traditional context of transmission, players at first learn and memorize the melodic framework of the music, *guganyin* in Chinese, and then add their own interpretations and improvisations based on the framework. Adding flowers involves all aspects of music, such as melody, rhythm, timbre, dynamism, articulation, as well as the appropriate time. Rao explained to me the timing of improvisation:

The timing of adding flowers depends on the venue. If you perform in usual occasions, add flowers. Don’t add flowers in the end of phrases when performing in solemn venues, such as the national concert hall. Add flowers in ensemble contexts, but not necessarily in solos. While other instruments, such as *yehu* and *dongxiao*, play the main melody, play the *zheng* with adding flowers. When playing in a *zheng* ensemble, adding flowers can be played in the lower register. When you teach students, teach the original version without adding flowers at the beginning. Learn the original framework first, then add the varied notes of flowers. (personal interview 2015)

The timing of adding flowers conveys the vivifying and interactive components of musical performance, involving situational variability and complexity. This further confirms that

every musical performance is different, and the appropriate way to perform always changes and depends.

Rao considered his performances to be personal interpretations and not representative of the Kejia *zheng* school. Taking the tempo and musical structure as an example to discuss the improvisation of “Chushui lian” (see Figure 4.3), he said that the fast tempo that his predecessors played was faster than his, the slow tempo was slower than his, and the variations they played were more varied than his. As to the musical structure, Rao said he played “Chushui lian” one time, followed with “Xunfeng qu” three times, due to the demands of the commercial recording. In the old days, Kejia people played “Chushui lian” two-to-three times and “Xunfeng qu” seven-to-eight times. In all, it took about twenty minutes. Rao considered the ancestors playing music as people writing about diverse topics in their entire lives. Therefore, he commented that

nowadays people’s understanding of traditional music is superficial. I say one thing; you think it is one thing. Yet the one thing I say actually means ten things in the old days. I condensed them to one for explaining to others. (personal interview 2015)

Tempo of the Times

In this *zheng* session, Rao and I also worked on “Jiaochuang yeyu” (Night Rain Outside the Window). It is a Kejia *zheng* piece consisting of thirty-one measures. In this relatively short piece, the melodic materials are similar and repetitive. The version I learned from Rao Ningxin had five variations. During our class, I told him that I had a hard time learning it because of these similar and repetitive materials. His reply immediately went straight to the essential problem. He said, “this piece is not hard. It is hard for you because you only have such a short period of time to study it. If it is hard, the difficult part is to play it richly with these simple materials” (personal

interview 2015). His words point out the problems of today's time-limited and time-structured transmission that resulted from the differences of the times.

Rao said that he improvised this piece five times in one round when he recorded his album, but the prior generation played it eight-to-ten times in one round. He went on and talked about his musical experience in local casual settings during the 1950s.

After the people ate dinner and took a shower, they gathered together to play music. It usually started around 9:30 p.m. The total period of playing time was around three hours with breaks to chat and drink tea. The people usually played three to five pieces in one night. It usually finished around 1 a.m. Then people got hungry and had a late snack together. When I studied in middle school, this was how people played music in Guangzhou. My house was the place for the musical gathering, so I joined them. We had different kinds of instruments in my house, including *yehu*, *yangqin*, *zheng*, *erhu*, *dizi*, *qinqin*, and percussion. There were at least one or two musical gathering in my house per week. It happened on Saturday night for sure. But sometimes other nights or even in the daytime people came.

This musical setting that Rao's described in the past is called *sihuoju*, meaning amateur folk music and art clubs in Cantonese-speaking communities. They are organized by folk music and art lovers for self-entertainment purpose. The feature of *sihuoju* is that it is not professional group, but these players know a lot of repertoire and their music contains strong local flavor because they grew up in this environment and picked them up naturally. Some members of Han drama clubs even can memorize one to two hundred pieces (personal interview of Rao Shuhang 2015). Although the *sihuoju* still exists in Guangdong Province, this is not the way that today's *zheng* players learn. Nowadays most *zheng* players learn music through exclusive *zheng* private

or group-structured lessons. In contrast to *zheng* transmission as a solo instrument nowadays, the setting of *sihuoju* enables players to cultivate their sensational experience of the local musical flavor through immersing in a multi-instrumental context, where the spring of Keijia musical performance and improvisation emerges. However, the number of *sihuoju* is decreasing.

Rao has seen the rise and fall of *sihuoju* and Kejia *zheng* music and still retains an open and positive attitude for today's Kejia *zheng* music. He regarded the rise and fall of a music genre as a natural phenomenon and compared this situation with the musical phenomenon in Tang dynasty, citing Liu Zhangqing's (709-780) Tang poem Playing Qin: "I love the ancient tunes, but most of today's people do not play them"⁵¹ (personal interview 2015). For Rao, while the past no longer exists, only the music on the fingertips at the present moment is real. This is why he played the same repertoire variously every time and why he was willing to adjust his performance according to the contexts. When I re-visited him in Guangzhou in 2015, I had a deeper understanding of what he taught me ten/eleven years ago. At that time, when I played his version of "Yashan ai" in the last lesson, which I studied intensively by imitating his playing in the class recording, he stopped me playing and told me this was not "right," then showed me several different ways to play the same musical phrase. For him, every present moment was different than the previous so that the musical expression would not be the same.

Rao's musical behavior shows that the changing tempo and the adding flowers are merely sonic appearances to express the musical thoughts of a particular moment. What remains unchanged is the musicians' adjustable subjectivity of musical performance that drives music to keep changing and developing, leading to the creation of new music and musical genre.

⁵¹ 唐朝劉長卿《彈琴》：「泠泠七弦上，靜聽松風寒，古調雖自愛，今人多不彈。」

In sum, the case of changing tempo reveals the re-valorization of “the local” which was undervalued in the mid-twentieth century in Taiwan. In contrast to the government-promoted, standardized “national” *zheng* music that made the local practice nearly inaudible, now the flexibility and variety of “local” *zheng* practice is precisely what is valued in *zheng* performance in both Taiwan and mainland China.

Rethinking Authenticity

In the case of *zheng* music, the *zheng* pilgrimages of the Taiwanese spurs a rethinking of the conception of authenticity and its musical practice due to the center-peripheral division of China-Taiwan in the geo-cultural reality. Regarding authenticity in the discourse of traditional art and culture, there are two common myths. The first one is the existence of an ultimate original way of traditional cultural practice. The second one is the timeless quality that implies an unchanged nature existing through time and space. Instead of viewing authenticity as a fixed and enduring quality, I will utilize several cases of traditional *zheng* musical practice to illustrate the issues of authenticity in what follows.

First, an original way of playing regional *zheng* music can be defined, but musicians’ playing may not be confined. This is best illustrated with the gap between *zheng* practice as a folk tradition and as a conservatory product. Li Meng, *zheng* professor of the Central Conservatory of Music, told me that when she studied *zheng* at school, the teacher said that there was no *tuopi* technique (a feature of northern *zheng* music) applied to Chaozhou *zheng* music. However, when she conducted field research in Chaozhou, she found out that it existed in Huang Huiyuan’s (Chaozhou native) playing, and his techniques were better than some professionals. Li

remarked that folk musicians' practice was freer than the professionals because folk people, relatively speaking, learn music as a hobby (personal interview 2015).

Second, the timeless quality of musical performance across space is complicated by musicians' origin and mobility. During our interview, Li Meng further shared with me her insight regarding the subtlety of authenticity that can only be detected by aural sensation. As she discussed, when Huang Huiyuan resided long-term in Shenyang, an important industrial city located in Northeast China, to work as an engineer of electric appliances, he bought Shandong *zheng* master Zhou Yuzhai's album and frequently listened to and learned from it. Due to the environmental change, she deemed that Huang's music later contained the Northeast flavor. A counterpart case that Li pointed out is his teacher Cao Zheng, whose performance contained Henan flavor because he was from Henan. Cao's musical habitus rooted in his hometown culture had sustained to a certain degree even while playing other regional *zheng* music (personal interview 2015).

Third, even in the same place, the timeless quality of musical performance changes in the same family between generations. Take the Kejia *zheng* school family as an example. Although Rao Ningxin's musical experience spanned folk tradition and the conservatory, his music was rooted in growing up playing music in amateur music ensemble with his father's generation.⁵² By contrast, his son Rao Shuhang (b.1974), *zheng* professor of Xinghai Conservatory of Music, had a distinct musical trajectory. The music he played is built upon Western-style conservatory training rather than the folk ensemble. Compared to folk musicians, Rao Shuhang plays with a better timbre. He considered that it is the mission of his generation to utilize the advantage of

⁵² He graduated from the Guangzhou Music Academy (today's Xinghai Conservatory of Music), then worked at the Sichuan Conservatory of Music, the Guangdong Music and Folk Art Troupe, and the Xinghai Conservatory of Music.

Western musical training while keeping the traditional flavor. In addition, the usage of notation also changed. The Keijia people used to sing “Chushui lian” with *gongchi* notation “*liu fan liu fan che liu fan shang che*,”⁵³ but now they sing with Western solfège “sol fa sol fa re sol fa do re.”⁵⁴ When playing, the latter generation add ornamentations as “5 6 5 4. 2 4 5 6 1 5 - .” Rao Shuhang anticipated that this may change again after one hundred years, but it is fine because the overall image will still exist (personal interview 2015).

These cases demonstrate that musical change is built in as an organic part of the authenticity of musical practice. The complexity of musical change intertwines with learning settings, musicians’ roots and routes, and socio-historical backdrop. Considering these variable parameters, the notion of authenticity can only be discussed as context-specific, as Li Meng points out,

What we call authentic or not is relative. [Sometimes] the most authentic people may not play authentically [as the stereotype]. Who knows what is authentic or not? We can only say [if] we are close to our previous generation and the previous generations before that, that is authentic. Before that, no one really knows [what was presented then] because they may have been different from their former generations. When I conducted my fieldwork, every folk musician explicitly and implicitly told me ‘I am different from others,’ including their predecessors. They considered that they spoke from an artistic altitude. The contemporary generation also possesses this viewpoint. Therefore, it is impossible to be close [to the previous generation’s performance]. The so-called close is a relative issue. (personal interview 2015)

⁵³ 六凡六凡尺六凡上尺, Chinese text as shown in Figure 3.4.

⁵⁴ During my interview, Rao Shuhang sang this musical phrase in three different approaches. Each time he added different articulations, such as slides and tremolos, as it applies to the *zheng*.

In these *zheng* tales, authenticity was used from an emic perspective to address a unique position that is different from the others (Stokes 1994). During this process, the emic perspective generates the elasticity of authenticity of *zheng* practice that illustrates that the meaning of Chineseness contains regional and historical differences.

Musical Synchronization

The case studies of evolving playing techniques and changing tempo demonstrate that the *zheng* is a living, changing tradition. Following the steps of mainland-Chinese musicians, Taiwanese musicians pursued the contemporary existence of *zheng*. This playing ethos resulted in the musical synchronization across the strait, as shown in the following musical phenomena and impacts.

First, Chinese *zheng* pilgrimages fundamentally changed *zheng* transmission in Taiwan from an oral tradition to a conservatory-training approach. Before the early 1990s, Taiwanese teachers mostly taught traditional music (and focused on the control of left hand bending sounds) because they studied with Liang Tsai-ping and Chen Lei-shi. The traditional way of learning music was a holistic education, not only learning the teacher's musical styles but also his manner and attitude toward life. Chen I-yu told me that the most important part that she learned from her teacher Cheng Te-yuan, who studied with Liang Tsai-ping and Chen Lei-shi, was the manners of playing music, such as calmness, patience, and being unrestrained. Chen described that Cheng's style as like traditional *wenren*. Sometimes when she played, Cheng was cleaning and pruning his plants. He seldom talked, but when he did, it would benefit students a lot. When teaching, he would just play for student and not regulate how to play every phrase. At that time, Taiwanese teachers taught *zheng* as an oral tradition. The score was just an aid and could not be used in the

class. The teacher would play for student first and find the notes with student in the class. This was good for ear training. On the contrary, the mainland-Chinese teachers' method was score-centric conservatory style. Chen I-yu told me when she learned with Zhang Yan in the early 1990s, Zhang used Western staff to teach and her teaching gave priority to the score. The students needed to study the score and find their own fingering before the class, then presented their practice result in the class. After that, Zhang would set out the fingering for them. There were very few teachers teaching like that in Taiwan (personal interview 2017). As the new generation learned from mainland-Chinese teachers, the conservatory style of transmission became a universal approach in Taiwan.

Second, pursuing a mainland-Chinese style of *zheng* performance sharpened Taiwanese musicians' playing skills, especially in terms of modern music. During my interviews, the first Taiwanese generation students, including Chen I-yu and Cui Le-zhen, who had studied with mainland-Chinese teacher Zhang Yen, unanimously confirmed her influence on them. Moreover, Chen I-yu told me that in her first lesson with Qiu Dacheng, *zheng* professor of China Conservatory of Music, Qiu spent nearly half hour only focusing on the motion of *tuo*, thumb plucking outward. Usually the players only move the fingers to play. However, in this class she learned how to use the strength of elbow to play *tuo* in order to generate a different timbre. This is a very useful technique especially for playing the rubato sections in slow movements, such as in Xu Xiaolin's compositions. Without this timbre, one would not be able to convey a deep feeling in these sections (personal interview 2016 and 2017).

The third phenomenon is the standardization in terms of instrument and notation. This musical phenomenon was first reflected in the usage of the modernized instrument type. In his

book, Liang Tsai-ping (1962:8-11) points out that there were five types of *zheng*.⁵⁵ After the lift of the travel ban, the 21-nylon-stringed *zheng* which was invented in the 1960s in Shanghai gradually gained popularity in Taiwan in the 1990s and replaced the previous types of *zheng*. Today the 21-nylon-stringed *zheng* is the standard in both Taiwan and mainland China. Moreover, the standardization was further enforced by the usage of mainland publications. When the updated information had not been transmitted to Taiwan before the early 1980s, the same repertoire was notated with different technique symbols or playing techniques by different Taiwanese teachers (Cheng 1990: 350). After the mass importation of *zheng* resources from mainland China, most Taiwanese *zheng* players adapted to the mainland's unified technique symbols. Meanwhile, they still keep using their own diverse notation systems because they inherited these systems from their predecessors. As a result, most Taiwanese players use both systems simultaneously.

As to the fourth phenomenon, I call it as the musical fashion of Chinese *zheng*, indicating the musical phenomena that certain newly composed *zheng* solos from the mainland become popular and frequently appear in concerts, examinations, and cross-strait competitions. Similar to the popular musical trend in terms of shelf-life, the repertoire of *zheng* fashion usually lasts three to five years, and then the repertoire of the next trend begins (personal interview of Fan 2015). The shared musical features among these repertoires include: (1) Chinese musical flavor derived from the (re-)tuning of the pentatonic scale; (2) contrasting musical components showing the players' multiple aspects of musicality; and, the most importantly, (3) one or more cadenza-functioning passages demonstrating the players' virtuosity. Taiwanese players started participating in this trend since the late 1980s. During my interviews, *zheng* professors in

⁵⁵ These were 16-metal-stringed *qin zheng*, 16-metal-stringed big *zheng*, silk-stringed *zheng* (containing 12- and 16-stringed two types), Chaozhou *zheng*, 16-stringed small *zheng* with metal bridges.

mainland China were surprised that the Taiwanese followed the updated trend even earlier than many players in mainland China outside of Beijing and Shanghai (personal interview of Sun Wenyan and Zhou Wang 2015).

Given the above phenomena of musical synchronization, I conclude that the Taiwanese studying *zheng* in the mainland was a musical pilgrimage germinating from the longing for the present rather than a nostalgic trip in search of the past.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated the conception of Chineseness and its interplay with the representation of authenticity by examining Taiwanese *zheng* musicians participating in a synchronized cultural China across strait. The pursuing of the contemporary-oriented mainland-Chinese musical trend brought conceptual and technical transformations to Taiwanese musicians. For them, experiencing the creativity of Chinese *zheng* art tied to the local spurred the initiation of the localization of *zheng* music in Taiwan, whereas these mainland musical techniques that they studied became a tool for composing in a new *zheng* genre after the 2000s. This new musical wave will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Becoming Taiwanese

This chapter examines the formation of Taiwanese *zheng* music after the 2000s from socio-political and musical perspectives. First, I will analyze the complexities of the interplay between cultural, political, and ethnic identities. I further deconstruct the meaning of “Taiwan” and the identities of the “Taiwanese” performers in this new musical category. In terms of the musical aspect, I analyze the diverse musical cultures that give the constitution of Taiwanese *zheng* music. In this chapter, I argue that the *zheng* in Taiwan has been transformed into an instrument for expressing Taiwanese cultural identities.

Interplay of Cultural and Political Identities

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, a tremendous political change from sinicization to Taiwanization occurred during the late 1980s and 1990s in Taiwan. The former dichotomy between *benshenren* and *waishengren* that once defined the Taiwan-China relation was replaced by the notion of “New Taiwanese” that integrates four major ethnic groups (*Hoklo*, *Hakka*, Mainlanders, and Aborigines). While this political discourse is built upon ethnic identification, ethnic identity interplays with cultural identity in a variety of ways. By examining Taiwanese musicians’ ethnic identities and their social relationships with mainland-Chinese musicians, I will discuss the asynchronous trends between *zheng* culture and politics in the 1990s and the re-centering of *zheng* cultural identity after the 2000s.

Untuned Identities Between the Zheng and the Politics

That identity is constructed through relation to the Other, and often through difference from the Other (Hall 1996a:4) is illustrated in the political discourse of Taiwanese identity. In

these two political periods—with the notion of *benshengren* as Taiwanese from 1945 to the 1980s and the “New Taiwanese” after the 1990s—both discourses of Taiwanese identity are built upon difference with China as the Other. As Brown suggests that “a specific identity is formed by individuals who share common social experiences because they are classified as members of a single group” (2004:211), the distinction between the Taiwanese and the Chinese is based on different social experiences and ethnic mixes. Although the Han people in Taiwan acknowledge their ancestral homeland in China, more and more people in Taiwan, increasingly after the 1990s, consider themselves as Taiwanese and have lost their emotional attachment to mainland China due to increased political oppression from the PRC.

Ironically, while internal Taiwanese politics underwent a process of Taiwanization beginning in the late 1980s and in conjunction with the debate of de-sinicization, Taiwanese *zheng* players accented the geo-cultural *zheng* center as mainland China and paid less attention to local music. During the 1990s, in contrast to the large amount of mainland-Chinese music imported to Taiwan, the new Taiwanese-composed *zheng* works significantly decreased, as did the presentation of Taiwan-related *zheng* music in concerts (Wu 2001:158; Chang, Lin and Chao 2015:7).

Juxtaposing political Taiwanization and the mainland-Chinese *zheng* trend, Taiwanese *zheng* players were living in a “syncopated temporality,” meaning “a different rhythm of living and being” (Gilroy 1993:281). The different sense of time provided Taiwanese players a cultural space in which to re-conceptualize and practice “Chinese” music that had not been previously allowed by the Nationalist government. This resulted in a musical synchronization across the strait and the peak of Chinese *zheng* pilgrimage from Taiwan to China from late 1980s to the early 2000s.

While the Chinese *zheng* pilgrimage projects an image of cultural China across the strait, the geographic disconnection and separate political systems reinforce the China-Taiwan division. From a mainland viewpoint, a musical pilgrimage based on the center-periphery division of Chinese culture overlapped with the PRC government's intention that signaled a recognition of mainland China as homeland and center. However, from a Taiwanese viewpoint, going to the mainland was an action of going overseas, even abroad, as a citizen of the ROC, whether a returning sentiment of homeland was felt or not. The mainland-Taiwan division was reinforced by Taiwanese living experiences in mainland China. For instance, when the Taiwanese enrolled to study in music conservatories on the mainland, the schools did not require these students to take political courses, such as Maoism or Marxism, as mandatory courses as they did for mainland-Chinese students. In addition, from the concerts for foreign students (*liuxuesheng*) to their boarding options, they were continuously marked as different from the Chinese in mainland China.

Moreover, the separate political systems across the strait caused social tension between Taiwanese and mainland-Chinese teachers. During the formal schooling years, performance-major students usually study with one teacher at a time. There are two exceptions: (1) studying with the same teacher's teachers or the same teacher's advanced students; and (2) studying in a foreign country where the musical art originated, as with the many Western music major students who travel to Europe to study Classical music. For the Taiwanese, learning *zheng* performance with mainland teachers did not meet the first condition in the 1990s due to the nearly forty-year political separation. Controversially, it did not precisely meet the second condition. For the Taiwanese, although the mainland was considered as an overseas territory because of the separation of the political systems, mainland China was not entirely viewed as a foreign country

due to cultural similarities among the Han people on both sides of the strait. Therefore, the layered inter-connections between Taiwan and mainland China required a more subtle social communication between their musicians. For example, Taiwanese teachers would allow their students to study with mainland-Chinese teachers for a particular repertoire or musical style. Chen I-yu told me her experience of studying with different teachers during the late 1980s and early 1990s. At that time, she studied *zheng* with Cheng Te-yuan at the Chinese Culture University in Taiwan. Cheng told her to learn modern *zheng* solo *The Greening*.⁵⁶ Because the overall *zheng* practice in Taiwan was more traditionally oriented, she did not know how to play it. Cheng thus said to her that she could consult Zhang Yan, who brought firsthand new music and playing methods from mainland China and taught at CCU at that time. Therefore, Chen started taking lessons with Zhang outside of school (personal interview 2017). For Chen, studying with Zhang functioned like a Chinese *zheng* pilgrimage in Taiwan.

In sum, the asynchrony between the trends of *zheng* music and internal politics in Taiwan shows that the cultural center was different from the political center for Taiwanese *zheng* players in the late 1980s and 1990s.

Re-centering Cultural Identity of the Zheng

Although this political discourse based on ethnicity indicates a clear boundary between territories, the ethnic identity of the Taiwanese indicates an ambiguous boundary between Taiwan and China. While the older generation adheres to an oppositional Chinese-Taiwanese identity, the younger generation who grew up during or after Taiwan's democratization period does not consider mainland China in opposition to Taiwan and possesses a dual identity,

⁵⁶ This is a *zheng* solo re-arranged from Japanese *koto* work by Minoru Miki. At that time, it was a new musical style for *zheng*.

considering themselves as both as Taiwanese and Chinese (Chang and Wang 2005; Rigger 2006). This split displays the internal differences in group identification of the Taiwanese. More importantly for this study, an ambiguous ethnic boundary allows Taiwanese *zheng* players to exercise their creativity more freely when it conflates cultural identity.

As a Taiwanese *zheng* player, I rarely sensed conflict between *benshengren* and *waishengren* when I grew up in the 1990s. For me, this may have been due to the lessened dichotomy after the 1990s. However, even my teacher Wang Ruei-yu and his teacher, who both lived through the era of high ethnic tension between *benshengren* and *waishengren*, did not pluck the strings of this ethnic dichotomy in the *zheng* realm. When Wang learned Chinese music at Cheng Kung High School in the 1960s, the teacher of the Chinese music club, Li Zhao-xing, taught him Chinese music at school and took him to watch *nanguan* performances outside of school. Originating from Fujian province, *nanguan* was categorized as a local musical genre and as oppositional to “Chinese” music because it came to Taiwan before the Nationalist government ruled Taiwan. During the 1960s, most *waishengren* disdained local culture and looked down on the value of collecting Taiwanese and indigenous music. Li Zhao-xing, a *waishengren* from Northeastern China, was a rare teacher who encouraged students to appreciate local music (personal interview 2017). For the musicians, the notion of *zheng* music bound up with ethnicity was a starting point for learning music rather than an end or a barrier. In contrast to the lament of the loss of local *zheng* music practice in chapter one, a *waishengren* encouraging people to study Taiwanese music as a “local” music highlights that “Taiwanese” music was not political and oppositional to Chinese from the beginning. The meanings of Chinese or Taiwanese are both constructed.

Taiwanese musicians regarded learning the formation of Chinese *zheng* music as an inspiration for developing their own local *zheng* genre. When Taiwanese *zheng* professor Wang Ruei-yu went to Hong Kong for a music “business” trip in 1979, he learned from the mainland-Chinese journals that the music conservatories in mainland China taught local music at schools. For example, silk and bamboo music at Shanghai Conservatory of Music; Cantonese, Chaozhou, and *Hakka* music at Xinghai Conservatory of Music; and Xi’an drum music at Xi’an Conservatory of Music. After he returned to Taiwan, he suggested that the National Taiwan Art School (today’s National Taiwan University of the Arts) open Taiwan-related music courses. Wang was one of the earliest Taiwanese *zheng* musicians who perceived the significance of the localization of *zheng* music. However, at that time most musicians were occupied with playing music from mainland China, so his proposal of Taiwan-related courses was not adopted by the school.

In Taiwan, a series of diplomatic struggles in the 1970s triggered a questioning of Chinese identity among the local people.⁵⁷ Local writers promoted a wave of cultural localization as a self-reflection of social reality, seeking to construct a local body of literature. However, this wave did not spread to the domain of Chinese music at that time. Although there was a Taiwan-related *zheng* repertoire, re-arrangements of Taiwanese tunes or new music was mostly composed in mainland-Chinese musical style for the demands of the market. Local musicians had not developed their own musical style. These compositions mainly followed the trend of mainland-Chinese *zheng* music rather than sprouting from Taiwanese local music (personal interview with Wang Ruei-yu, 2017).

⁵⁷ The series of diplomatic setbacks for the ROC government in the 1970s included a retreat from the United Nations in 1971 and severed diplomacy with Japan in 1972 and with the United States in 1978.

It was not until the 2000s that the localization of *zheng* music became a trend resulting from both political and cultural shifts. When the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) gained the presidency in 2000, the change of political party officially foregrounded the promotion of “Chinese” culture as a controversial issue in Taiwan. Where once the KMT government had promoted national standardization, now the DPP was pushing cultural localization. Political localization functioned as an encouragement for Taiwanese *zheng* musicians to re-orient their cultural center locally. As a result, musicians who hoped to receive government support had to localize their music. Moreover, due to economic growth in mainland China, more *zheng* cultural exchanges were hosted between schools across the strait. When the schools from mainland China presented their local music in these events, it became a stimulation for Taiwanese musicians to pay close attention to their local uniqueness (personal interview with Wang Ruei-yu, 2017). As a result, a local musical genre—Taiwanese *zheng* music—was created.

In the early 2000s, several Taiwanese *zheng* professionals appealed to the localization of *zheng* music. Speaking from a cultural perspective, Taiwanese *zheng* professor Chang Li-chiung advocates that Taiwanese *zheng* music needs to be considered as a unique subject because of its own trajectory. She further points out two approaches to constructing Taiwanese *zheng* music: (1) developing a traditional Taiwanese style which attaches to the local musical genres, as with traditional *zheng* schools in mainland China; and (2) composing new compositions which incorporate local musical materials. Between these two approaches, she deems that the second one is more suitable and practical for the current condition of Taiwanese *zheng* music because today’s Taiwan is not a traditional society for nurturing the traditional styles of *zheng* music (Chang 2003:171).

The notion of “Taiwan” in Taiwanese *zheng* music is close to the political concept of “New Taiwanese” that was promoted by the ROC government after the 1990s. Through using Taiwan-related resources, Taiwanese *zheng* players reified a local-centered music community by adapting old music and creating new music. By re-framing *zheng* as a Taiwanese cultural performance, Taiwan thus becomes a subject in the *zheng* realm, as a Taiwan-featured concert was hosted in the first International Beijing Guzheng Festival in 2009.

Construction of Taiwanese *Zheng* Music

The Taiwanese have re-contextualized *zheng* music in Taiwan and promoted Taiwanese *zheng* music since the 2000s. In the following section, I will examine the rise of Taiwanese *zheng* music and the meaning of Taiwan in Taiwanese *zheng* music. Moreover, through examining the musicians’ social position, I will illustrate how ethnic identification and social tension play a part during this formation process.

The Rise of Taiwanese Zheng Music

There were two *zheng* events in the early 2000s that brought Taiwanese players’ collective attention to the localization of *zheng* music. First, the Ensemble Orientalia of Taipei hosted the Millennium National Instrument Competition for *Zheng* at the NTUA on August 12th and 13th, 2000. This is the first *zheng* competition in Taiwan that included among the participants mainland-Chinese *zheng* competitors and judges.⁵⁸ Most importantly, this was the first *zheng* competition that featured Taiwan as the theme. Seven out of eight competitive

⁵⁸ Thirty-nine competitors signed up and actual competitors were twenty-six. Mainland-Chinese *zheng* professor Sha Lijing was invited to be a judge in this competition.

repertoires were Taiwan-related.⁵⁹ This competition functioned as a milestone in *zheng* history in Taiwan that later spurred the emergence of “Taiwanese *zheng* music.” Echoing the Millennium competition, the first Taiwan-featured conference—Conference on the Retrospection and Prospection of Taiwanese *Zheng* Composition—was held at the NTUA in 2003. Sixteen papers were presented by local and overseas Taiwanese musicians in a diverse range of topics from musical analyses, tuning systems to playing techniques of special zithers. In addition, two concerts, including one featured *zheng* solo and another *zheng* ensemble, were held. These two events showcase an initiation of a Taiwan-centered perspective when categorizing *zheng* music. Moreover, their public and performative platforms encouraged musicians’ collective participation, facilitating the extension of their impacts.

During this wave of localizing *zheng* music, Taiwan-related *zheng* repertoire, which was underemphasized before, started gaining public attention after the 2000s. These compositions were infused with the theme of “Taiwan” in various forms, including concert, conference, treatise, workshop, competition, CDs, and score. The common feature of these Taiwan-related *zheng* music activities was that they were led by *zheng* professionals. For instance, the Millennium National Instrument Competition for *Zheng* in 2000 was initiated and organized by Wang Ruei-yu, *zheng* professor of the NTUA; the concert “Tracing the trajectory of Taiwanese *Zheng* Music” in 2001 was a *zheng* recital of Huang Chun-shi, *zheng* professor of the Tainan National University of the Arts (TNNUA); the Taiwan-focused *zheng* conference in 2003 was coordinated by Chang Li-chiung, *zheng* professor of the NUTA; Yeh Juan-reng, *zheng* professor

⁵⁹ The Millennium National Instrument Competition for *Zheng* included a total of eight repertoires in two stages. The first stage contained three mandatory pieces: “Junma” (Gallant Horse) (Taiwanese Nanguan Music) arranged by Wang Zhaoan, “Pingyuan zhengshi” (The Poem of the Peaceful Garden) by Liang Tsai-ping, and “Moli fengfang” (Fragrance of Jasmine) by mainland-Chinese composer He Zhanhao. The five selected pieces in the second stage were “Xunyouqu” by Lu Yen, “Qiuzhi lu” (Journey in Autumn) by Chang Pang-yen, “Hanshan qinying” by Huang De-rui, “Kongque dongnan fei” by Cheng Te-yuan, and “Jiangxue” (Snowfall) by Hsiang Hsin-mei.

of the NTUA, and Huang Hao-yin, *zheng* professor of Chinese Culture University, edited and published Taiwanese-composed *zheng* score collections in 2004 and 2005. In addition, I released an album that featured Taiwanese *zheng* compositions in 2008. These continuously Taiwan-focused *zheng* events accentuated the localization of *zheng* music in Taiwan that had never occurred before.

In addition to music making, academic research is critical for constructing the local *zheng* musical category. Most of the research was conducted by *zheng* players. Before the 2000s, *zheng* research mainly concerned Chinese *zheng* music and regarded Taiwan as a secondary area of Chinese *zheng* music, as shown in Cheng's (1990) and Huang's (1998) research. There were two *zheng* conferences in the 1980s in Taiwan, and both discussed the topics of *zheng* music in general.⁶⁰ However, starting in the 2000s, academic research focused on Taiwanese *zheng* music flourished. A bulk of the research focuses on the applied aspect of Taiwanese *zheng* music (Wu 2001; Liang 2003; Bai 2003; Yeh 2003; Huang 2005; Yang 2006; Liao 2009; Hsu 2009; Hsieh 2012; Yu 2012; Lin 2012), as discussed in chapter one. Through examining the musical transitions, the constructed Taiwanese *zheng* music history features details of each decade, including the periods of immigration (1945-1960s), development (1970s), exchange (1980s), exploration (1990s), and introspection (after 2000s) (Chang, Lin, and Chao 2015:5-7). Most importantly, the major change in the historical writing about *zheng* music in Taiwan was the formation of a Taiwanese perspective. During this process of re-contextualization, *zheng* master Liang Tsai-ping, previously proclaimed as a master of Chinese *zheng* music, was repositioned as the father of Taiwanese *zheng* music in order to justify the origin of Taiwanese *zheng* music.

⁶⁰ The first conference was hosted by the Chinese Music Association in 1980; the second one was a *qin-zheng* joint conference, hosted by the Council for Cultural Affairs (Today's Ministry of Culture) in 1983. The general topics regarding *zheng* in both conferences include traditional schools, performing techniques, education, and compositions.

What is “Taiwanese” in Taiwanese Zheng Music?

In the body of Taiwanese *zheng* music research, the definitions of “Taiwanese *zheng* music” are various. A broader meaning is *zheng* music related to Taiwan (Chang 2011) while a more specific definition is narrowed to *zheng* music composed by Taiwanese people (Yeh 2003; Huang 2005). Although the definitions are distinguished from each other, they all focus on coining the image of Taiwan through *zheng* music.

In the construction of Taiwanese *zheng* music, Taiwan is not used to identify a certain musical style. In her article “My Outlook on the Development of Taiwanese *Zheng* Music” (2003), Chang points out that *zheng* music in Taiwan did not form a certain musical style because of the lack of a local axis (2003:170). Given this consideration, Chang in her article affirms the Ensemble Orientalia of Taipei highlighting Taiwan as the theme of the Millennium National Instrument Competition for *Zheng*. According to Chang, the repertoire that is related to Taiwan can be categorized as Taiwanese *zheng* music, including using Taiwanese folk music as musical materials and Taiwanese-composed *zheng* compositions. In this case, the *zheng* solo “Junma” is categorized as Taiwanese *zheng* music because of its Taiwanese *nanguan* musical material, although its composer Wang Zhaoan was from mainland China (2003:170). Chang further extended the identification of Taiwanese *zheng* music to new *zheng* music that was performed in Taiwan, such as *Crush* for saxophone and *zheng* (2003), composed by American composer Michael Sidney Timpson (Chang 2011). In this context, the indication of Taiwanese *zheng* music is even broader, reinforcing Chang’s proposition of Taiwanese *zheng* music as a collective product of individual creations, and now it is not limited to Taiwanese musical materials or even Taiwanese composers.

As to the discourse of de-sinicization as a process of Taiwanization, Wang Ruei-yu pointed out that viewing China as the opposition of Taiwan is a result of the confusion between *zhongguo* [lit. Chinese nation] and *zhonggong* [lit. Chinese Communist Party]. The core issue of Chinese [*zhongguo*] identity is what you identify as “nationality” or “kinship” (personal interview 2017), meaning regarding it as a political or cultural issue. For Taiwanese musicians, they view Taiwanese *zheng* music as a cultural product that does not support the political discourse of de-sinicization. During our interview, Chang Li-chiung asserted *zheng* research as a study of Chinese culture. She affirmed that the research topic was a cultural issue, regardless of political entity. Even though Taiwan became a part of Japan, the *zheng* is still Chinese *zheng* instead of Japanese *koto* (personal interview 2017).

Because of the intertwined relation between Chinese and Taiwanese identities, *zheng* music of local Han culture was overlooked by the government and the musicians for a long time. During the Nationalist Party rule, influenced by the Chinese nationalism, the local Han culture was thought to belong to Taiwanese people and it was considered as peripheral and non-civilized. The people disdained local Han culture and labeled it as “Taiwan.” During the Democratic Progressive Party rule, the government promoted local culture, including *Hoklo*, *Hakka*, and indigenous cultures, and considered all Han culture as belonging to “China.” Therefore, no matter which party was in the house, local Han culture was not recognized.⁶¹ However, during the process of re-centering *zheng* music in Taiwan, Taiwanese *zheng* musicians incorporated the pre-1945 local *zheng* music performance into this new cultural discourse.

⁶¹ Wang Ruei-yu pointed out that the disregard of local Han culture was resulted from mistaking these three cultural concepts: traditional Chinese culture as a Chinese orthodoxy, Han culture preserved in Taiwan as a local culture, and the Chinese Communists’ culture (personal interview 2017).

Several tunes from local Han musical genres, such as *xiyue* and *beiguan*, were adapted as *zheng* solos, forming a traditional musical style of Taiwanese *zheng* repertoire.

Examining the ethnic dimension of the political notion of New Taiwanese and the cultural notion of Taiwan in Taiwanese *zheng* music, it can be seen that they are based on different intentions. Different from Taiwanese identity in politics, consisting of an implication against its counterpart in mainland China, Taiwanese identity in *zheng* music shows the cultural realm allowing flexibility. The proposition of the Taiwanese body in *zheng* music is a re-appropriation of Chinese components into Taiwanese cultural discourse that stresses the localization and autonomy of Taiwanese *zheng* music from its subjective identification.

Given the above, I argue that the “Taiwan” in Taiwanese *zheng* music is a cultural space whose meaning is constructed through power relationships and context. As Stokes (1994) argues that music does not merely reflect but generates meaning in its social context, the performance of Taiwanese *zheng* music evokes the collective memories and experiences of Taiwan, which inform the social boundary and differences from the mainland. In this context, Taiwanese *zheng* music becomes a means to re-center *zheng* music in Taiwan. Taiwanese players “relocate” themselves in the realm of *zheng* music in order to “provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed” (Stokes 1994:4). The transformation of their sense of place allows Taiwanese musicians a space of cultural production for a hybrid art form that did not previously exist. Meanwhile, this transformation also generates personal and emotional attachment to the place of Taiwan, a sentiment that becomes an essential component of Taiwanese cultural identity.

Who are the “Taiwanese” Playing Taiwanese Zheng Music?

The discourse of extra-musical forces is not enough to explain the musical change of *zheng* music in Taiwan. The agency of *zheng* musicians as individuals needs to be taken into account. Among all of the Chinese instruments, *zheng* is the only instrument that has developed a distinct Taiwanese identification. I argue that this is not due to its popularity in Taiwan, but rather *zheng* players’ dual isolation: they are isolated both geo-culturally and in their position vis-à-vis the modern Chinese orchestra.

The emergence of Taiwanese identity in *zheng* music illustrates the geo-cultural nature of the China-Taiwan relationship. China is a geo-center with a more than two-thousand-year history of the *zheng*, and Taiwan is an isolated island that is physically situated in the periphery of mainland China and has only been highly sinicized since the second half of the twentieth century. This geo-cultural difference is further complicated by the conflict between the PRC and the ROC governments, reinforcing Taiwanese musicians’ consciousness of being Chinese yet different from the people of the mainland. The amalgamation of isolated geo-location, migratory Chinese culture, and political reality sets Taiwan apart from mainland China, seeding Taiwanese identity among Taiwanese *zheng* players.

In terms of the musical environment of the orchestra, the *zheng* has been marginalized. Although the *zheng* was promoted alongside other instruments in modern Chinese orchestras in Taiwan since 1945, it was not frequently used in orchestras due to its very nature as an instrument. Built upon the model of large Western symphony orchestras in the late Romantic period (Han and Gray 1979), the modern Chinese orchestra hinges on Western transposition as a key component. In this context, the *zheng*’s Chinese feature of pentatonic tuning became a

limitation, preventing it from transposing to different keys freely.⁶² Despite the efforts of *zheng* musicians and instrument manufacturers since the second half of twentieth century to “improve” instrumental construction in order to accommodate its usage in the modern Chinese orchestra, this situation has not changed. The newly-invented *zheng* did not replace the 21-stringed *zheng* in the orchestra because the tuning of the new instruments was not stable (personal interview with Zhou Zhan 2015). As a result, the *zheng* has been continuously marginalized in the modern Chinese orchestra. Sometimes it is even replaced by Western harp because of its instrumental similarity and the harp’s transposition advantage. Despite the voiceless position of *zheng* in the modern Chinese orchestra, the growing popularity of *zheng* in the second half of the twentieth century resulted in the establishment of *zheng* clubs separate from the orchestra. These *zheng* clubs eventually led to the formation of a new type of ensemble setting—*zheng* ensembles.

Ironically, whereas the geo-cultural condition places China and Taiwan in opposing positions, the *zheng* ensemble is a shared musical phenomenon across the strait that brought musicians from opposing geo-cultural sides together. After 1987, Taiwanese *zheng* ensembles were able to cooperate with mainland-Chinese musicians, including collaborating in performances, participating in *zheng* associations, and commissioning mainland-Chinese composers for new repertoire. Among these Taiwanese *zheng* ensembles, Dunhuang *Zheng* Ensemble (since 1995), directed by mainland-Chinese *zheng* master Shui Wen-juen, is affiliated with Shanghai Dunhuang Musical Instruments Company, an example of the close connections of *zheng* communities across the strait.

⁶² The transposition of *zheng* requires moving bridges to re-adjust tuning. In every transposition, a minimum of four strings’ tuning needs to be changed. It takes time to move the bridges and the duration may not be permitted during performance.

This dual social isolations of Taiwanese *zheng* players in the geo-culture and the modern Chinese orchestra are both constructed from a sino-centric perspective. The identity politics of ethnicity is in play in both conditions. In the geo-cultural dimension, Taiwan is situated as a secondary Chinese geo-cultural territory; in the music dimension, the performance of *zheng* is downplayed in a conditioned Chinese musical group. Juxtaposing these two cultural phenomena, the *zheng*'s subordinate status in the modern Chinese orchestra serves as a metaphor to signify Taiwan's peripheral geo-cultural-political position with regard to the larger Chinese community.

The re-positioning of the *zheng* in the *zheng* ensemble is a subjectification of the *zheng* in a group presentation. The formation of *zheng* ensembles apart from the modern Chinese orchestra allows *zheng* players to participate in an exclusive musical practice that differentiates them from mixed instrumental groups in the orchestra. More importantly, while the Chinese orchestra in Taiwan continuously represented a pan-Chinese identity after the 2000s, the *zheng* was able to re-signify and to generate an additional new cultural meaning representing both Taiwanese and Chinese identity.

The complexity of dual isolated social positions resulted in the consolidation of Taiwanese *zheng* players. While the China-Taiwan geo-cultural contrast singles out the Taiwanese component from Chinese culture, the *zheng* ensemble provides Taiwanese *zheng* players an exclusive community-based venue in which to present *zheng* music. In order to naturalize *zheng* music in Taiwan, Taiwanese *zheng* musicians constructed "Taiwanese *zheng* music" in the early 2000s, shifting the power center from China to Taiwan in the discourse of *zheng* music, and building a musical community that features Taiwan as the main subject rather than as a secondary one of China.

From this viewpoint, the formation of Taiwanese *zheng* music illustrates that identities do not result from the unique features of cultural components, but rather are constructed with the operation of power and exclusion. Identity thus are “not of a natural and inevitable or primordial totality but of the naturalized, overdetermined process of ‘closure’” (Hall 1996a:5).

Musical Analysis of Taiwanese *Zheng* Music

Taiwanese *zheng* music is mainly influenced by three musical cultures: Chinese, Taiwanese, and Western classical music. There are also other cultural influences in a few individual cases. Since they are not as prominent as these three, I grouped them together as the fourth type of influence for analyzing purposes here. The categorization of the musical resources of Taiwanese *zheng* music in this chapter is not intended to encompass every detail of the cultural influences but to provide a conceptual understanding of the overall characteristics of Taiwanese *zheng* music. In the following, I will analyze these cultural resources and influences on Taiwanese *zheng* music with musical examples. It is important to understand that these four categorical influences are not exclusive to each other. Some repertoire may contain more than two influences from different musical cultures.

Musical Infusion of Chinese Musical Culture

Throughout the history of *zheng* music in Taiwan, the intense musical influence from mainland China has been continuously reflected in the compositions. As a foundation of constructing Taiwanese *zheng* music, it is largely utilized especially by *zheng* performer-composers. In the following, I will discuss the Chinese influences in five aspects.

The first prominent influence from Chinese culture is the notion and practice of program music, which is often indicated in its title or program note. Unlike vocal music, which conveys meanings through words, the extra-musical remarks of program music are important for instrumental music because they not only serve to identify a piece but also constantly influence players' and listeners' interpretations. In particular, the extra-musical remarks offer concrete images, poetic projections, and emotional attachments for minds. This reveals Chinese people's poetic and emotional nature toward music (Han 1978:35). However, not all of the titles are comprehensible. A title may be changed to avoid censorship due to political realities. For example, the mainland-Chinese *zheng* piece "Liuyang he" was renamed as "Tamsui he" in Taiwan (as mentioned in chapter three).

Han points out that there are three types of compositions in Chinese instrumental program music (Han 1978:25-26). This categorization also applies to Taiwanese *zheng* music. While there are some pieces overlapping these categories, this classification provides a conceptual outline for understanding the function of extra-musical components for *zheng* music. The first is psychological type. The title suggests a general mood of the piece, but the music does not depict a concrete story or imitate natural phenomena. A bulk of Taiwanese *zheng* music is this type. For example, joyfulness in "Chun zhi shengcai" (Colorful Sounds in Spring); tranquility in "Xiao wu" (Misty Dawn); exciting atmosphere in "Yingxiong kaige" (Victory Song of Hero); liberty and self-governed emotion in "Xun;" sorrowful emotion in "Zhang xiangsi" (Endless Yearning). Second, the descriptive type portrays a story through music. One of the examples is "Kongque dongnan fei" (Peacocks Flying Southeast) which depicts the tragic marriage between nobleman Jiao Zhongqing and commoner Liu Lanzhi. With five sections,⁶³

⁶³ 家婦難為、泣別府吏、再嫁、生作死別、孔雀東南飛。

this piece describes the story of the process from their separation to suicide for love. Third, the imitative type indicates the repertoire containing passages to imitate natural sounds. This feature is popular among Chinese instruments, marking a cultural difference from the West (Han 1978:25). The examples in Taiwanese *zheng* music include bird twitters in “Meique zheng chun” (Mei Sparrows Contend in Spring) and flowing water in “Danjiang muse.”

Second, the practice of *wenren* music is also a significant Chinese feature that shown in Taiwanese *zheng* music. Its sonic feature is particularly created and practiced by Liang Tsai-ping. Liang’s compositions are distinguishable from others by their monophonic sonic feature, especially applying *qin*’s *yun*, the bending sonic feature, to *zheng*, resulting in a traditional style of *zheng* music. Traditional *zheng* music stresses the combination of *sheng* and *yun*. For *zheng* music, *sheng* indicates the sound resulting from the plucking of string by the right hand, while *yun* is the sound that results from the bending of the string by the left hand. In particular, the musical expression of *yun* is important in *wenren* music because it is a means to convey the state of mind (Liang 2003:2). Another aspect of *qin*’s sonic feature that also applies on the *zheng* is the concept of “space” or “emptiness” of sound. In musical practice, the space can indicate the ‘pause’ between notes in the non-metered section. In a more philosophical perception, it denotes the silence or the emptiness of the sound. For example, a player bends the string even after the sound of plucking is faded. With mere the bending motion, the volume of sound is light and the change of the tone is extremely subtle; sometimes the audience may not actually hear it. This musical space, playing without playing, corresponds to the “emptiness” concept of Taoism and Buddhism. In brief, both *yun* and the concept of “space” of sound display the musicians have their own subjective views of the musical flow of time throughout the musical performance.

Third, in terms of musical structure, the four-divisional format of Chinese literature composition—introduction, elucidation, transition, and conclusion⁶⁴—is used in both small and larger structures. This four-divisional format is shown by the musical phrases in “Liuyue moli qixiangqu” (Capriccio on Jasmine in June), and by the musical sections in *zheng*-adapted ensemble piece “Shang Si Tao” (Four Pieces). In addition, the *qin*’s “through composed” compositional structure is also used in *zheng* compositions, such as Liang Tsai-ping’s “Shuhuai qu” (Relieving My Heart). Another Chinese influence regarding musical structure is from the model of the mid-twentieth-century Chinese modern *zheng* composition. This type of repertoire consists of an introduction, followed by an ABA ternary form and coda. Typically, the introduction and coda sections are non-metric, as poetic transitions to guide listeners’ minds in entering and distancing the musical works.

Fourth, most Taiwanese *zheng* compositions keep the pentatonic scale tuning of the Chinese tradition. This tuning gives the *zheng* a distinct Chinese flavor. As a feature of modern *zheng* music, more composers use *rengong diaoshi* (lit. artificial mode) after the 1990s. This musical term indicates a newly-invented pentatonic scale by the composers for particular pieces. For example, the tuning of “Liuyue moli qixiangqu” contains a composer-designed pentatonic scale in the higher register, while keeping the traditional pentatonic scale in the lower register (see Figure 5.1).

⁶⁴ 起、承、轉、合。

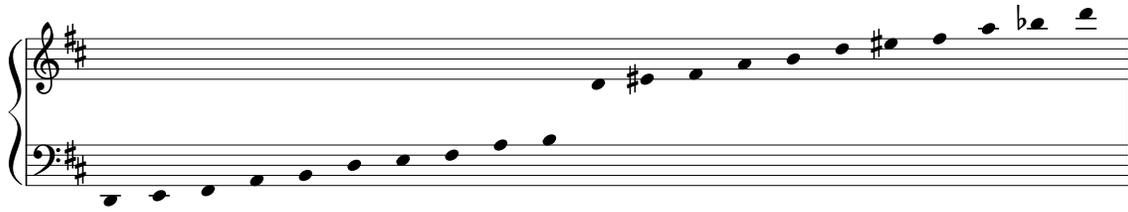


Figure 5.1 The *zheng* tuning of “Liuyue moli qixiangqu”

Fifth, there are two main types of playing technique of Chinese resources, both developed in the middle of twentieth century, that strongly influence Taiwanese *zheng* music. The first one is the playing techniques of Zhejiang *zheng* school, including plucking strings with both hands, *yaozhi*, and *saoyao*. The other type is the sinicized Western playing techniques which developed in the middle of twentieth century in China. This type of technique applies the playing techniques of Western instruments to *zheng* music, resulting in a mixed sonic feature blending Chinese and Western musical components. The harp-like arpeggio passage in “Liuyue moli qixiangqu” is an example (see Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.2 The harp-like arpeggio passage in “Liuyue moli qixiangqu” (mm.28-29)

Chinese musical culture profoundly influences Taiwanese *zheng* performer-composers' compositions, but the degree of influence may be different between older and younger generations. Compared to the older generation of *zheng* performer-composers whose compositions were mostly built upon their performing experiences, some post-2000 younger performer-composers received formal Western compositional training at school while studying *zheng*. As a result, the younger generation's musical styles are more western-oriented in general.

Musical Infusion of Taiwanese Musical Culture

The musical infusion of Taiwanese musical culture is primarily achieved via the musical materials. In this category, some repertoire is the refined *zheng* solo version of local ensemble pieces. For example, "Shang Si Tao" (Four Pieces) is from the ensemble piece of *xiyue*. Its *zheng* solo is transmitted by Wang Song-lai and re-arranged by Wang Ruei-yu. More importantly, it keeps the monophonic feature of traditional *zheng* music, giving Taiwanese *zheng* music a flavor of traditional style compared to its counterpart of traditional regional *zheng* schools in mainland China.

Besides the re-arrangement of local ensemble pieces, in most cases, Taiwanese elements are used in new compositions as musical materials. The musical theme of *zheng* solo "Liuyue moli qixiangqu" is inspired by the folk tune "Liuyue moli" (Jasmine in June). The original folk tune is from Fujian Province in mainland China and was introduced to Taiwan over a hundred years ago. In the early stages, it spread throughout the central and South regions of west side of Taiwan's Central Mountains. Due to the release of records, it later was popularized during the 1960s and became a well-known "Taiwanese" folksong. Based on the four melodic phrases of the original folk tune, Chang composed a new melody built upon it (see Figure 5.3 and 5.4).



Figure 5.3 The four-divisional melody of “Liuyue moli”



Figure 5.4 The four-divisional melodic theme of “Liuyue moli qixiangqu” (mm.10-19)

As “Liuyue moli qixiangqu,” many Taiwanese musical materials used in Taiwanese *zheng* music originally came from mainland China. Another example is Taiwanese opera tunes. Taiwanese opera (*kua a hi*) is a local opera genre that built upon *kua a*, folksong genre from Zhangzhou, Fujian Province, and integrated Taiwanese local tunes and theatrical genres in Yilan area in the early twentieth century. Taiwanese composer Hsu Ya-ming utilizes several Taiwanese opera tunes in his *zheng* solo “Ge fu” (Song Poem) (2001). One of them is “Kin thah a” (see

Figure 5.5). It is a common tune that the characters sing when they start or are on the road, often appearing in catching up and fleeing away. In “Ge fu,” this tune is adapted and accompanied by ostinato patterns, proceeding to the climax of this piece (see Figure 5.6). In these two cases, these mainland-Chinese-originated materials were “Taiwanized” before the mid-twentieth century. This is a critical component for the formation of Taiwanese *zheng* music because it provides this new musical genre a geo-cultural ground.



Figure 5.5 The Taiwanese opera tune “Kin thah a”⁶⁵

⁶⁵ This transcription is according to Taiwanese national treasure Liao Chiung-chih’s demonstration in the Taiwanese Folksong Concert of the 2014 Taiwan Yueqin Folksong Festival on September 28, 2014. Accessed October 24, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PQGhMyh7s4o>.

Figure 5.6 The adapted “Kin thah a” in “Ge fu” (mm.-130-149) (Huang 2005:130)⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Regarding the Chinese characters in this score, the text in m.130 means accelerando; the text in m.136 indicates damping the strings. Mm. 135-149 contained the fingering that notates by the editor.

More folk tunes from different ethnic groups are incorporated in Taiwanese *zheng* compositions. For example, “Tudi ge” (The Song of Land) contains the melodies of *Hakka* and *Hoklo* folk songs; *O’rip* quotes the Amis indigenous people’s song; “Liuyue moli qixiangqu” uses the plectrums to hit the strings to imitate the sound of the jaw harp played by Taiwanese indigenous people. In their original contexts, these tunes belonged to different ethnic groups and are sung in different dialects. However, as political localization measures of 1990s converged these ethnic groups as New Taiwanese, these musics thus became categorized as “Taiwanese” music. They are incorporated into *zheng* music as a representation of Taiwaneseeness.

Musical Infusion of Western Classical Musical Culture

The infusion of Western classical musical culture is a move toward Taiwanization of *zheng* music because it, in particular its compositional techniques, distances *zheng* music from its conventional Chinese sounding and highlights Taiwanese components. This infusion is mostly conducted by the Western-trained Taiwanese composers since the late 1980s. Growing up in Taiwan and receiving MA or PhD training in the USA and Europe, these composers’ Taiwanese cultural backgrounds and western music training are shown in their compositions. For example, Lee Chih-chun incorporates three well-known folk tunes, including the Chinese folk tune “Molihua” (Jasmine) and *Hoklo* folk tunes “Diu diu tong” (A Train Song) and “Caomeng nong jigong” (Grasshopper Teasing Rooster), in her *zheng* concerto “Dian xian mian” (Dots, Lines, Convergence). With a newly-designed *zheng* tuning system that twisted and re-arranged the original folk tunes, Lee juxtaposes three folk tunes on *zheng* and Western ensemble (see Figure 5.7 to 5.9).



Figure 5.7 The *zheng* tuning of “Dian xian mian”

| Measure Number | 170 | 171 | 172 | 173 | 174 | 175 | 176 | 177 | 178 | 179 | 180 | 181 | 182 |
|----------------|-----|---------|---------|-----|-----|--------------|-----|---------|--------------|-----|---------|---------|-----|
| Fl. | | | | | | | | Caomeng | | | | | |
| Cl. | | | | | | Diu diu tong | | | | | | | |
| Zng. | | | Molihua | | | | | | Diu diu tong | | | | |
| Vln.I | | Caomeng | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vln.II | | Caomeng | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vla | | | | | | | | | | | Caomeng | | |
| Vc | | | | | | | | | | | | Caomeng | |

Figure 5.8 Analysis of the juxtapositions of the melodies of three folk tunes in “Dian xian mian” (mm.170-182)

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Dian xian mian" (mm. 170-182). The score is arranged in two systems, each containing staves for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Percussion (Perc.), Zongzi (Zng), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.).

System 1 (mm. 170-176):

- Fl.:** Starts at m. 170 with a melodic line marked *mp*. A box labeled 'N' is positioned above the staff.
- Cl.:** Enters at m. 171 with a melodic line marked *mp*.
- Perc.:** Remains silent throughout this system.
- Zng:** Features a melodic line starting at m. 170, marked *mf*. It includes a *sim.* (sustained) marking and a *mf* dynamic.
- Vln. I:** Starts at m. 170 with a melodic line marked *p*. It includes *pizz.* (pizzicato) and *arco* (arco) markings.
- Vln. II:** Starts at m. 170 with a melodic line marked *p*. It includes *pizz.* and *arco* markings.
- Vla.:** Starts at m. 170 with a melodic line marked *p*. It includes *pizz.* and *arco* markings.
- Vc.:** Starts at m. 170 with a melodic line marked *p*. It includes *pizz.* and *arco* markings.
- Cb.:** Starts at m. 170 with a melodic line marked *p*.

System 2 (mm. 177-182):

- Fl.:** Continues the melodic line from m. 170, marked *mp*. A box labeled 'O' is positioned above the staff.
- Cl.:** Continues the melodic line from m. 171, marked *mp*.
- Perc.:** Remains silent throughout this system.
- Zng:** Continues the melodic line from m. 170, marked *mf*. It includes a *...end* marking.
- Vln. I:** Continues the melodic line from m. 170, marked *mp*.
- Vln. II:** Remains silent throughout this system.
- Vla.:** Continues the melodic line from m. 170, marked *mp*. It includes *pizz.* and *arco* markings.
- Vc.:** Continues the melodic line from m. 170, marked *mp*.
- Cb.:** Continues the melodic line from m. 170, marked *mp*. It includes *pizz.* markings.

Figure 5.9 The juxtapositions of the melodies of three folk tunes in “Dian xian mian” (mm.170-182) (provided by Lee Chih-chun)

Since the 1990s, more professional composers have contributed to the composition of *zheng*. They brought the *zheng* into the realm of Western modern music, allowing the *zheng* to become an instrument of “modernization” (Cheng 1990:348). A shared feature among these compositions is the compositional technique of “de-familiarization.” This notion as a compositional means was coined by Russian theorist Viktor Shklovsky (1893-1984). In his article “Art as Technique,” he claims,

The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known. The technique of art is to make objects ‘unfamiliar’, to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged. Art is a way of experiencing the artfulness of an object; the object is not important. (Shklovsky 1917/1965)

Drawn upon Shklovsky’s theory, Taiwanese composer Pan Hwang-long (1995) applies this notion to musical composition. He illustrates:

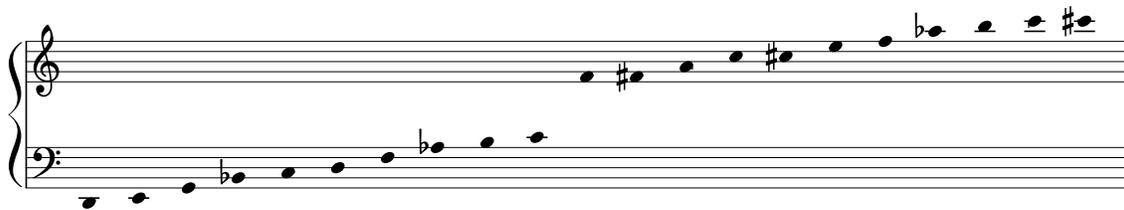
during the compositional process, abandoning the traditional and habitual means, and deliberately overlapping, twisting or reforming the materials in order to achieve the effect of de-familiarization. On the one hand, it can extend the playing techniques of the instrument; on the other hand, it can expand the vocabulary of composition and constitute the new possibilities.⁶⁷

As a musical compositional technique, de-familiarization emphasizes alienation and breaking through musical traditions, presenting a novelty and originality by linking the known and the unfamiliar. In the following, I will discuss the applications of this compositional

⁶⁷ 「指在創作的過程中，捨棄傳統式、習慣性的手段，而將其刻意加以重疊、扭曲或改造以達到陌生效果的一種作法。它一方面足以拓展樂器演奏的性能，一方面亦可擴展創作的語彙，組成新的可行性。」

technique in the aspects of the temporal, tuning system, musical form, notation, and sonic effects.

First, de-familiarization as a compositional technique is used to challenge the conventional musical temporal sensation. In his *zheng* solo “Xun” (Searching) (2005), Ma Shui-long designs a non-pentatonic tuning for *zheng* (see Figure 5.10) and creates subtle timbre varieties to enrich the articulation and texture of a single instrument by using the conception of the five-color division of Chinese ground ink—burnt, dense, heavy, light, clear (Chen 2007:9).⁶⁸ More importantly, this ca. 13-minute piece is composed without bar lines but eight inter-connecting subsections that are separated by rest or breathing signs (see Figure 5.11). Continuing the Western composition trend in the early twentieth century, this piece intends to get rid of the metered musical flow and enable musical time to proceed more freely as *parlando rubato*, challenging the notion of regular temporal sensation in music.



Ma Shui-Long (2005)

$\text{♩} = \text{C}\#60$

The musical score consists of three systems of music. The first system begins with a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = \text{C}\#60$. It features a piano introduction with a *ppp* dynamic and a *sempre* instruction. The main melody starts with a *sf* dynamic, followed by *f*, *mf*, and *sf*. A piano accompaniment part is marked *mp*. The second system continues the melody with dynamics *p*, *pp*, *sf*, *mp*, and *mf*. The piano accompaniment is marked *p*. The third system includes measures 6 through 10, with dynamics *f*, *pp*, *poco a poco accel.*, *mf*, and *mp*. The piano accompaniment in this system is marked *p*. The score concludes with a *mf* dynamic.

Figure 5.11 The opening passage of “Xun” (provided by Huang Hao-yin)

Third, de-familiarization is used to de-structure the musical form. In “Migong xiaoyaoyou,” Pan Hwang-long adopts the open form from the contemporary Western art music to compose separate segments as a to z for *zheng* (see Figure 5.13). The musical form of this piece is open for performers to decide in two ways. First, the performer decides the performing order of these segments or chooses to omit or repeat some of them.⁶⁹ The second one is instrumentation. In all, Pan composed three series of “Migong xiaoyaoyou” (1992-1997), in which series A and B are for Western instruments, and series C for five Chinese instruments. During the performance, the performer can choose to perform as a solo or ensemble settings with combining any instruments in the same series. With the intention to have the performer promenade (*xiaoyaoyou*) in the labyrinth (*migong*), Pan makes the details of musical structure and instrumentation a performer’s decision, instead of a finished product by the composer, providing a more open space for performers to exercise their creativities.

⁶⁹ Pan offers five approaches for performer to arrange the order of segments a to z. (1) Before the performance, arrange these segments in order by one’s will; (2) Before the performance, arrange these segments in order by one’s will. Assemble these segments into groups and change the order by groups; (3) Choose an English short poem or report, and perform this piece as the order of its letters; (4) Choose an English short poem or report, and arrange this piece as the order of its letters, and change the order as groups then perform; and (5) improvisation to choose the letters and play during performance.

The figure displays four segments of musical notation, labeled a, b, c, and d, for the piece "Migong xiaoyaoyou".

- Segment a:** Marked *Andante* in 4/4 time. It consists of two staves. The upper staff begins with a piano (*f*) dynamic and later features *mf* dynamics. The lower staff starts with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic and includes *f* and *mf* dynamics.
- Segment b:** Marked *Moderato* in 4/4 time. It features two staves. The upper staff includes markings for *f* and *mp*, along with *Glissando* markings and triplet figures. The lower staff includes a *ff* dynamic.
- Segment c:** Marked *Adagio* in 3/2 time. It consists of two staves. The upper staff is mostly silent. The lower staff begins with a piano (*f*) dynamic and later features a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic.
- Segment d:** Marked *Andantino* in 3/4 time. It consists of two staves. The upper staff begins with a piano (*f*) dynamic and later features a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The lower staff starts with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic.

Figure 5.13 The segments a, b, c, and d of “Migong xiaoyaoyou” (Yeh 2004:9)

Furthermore, the Western staff notation as a writing form on a two-dimensional surface to express the sonic product also becomes a subject to be de-familiarized. In her *zheng* solo “Maoxi” (Cat’s Romp) (2003),⁷⁰ Lee Yuan-chen utilizes graphic notation to create a

⁷⁰ I commissioned this piece and premiered it in my recital in 2003. This was Lee’s first *zheng* composition. During her compositional process, we met to try what she wrote before she proceeded. When she explained the middle

theatricalized *zheng* work (see Figure 5.14). The layout of graphic score is built upon Western grand staff, the upper-bottom system in space indicates the pitches in high-low register, and Western symbols of notes and dynamic are used. The pictorial presentation of sound creates several new performing characteristics. In order to use the gestures of musician's two hands on *zheng* to portray the playful motions of two cats, the short oblique lines indicate the non-musical sounds by using plectrums to lightly hit *zheng* strings, in contrast to the notes indicate the musical sounds by plucking the strings. Instead of using time signature and bar lines to mark temporal cycle, the sense of time is notated as seconds. The note values are recorded as the density of the symbols rather than fixed durations. Moreover, the theatrical components contain speaking (see Figure 5.15), knocking the soundboard, and lifting one's head to look at the audience. The graphic notation breaks the sonic limitation of Chinese cipher notation and Western staff, creating more space for performers to execute subjective interpretations.

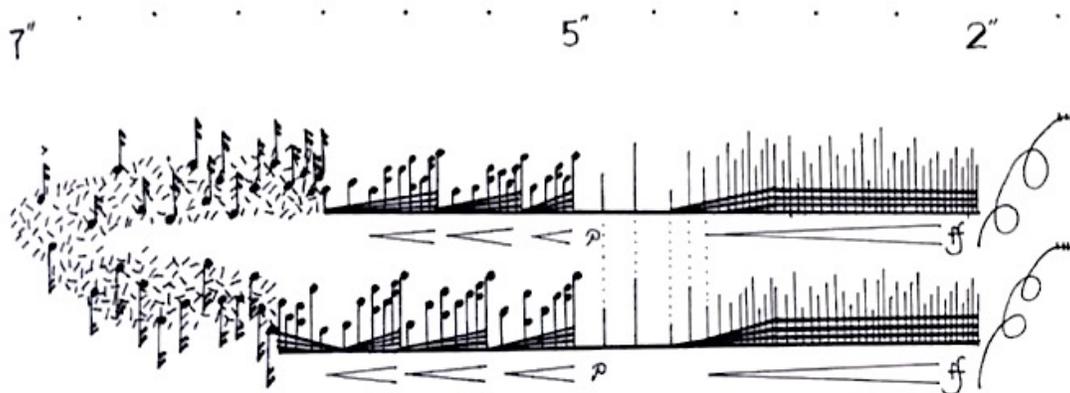


Figure 5.14 The graphic notation of “Maoxi” (provided by Lee Yuan-chen)

section to me as portraying the cat's self-narrative, I suggested she add the speaking part into this piece. Later she adopted this suggestion and the speaking part became a signature of this piece. In its premiere, I presented it as a more music-oriented piece. After that, several *zheng* players presented it with a more theatrical approach and even wore a cat costume, including cat ears and neck bells, during their performances.

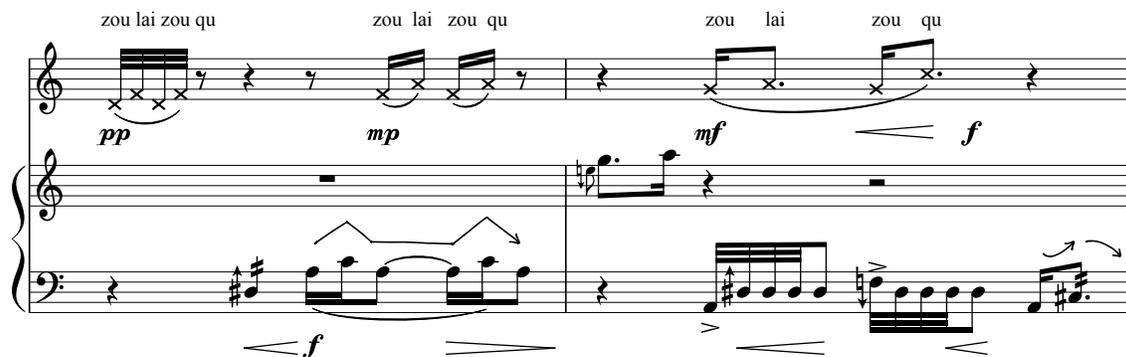


Figure 5.15 The speaking section of “Maoxi”,⁷¹

Last but not least is the de-familiarization of the sonic effects. In “Hsia Ch’ing Tsao” (2005), Chou Chiu-yu creates the double bending sounds of alternate increasing and decreasing intervals, de-familiarizing the double bending sounds of parallel octave intervals in traditional *zheng* music (see Figure 5.16). Non-musical sounds are incorporated by using plectrums to hit the strings (♯) and hitting strings with the palm then hold this action (♯) (see Figure 5.17).

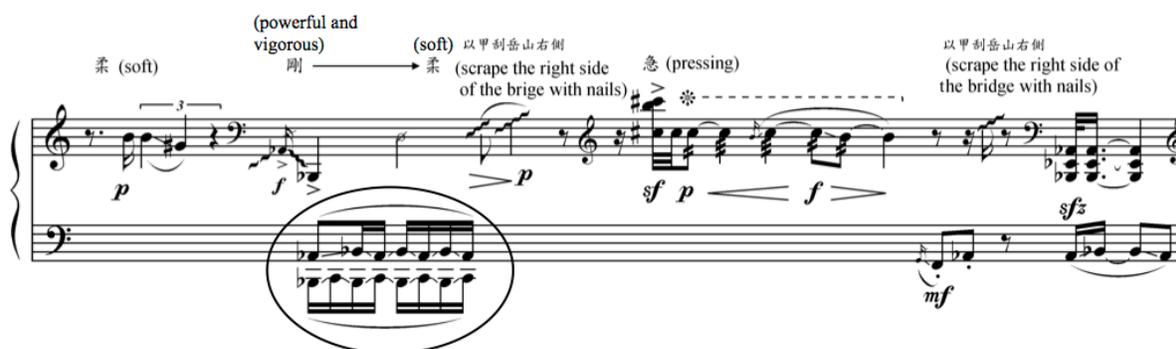


Figure 5.16 The new sonic effect of bending sound in “Hsia Ch’ing Tsao,” as the circle marked by the author (provided by Chou Chiu-yu)

⁷¹ The text *zou lai zou qu* means walking around.

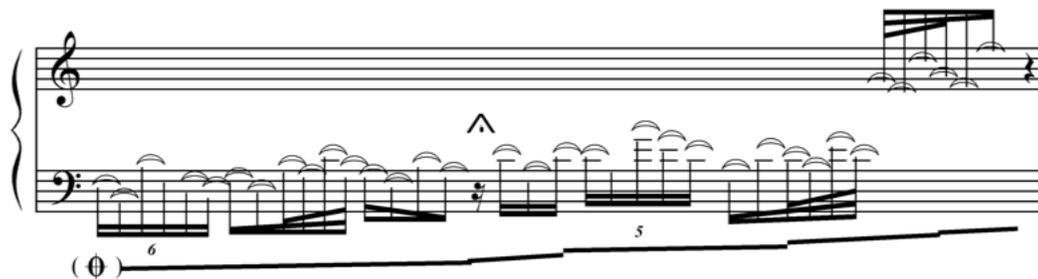


Figure 5.17 The non-musical sounds in “Hsia Ch’ing Tsao”
(provided by Chou Chiu-yu)

A prominent example of the de-familiarization of the sonic effects is the prepared *zheng* in Chen Lily’s “Xiangbian” (Phase Transition) (2008). In this piece, several media, including paperclips, tissue paper, a binder clip, and bells, are attached to the strings in order to give the *zheng* an unexpected timbre during the performance. Although Chen designs an atonal and microtonal tuning, she notates this piece as the traditional D pentatonic scale for each string, in order to make the score reading more accessible for performer (see Figure 5.18). More timbral diversity and sonic expressions are created by using additional devices to play *zheng*. For example, from m. 44 to m. 51, the right-hand playing techniques alternate between plucking strings (ord.), playing *zheng* with bow (arco), and striking strings with the stick side of bow (c.l.batt.). Meanwhile, the left hand plays *zheng* with a superball (as a bouncy ball) in several ways: dragging the superball on the bottom of *zheng* in m. 43, making it bounce randomly on strings in m. 45, and knocking the movable bridges with the superball in m. 48 (see Figure 5.19). In addition, several non-musical sounds are generated by unconventional *zheng* performance motions, such as hissing sounds, foot-stamping (m. 50), opening and closing the tuning box, and drawing paper (which was placed between strings and sound box) from the *zheng*.

hang several paper-clips on the string
 entwine tissue paper around the string near movable bridge
 fix a medium-size binder clip on the string near the nut (clip it to string A, with the end of the binder clip touching strings F# and B)
 entwine a paper-clip chain around the 3 strings near the nut
 entwine tissue paper around the string near movable bridge
 hang small bells on the string
 remove the movable bridge

notation pitch

real pitch

entwine a paper-clip chain around the strings on the left of the movable bridges

Detailed description: The image displays two systems of musical notation for the zheng instrument. The top system, labeled 'notation pitch', shows a treble and bass clef staff with a sequence of notes. The bottom system, labeled 'real pitch', shows the same sequence of notes but with various accidentals and symbols (like 'x' and '2') indicating the actual sound produced. Vertical dashed lines connect the notes between the two systems. Annotations with arrows point to specific parts of the notation, describing physical modifications to the instrument's strings and bridge. A box highlights the instruction to use a binder clip near the nut, which affects the pitch of strings A, F#, and B. A bracket at the bottom indicates a paper-clip chain on the left of the movable bridges.

Figure 5.18 The *zheng* tuning of “Xiangbian” (provided by Chen Lily)

In contrast to the sinicized Western harmony system that gave Chinese *zheng* music a modernized polyphonic effect in the mid-twentieth century, the Western influence on Taiwanese *zheng* music since the 1990s attempted to stir a philosophical contemplation of the essence of *zheng* music and to extend its existing sonic expressions.

Musical Infusions of Other Musical Cultures

The musical influences from the cultures other than Chinese and Western classical music cultures display the hybrid nature of Taiwanese *zheng* music. In the middle of the twentieth century, these musical cultural inputs were shown in monophonic compositions. Liang Tsai-ping's "Huameng lu" (Dream Image of Life) (1952) was influenced by Japanese composer Michio Miyagi's *koto* music, including the usages of octave arpeggio and glissando (see Figure 5.20). Moreover, Liang's piece "Zhang xiangsi" (1964) was influenced by Korean *kayagum*, including the vibrato of left hand technique and *lunzhi* technique, meaning continuously plucking strings outward with index, middle, ring, and little fingers.



Figure 5.20 The octave arpeggio and glissando passage in "Huameng lu" (mm.96-99)

Since the 1990s, these multiple cultural influences on Taiwanese *zheng* music have become more diverse. For instance, ragtime musical style in Lee Chih-chun's "Ning" (Thgirbla .W) (1998), Spanish mode of Andalusia region and Flamenco rhythmic pattern in Fan Wei-tsu's "Yanshen" (Spirit of the Eyes) (2009), Hungarian and Spanish gypsy scales in Fan's

“Yemo” (Dark Angles) (2010), Japanese *yo* mode tuning in my composition “Yinghua dieying” (Overlapping Shadows of Cherry Blossoms) (2010) (see Figure 5.21), and Central Asian dance rhythms in Hsu Man-hsuan’s “Mijing xianwu” (A Dance of Strings in a Mysterious Place) (2014).



Figure 5.21 The opening passage of “Yinghua dieying” (mm. 1-11)

In some cases, one piece contains multi-cultural influences. This displays Taiwanese composers’ ability to synthesize different cultural resources and present it as individuals’ musical styles to convey their musical thoughts. In “Qu meng luan” (Savor, Reverie, Chaos), Fan Wei-tsu designs two tuning systems: jazz-like pentatonic scale tuning for the “qu” and “luan” sections (see Figure 5.22), and Japanese *in* mode tuning in the “meng” section (see Figure 5.23). In addition, its melodic musical materials include Taiwanese *Kejia* mountain songs and the American national anthem (see Figure 5.24).



Figure 5.22 The jazz-like pentatonic scale tuning in “Qu meng luan”



Figure 5.23 The Japanese *in* mode tuning in “Qu meng luan”

Figure 5.24 The re-composed American national anthem in “Qu meng luan” (mm.104-110)

De-constructing these musical infusions facilitates the understanding of the functions of each culture that contribute to the construction of Taiwanese *zheng* music: Chinese culture provides a historical root, Taiwanese culture constitutes a contemporary local foundation, and Western and other cultures distance *zheng* music from its Chinese origin. By re-appropriating these cultural elements, *zheng* music in Taiwan had moved toward a process of localization.

***Zheng* and Taiwanese Identity**

Taiwanese *zheng* music plays an important role in constructing a new sense of group identification. The *zheng*-adapted pre-1945 local Han music sets this music genre to a traditional monophonic solo form, strengthening the tie of *zheng* to the place in a historical context. The individuals' new compositions contain a mixture of sound from diverse cultural resources, responding to the modernity and mobility of contemporary Taiwan. Both sonic forms showcase the musicians' conscious efforts to localize *zheng* music.

The formation of identity is a process of subjectification. What is significant in this localization process of *zheng* music is that it gave Taiwanese *zheng* musicians the power to control what they play and how they interpret the music, as Chang Li-chiung affirmed her compositional standpoint, "I do not compose for anyone or anything. My composition is derived from my experiences and background. This is my strength" (personal interview 2017).

Music as a means of expressing identity articulates not only self-understanding but also social belonging (Rice 2007). Participating in the performance of Taiwanese *zheng* music helps the Taiwanese to re-center from periphery to center and shape new pride in their local cultural heritage. They are not just borrowing or imitating but creatively appropriating and re-signifying cultural resources in order to express their local identity. Through constructing Taiwanese *zheng* music, these musicians thus show their music sense of social belonging in an exclusive Taiwanese community.

Conclusion

Not merely a musical product, the formation of Taiwanese *zheng* music is deeply intertwined with political reality and cultural perception. Following the political wave, the notion

of “New Taiwanese” is embodied in the localization of the *zheng* field. With its re-signified meaning of a more inclusive group identification, the transmission fault of pre-1945 local *zheng* music was able to be amended. Most importantly, the re-examination of Chinese/Taiwanese identity in the political discourse provided a cultural ground for Taiwanese musicians to localize *zheng* music. Taiwan thus has become its own innovative center of *zheng* music after the 2000s.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

In this research, I utilized identity as a conceptual tool to examine the multifaceted meanings of *zheng* in the Taiwanese context. Through probing Taiwanese *zheng* players' cultural consciousness and social frameworks, I investigated the various in-between qualities of *zheng*: between elite and folk classes, cultural and political domains, traditional and modern times, and on national and local scales. The *zheng* thus becomes a productive cultural symbol that constitutes the identity politics of Taiwanese *zheng* players.

Zheng and Overlapping Identities

Zheng culture in Taiwan is deeply influenced by China. After the Nationalist government ruled Taiwan, the *zheng*, alongside other Chinese instruments, was promoted as a representation of national culture. From 1945 to 1987, the post-1945 Chinese immigrants' literati style *zheng* music, originating from mainland China during the 1920s-1940s, became the mainstream *zheng* culture in Taiwan. After 1987, Taiwanese *zheng* musicians conducted pilgrimage-like trips to mainland China to refine their performance. Reflecting on this process, Taiwanese *zheng* musicians unanimously concede the strong impact of mainland-Chinese *zheng* music on Taiwan (Cheng 1990; Chang 2003; Yang 2006).

Although in the mid-twentieth century *zheng*'s national representation in Taiwan was built upon the group division of *waishengren* and *benshengren*, playing *zheng* as a performance of Chinese identity not only mediated the gap between groups but also celebrated the building of a collective Chinese nation. For these musicians, *zheng* is an art that "crystalizes the essence of good life and emphasizes the interplay of future possibilities with experiences and things we already know from the past" (Turino 2008:18). This eventually leads us to an understanding of

how and why *zheng* performance serves as a means of negotiating identities and conflicts in everyday life.

Although the *zheng* as a symbol of Chinese culture is indisputable, its Chinese meaning is eclectic due to the embedded cultural ideologies. One of the prominent examples is the representation of *zheng*-adapted *qin* repertoire in the second half of twentieth century. Drawing upon these instruments' traditional significations, this repertoire was spread in mainland China because *zheng*'s folk image was suited to serve the people; by contrast, it was favored in Taiwan because of *qin*'s elite self-cultivation function. Similarly, although *zheng* music in both places may sound similar, they were composed for different concerns: serving the people versus expressing individuals' views. This showcases that musical meaning is not generated arbitrarily based on abstract sounds but stems from particular social contexts to achieve their own significances (Scott 1990:402).

Derived from the socio-political differences, the development of *zheng* music in Taiwan moved away from mainland China after 2000. Although Taiwanese musicians still use the same type of instrument as the players in mainland China, they created a new music genre—Taiwanese *zheng* music—to express their local identity, conveying their emotional attachment to Taiwan that outsiders cannot experience. Here, music moves from the idea of “representation” to “embodiment,” as Frith argues that “making music isn't a way of expressing ideas; it is a way of living them” (1996:111).

Rather than viewing Chinese/Taiwanese *zheng* music as merely a musical product, I regard music making as a form of social communication situated in a particular political context and historical process. Therefore, music making not only reflects and re-affirms the existing social relationships but also actively re-creates them (Seeger 1987; Small 1998). In contrast to

Bonnie Wade (2014), who views composing as a social behavior that has allowed composers to participate in Japanese musical modernity since the Meiji period which further led from a national to a global cultural participation, I see *zheng* performance in Taiwan as a social behavior that allowed performers to participate in modern China that led to the creation of a local Chinese practice in Taiwan.

The reason for distinguishing these two *zheng* musical genres is to highlight the layered functions of Chineseness in play: pan-Chinese versus local Chinese. For Taiwanese musicians, playing Chinese *zheng* music allows them to be cultural actors in the larger Chinese community. More importantly for this case study, constructing Taiwanese *zheng* music enables them to reverse their peripheral position in the geo-cultural Chinese *zheng* community and re-center *zheng* music at home. It offers a cultural space for the Taiwanese to be creators rather than followers, demonstrating the importance of naming as a necessity in justifying musical behavior through which a convention is de-centered and the signification is clarified.

The changing meaning of *zheng* in Taiwan demonstrates that identity is present-applied even as it is past-focused. During this process, tradition functions as a historical framework of cultural perception in which both music meaning and cultural interpretation rely on its symbolic past carried on in the present (Coplan 1993).

Through re-appropriating historical and cultural resources, Taiwanese musicians show their unique social position by distinguishing themselves from their counterparts in mainland China. This demonstrates that identity is a process of becoming rather than being who we are, not about returning to the root but representing the “route” (Hall 1996a:4); as Paul Gilroy’s concept of “changing same” (1993) demonstrates, identity is an endlessly evolving process rather than an enduring essence.

From playing Chinese *zheng* music to creating Taiwanese *zheng* music, the Taiwanese demonstrates that identity is mobile (Frith 1996:109) and always subject to being positioned. Identity is not simply a matter of choice because its formation derives from groups' interaction within the social context they live (Brown 2004). Whether the social group is defined by nationality or ethnicity, there is no absolute way to identify who we are because it is "a communicative process that includes many voices and varying degrees of understanding and, importantly, misunderstanding" (Handler 1994:30). Instead of perceiving Chinese and Taiwanese as fixed ethnic labels, we can understand ethnicity as a relational and processual designation that help people identify themselves and others in social contexts (Brubaker 2002). This helps explain why Taiwanese people, despite cultural similarities, consider themselves different from the Chinese people in mainland China. From this perspective, ethnicity can be understood as an aspect of a social relationship that "exists *between* and not *within* groups" (Eriksen 1993:58). Given the above, what may be called Chinese or Taiwanese identity is situational.

***Zheng* and Identity Politics**

Music is deeply intertwined with governance in Chinese history. The Confucian ideology of music was as a form of governing the self and society; emperors changed the standard pitch of court music to demonstrate their sovereignty; and in modern times both the ROC and the PRC incorporated music into their nation-building. In the case of Taiwanese musicians, playing *zheng* is a way for them to claim membership in a cultural China that transcends national borders, but meanwhile they find their musical expression both conditioned and constrained by the situation of split governance that they live in. As a result, they have to work around the politicized cultural

ideology in order to fulfill a broader idea of playing “Chinese” music. Therefore, Taiwanese *zheng* performers’ musical behaviors entail a back-and-forth negotiation about the definition of “the nation” and “the local” and the relationship between them.

Showcasing playing music as an art of negotiation, Taiwanese *zheng* musicians’ mobile identity is a constant process of negotiation of ones’ social position that emerges within the play of power relations (Hall 1996a). The identity politics of Taiwanese *zheng* musicians is complicated by the entanglement of Chinese and Taiwanese identities in historical context, in which the meaning of Taiwaneseeness is constantly built upon a re-signified Chinese root in order to regard China as the Other.

Taiwanese *zheng* music is different from Chinese *zheng* music in both socio-cultural and musical dimensions. In the socio-cultural dimension, what distinguishes a Taiwanese characteristic from the Chinese one is the degree of individualism. Compared to the centralized policy in mainland China, engaging in *zheng* activities in Taiwan is a personal choice. The diverse technical symbols circulated in the free market illustrate individual approaches to transmitting *zheng* music. For the Taiwanese, playing *zheng* is a means of self-cultivation and composing for *zheng* is an expression of an individual’s creativities. Therefore, stemming from a foundation on individualism, Taiwanese *zheng* music is a celebration of Taiwanese freedom.

The individualism embodied in Taiwanese *zheng* music is illustrated by its “modernization.” Although the notion of “modern” in Chinese and Taiwanese *zheng* music are both influenced by Western classical musical culture, they contain distinctive context-specific significations. The modernization of Chinese *zheng* music in the mid-twentieth century was conducted by *zheng* players borrowing from Western instrumental playing techniques, initiating the sonic transformation from monophonic to polyphonic forms. Modern Chinese *zheng* music as

a collective work emphasizes its Chinese attributes, such as the pentatonic scale. A sino-centric perspective is palpable for displaying its cultural continuity, as China continues to be the “middle kingdom” of the *zheng* community. By contrast, the modernization of Taiwanese *zheng* music after the late-1980s was executed by Western-trained composers, incorporating Western and other cultural resources to de-center *zheng*’s conventional Chinese sound. Modern Taiwanese *zheng* music through individuals’ expressions showcases the free space of sonic imaginations, such as atonal music. This *zheng* music thus went beyond its cultural root.

The central issue for the Taiwanese regarding identity politics is that they were *from* China but are not *in* China. For the Taiwanese, the *zheng* is a transplanted art that reconciles Chinese musical tradition in modern Taiwanese society. Meanwhile, it is also a cultural means for building the social connection and negotiating the conflicting political relationship between Taiwan and mainland China. In this context, Taiwan is a cultural space in which Taiwanese *zheng* musicians conceptualize their worldview and bear Taiwanese *zheng* music. Playing Taiwanese *zheng* music allows Taiwanese musicians to embrace their local roots. It provides a grounded position for the Taiwanese to rationalize their musical behavior and to determine what they want to emphasize and what role they want to play in the *zheng* community. Therefore, for the Taiwanese, playing *zheng* has become a music identity that shows who they are.

For Future Research

In order to focus on examining the complexity of identity politics of Taiwanese *zheng* musicians, I limit this research to the interplay between *zheng* music and mainland China-Taiwan relations. My next step is to situate this discussion in a wider scope, devoting my attention in particular to the Western influences at play.

As mentioned in chapters two and five, Western musical culture, alongside the Chinese one, is another significant cultural force that impacts *zheng* music in Taiwan. It is not just revealed through musical sound.⁷² More importantly, Western culture has penetrated Taiwanese society and the school system, producing a lasting impact on musicians' thinking and behavior. A marked outcome was brought by the *zheng* intellectuals who received musical training in Taiwan and pursued further academic study in the US, especially when studying in China was not an option before the lifting of the cross-strait travel ban in 1987.⁷³ These *zheng* intellectuals' abilities to exercise critical thinking on *zheng* music played a critical part for constructing Taiwanese *zheng* music. Therefore, future studies should focus on (1) the influences of Western culture on *zheng* practice in Taiwan; and (2) examining the interplay between Western academic and Chinese *wenren* approaches and their influences on *zheng* practice in modern Taiwanese society.

⁷² Western-trained music students began entering the field of *zheng* in the 1990s and enhanced *zheng* playing techniques in Taiwan (Cheng 1990:348).

⁷³ Some of the more prominent Taiwanese *zheng* scholars who pursued academic study in the US include Cheng Te-yuan, who received his Ph.D. in ethnomusicology at the University of Maryland in 1991 and taught at Tainan National University of the Arts; Fan Wei-tsu, who received his Ph.D. in musicology at the Northwestern University in 1991 and taught at the Chinese Cultural University; and Chang Li-chiung, who received her Master degree in ethnomusicology at the University of California at Los Angeles and taught at the National Taiwanese University of the Arts. They have taught in the three main Chinese Music Departments and have served as the department chairs.

Glossary

Names of Persons and Institutions

| | |
|---|--------|
| Abing | 阿炳 |
| Cao Dongfu | 曹東扶 |
| Cao Zheng | 曹正 |
| Chang Li-chiung | 張儷瓊 |
| Chang Pang-yen | 張邦彥 |
| Chaosheng Guoyueshe | 潮聲國樂社 |
| Chen Guo-xing | 陳國興 |
| Chen I-yu | 陳伊瑜 |
| Chen Lei-shi | 陳蕾士 |
| Chen Lily | 陳立立 |
| Cheng Te-yuan | 鄭德淵 |
| Chiang Ching-kuo | 蔣經國 |
| Chiang Kai-shek | 蔣介石 |
| Chinese Culture University | 中國文化大學 |
| Chinese Music Association | 國樂學會 |
| Chinese Orchestra Broadcasting Corporation of China | 中廣國樂團 |
| Chou Chiu-yu | 周久渝 |
| Cui Le-zhen | 崔樂貞 |
| Da Guan Zheng Ensemble | 大觀箏樂團 |
| Ensemble Orientalia of Taipei | 台北民族樂團 |
| Fan Shange | 范上娥 |
| Fan Wei-tsu | 樊慰慈 |
| Gao Zicheng | 高自成 |
| Guo Mei-jiang | 郭美江 |
| Guo Ying | 郭鷹 |

Guoli Taiwan Yishu Zhuanke Xuexiao

國立臺灣藝術專科學校

Haitian Qin Club

海天琴社

He Baoquan

何寶泉

He Zhanhao

何占豪

Ho Ming-chung

何名忠

Hsu Huei-san

許慧珊

Hsu Man-hsuan

許嫚烜

Hsu Ya-ming

許雅民

Huang Chun-shi

黃俊錫

Huang Hao-yin

黃好吟

Huang Zhangfu

黃長富

Huang Zong-shi

黃宗識

Jiang Qing

江青

Jiao Jinhai

焦金海

Jiao Zhongqing

焦仲卿

Jiuguotuan

救國團

Kao Tzu-ming

高子銘

Lee Chih-chun

李志純

Lee Yuan-chen

李元貞

Li Meng

李萌

Li Wanfen

李婉芬

Li Zhao-xing

李兆星

Liang Tsai-ping

梁在平

Lin Dong-he

林東河

Lin Junmao

林俊茂

Lin Maogen

林毛根

Lin Yue-li

林月里

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| Liu Feng | 刘烽 |
| Liu Lanzhi | 劉蘭芝 |
| Liu Yi-Chih | 劉毅志 |
| Liu Zhangqing | 劉長卿 |
| Lu Yen | 盧炎 |
| Ma Shui-long | 馬水龍 |
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| National Taiwan University of Arts | 國立臺灣藝術大學 |
| Pan Hwang-long | 潘皇龍 |
| Peng Ching | 彭景 |
| Qiu Dacheng | 邱大成 |
| Rao Congju | 饶从举 |
| Rao Ningxin | 饶宁新 |
| Rao Shuhang | 饶蜀行 |
| Rao Yuyan | 饶余燕 |
| Shaw Yu-ming | 邵玉銘 |
| Shi Wen-yao | 施文耀 |
| Shi Yinmei | 史蔭美 |
| Shui Wen-juen | 水文君 |
| Stella Matutina Girls' High School | 曉明女中 |
| Sun Che | 孫澈 |
| Sun Wenyan | 孫文妍 |
| Sun Yat-sen | 孫中山 |
| Wang Changyuan | 王昌元 |
| Wang Ruei-yu | 王瑞裕 |
| Wang Song-lai | 王宋來 |
| Wang Xunzhi | 王巽之 |

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| Wang Zhaoan | 汪兆安 |
| Wang Zhongshan | 王中山 |
| Wei De-dong | 魏德棟 |
| Wei Ziyou | 魏子猷 |
| Xian-Jin Chinese Music Store | 先進國樂公司 |
| Xiang Sihua | 項斯華 |
| Xu Xiaolin | 徐曉琳 |
| Xu Zhengao | 徐振高 |
| Xuan Zang | 玄奘 |
| Yan Wei | 嚴威 |
| Yang Pei-hsuan | 楊佩璇 |
| Ye Jian-ying | 叶劍英 |
| Yeh Jiuan-reng | 葉娟仍 |
| Ying Qiying | 尹其穎 |
| You-Shi Chinese Music Club | 幼獅國樂團 |
| Yu Hsu-ling | 游秀玲 |
| Yu Huiyong | 于会泳 |
| Zhang Yen | 張燕 |
| Zhao Manqin | 趙曼琴 |
| Zhao Yuzhai | 趙玉齋 |
| Zhongguo Nuzi Guoyuetuan | 中國女子國樂團 |
| Zhonghuaminguo Yueqi Xuehui | 中華民國樂器學會 |
| Zhongxing Guoyueshe | 中信國樂社 |
| Zhou Qi-feng | 周岐峰 |
| Zhou Wang | 周望 |
| Zhou Wen-yong | 周文勇 |
| Zhou Yanjia | 周延甲 |

Zhou Yuguo

Zhou Zhan

周煜國

周展

Terms

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| <i>baijiazhengming</i> | 百家爭鳴 | contentions between a hundred schools |
| <i>banhu</i> | 板胡 | two-stringed fiddle |
| <i>beiguan</i> | 北管 | traditional Taiwanese music genre imported from China |
| <i>benshengren</i> | 本省人 | Chinese immigrants who arrived Taiwan before 1945 |
| <i>bofu</i> | 搏拊 | percussion instrument used in Confucian ritual |
| composed <i>zheng</i> music | 創作箏曲 | <i>zheng</i> music whose composers can be identified |
| <i>dadiao quzi</i> | 大調曲子 | lit. big (major) tunes, indicating the major ancient Kejia <i>zheng</i> tunes from the central China |
| <i>daoqing</i> | 道情 | Shaanxi opera music |
| Dapu County | 大埔縣 | a county in Guangdong Province |
| <i>dizi</i> | 笛子 | transverse bamboo flute |
| <i>dongxiao</i> | 洞簫 | vertical bamboo flute |
| Dunhuang | 敦煌 | a city in Gansu Province |
| <i>erhu</i> | 二胡 | two-stringed fiddle |
| <i>ersipu</i> | 二四譜 | traditional Chinese notation for Chaozhou music, using Chinese characters to indicate musical notes |
| <i>Fengsu Tongyi</i> | 風俗通義 | A book written about Chinese customs in c.195. |
| <i>fuyin</i> | 拂音 | <i>zheng</i> technique that involves plucking multiple strings continuously |

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| <i>gongchepu</i> | 工尺譜 | traditional Chinese notation popular in ancient China, using Chinese characters to indicate musical notes |
| <i>gongji</i> | 公祭 | public funeral ceremony |
| <i>guan</i> | 管 | double-reed instrument |
| <i>guganyin</i> | 骨幹音 | melodic framework of the music |
| <i>guo</i> | 國 | nation |
| <i>guohua</i> | 國畫 | national painting |
| <i>guoju</i> | 國劇 | national opera |
| <i>guoyu</i> | 國語 | national language |
| <i>guoyue</i> | 國樂 | national music |
| <i>Hakka</i> | 客家 | dialect pronunciation of Kejia, indicating Han Chinese with ancestral homes in southern China, including Guangdong, Jiangxi, Guangxi, and Fujian Provinces |
| <i>Handiao</i> | 漢調 | Han tune |
| <i>Hoklo</i> | 河洛 | Han Chinese with ancestral homes in Fujian Province |
| <i>huangzhong</i> | 黃鐘 | yellow bell |
| <i>jiahua</i> | 加花 | lit. adding flowers, meaning improvising ornaments to the main melody according to each instrument's characteristics. Additional ornaments are referred to as flowers. |
| <i>Jiaji</i> | 家祭 | private funeral ceremony |
| <i>jianzipu</i> | 減字譜 | <i>qin</i> notation written in a tablature indicating string sequence, finger position, and technique |
| <i>Kejia</i> | 客家 | Mandarin pronunciation of Hakka, indicating Han Chinese with ancestral |

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| | | homes in southern China, including Guangdong, Jiangxi, Guangxi, and Fujian Provinces |
| <i>keju zhidu</i> | 科舉制度 | imperial examinations |
| <i>koto</i> | 日本箏 | Japanese zither |
| <i>kua a</i> | 歌仔 | folksong genre from Zhangzhou, Fujian Province |
| <i>kua a hi</i> | 歌仔戲 | Taiwanese opera |
| <i>kuaisu zhixu jifa</i> | 快速指序技法 | Speedy Fingering Sequence Technique |
| <i>li-tsua</i> | 字紙 | paper that had written words on it. Traditional Chinese separated used written paper from other trash due to respect for literacy |
| Liu-Yi Dance | 六佾舞 | traditional court dance |
| <i>lunzhi</i> | 輪指 | <i>pipa</i> technique where five fingers alternate to rapidly pluck string(s) |
| <i>mihu</i> | 迷胡 | Shaanxi opera music |
| <i>minzu, minquan, minsheng</i> | 民族、民權、民生 | nationalism, civil rights, and livelihood |
| <i>nanguan</i> | 南管 | traditional Taiwanese music genre imported from China |
| <i>pipa</i> | 琵琶 | four-stringed lute |
| <i>qin</i> | 琴 | seven-stringed zither with no bridges to support the strings |
| <i>qinshu</i> | 琴書 | Shandong narrative singing music |
| <i>qin yun zheng sheng</i> | 琴韻箏聲 | applying the <i>qin</i> sonic features of pitch bend to <i>zheng</i> |
| <i>qinqiang</i> | 秦腔 | Shaanxi opera music |
| <i>qinqin</i> | 秦琴 | plucked string lute |

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| <i>qinzheng</i> | 秦箏 | <i>zheng</i> of the Qin area (Shaanxi) |
| <i>qinzheng guiqin</i> | 秦箏歸秦 | returning <i>qinzheng</i> to the Qin area (Shaanxi) |
| <i>rengong diaoshi</i> | 人工調式 | lit. artificial mode, indicating newly-invented scale created by contemporary composers |
| <i>sanmin zhuyi</i> | 三民主義 | Three Principles of the People |
| <i>sanxian</i> | 三弦 | three-stringed lute |
| <i>saoyao</i> | 掃搖 | <i>zheng</i> 's <i>yaozhi</i> technique combining additional accents made by middle finger plucked string zither |
| <i>se</i> | 瑟 | plucked string zither |
| <i>sheng</i> | 笙 | mouth organ |
| <i>Shiji</i> | 史記 | historic record |
| <i>sihuaju</i> | 私伙局 | amateur folk music and art clubs in Cantonese-speaking communities |
| <i>sizhu</i> | 絲竹 | silk and bamboo music |
| <i>tanhuang</i> | 灘簧 | Zhejiang narrative singing music |
| <i>tuopi</i> | 托劈 | <i>zheng</i> technique indicates the thumb plucking outward and inward |
| <i>waishengren</i> | 外省人 | Chinese immigrants who arrived Taiwan after 1945 |
| <i>wanwanqiang</i> | 碗碗腔 | Shaanxi opera music |
| <i>wenren</i> | 文人 | literati |
| <i>Xian Suo Bei Kao</i> | 弦索備考 | the score collection of Chinese ensemble music in the Qing dynasty |
| <i>xiao</i> | 簫 | vertical bamboo flute |
| <i>xiyue</i> | 細樂 | refined music |
| <i>xuanwanyao</i> | 懸腕搖 | lit. hanging wrist <i>yaozhi</i> . To indicate playing <i>zheng</i> 's <i>yaozhi</i> technique without using the wrist for physical support |

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| <i>yangbanxi</i> | 樣板戲 | model operas, also known as revolutionary operas, that were permitted during the Cultural Revolution to promote Communist ideology |
| <i>yangqin</i> | 揚琴 | hammered dulcimer |
| <i>yaozhi</i> | 搖指 | <i>zheng</i> technique that involves plucking the same string(s) continuously |
| <i>yawanyao</i> | 壓腕搖 | lit. pressing wrist <i>yaozhi</i> . To indicate playing <i>zheng</i> 's <i>yaozhi</i> technique using the wrist for physical support |
| <i>yanyue</i> | 燕樂 | court banquet music |
| <i>yayue</i> | 雅樂 | elegant music |
| <i>yehu</i> | 椰胡 | two-stringed fiddle |
| <i>yun</i> | 韻 | rhyme, the musical flavor resulting from the left hand bending strings |
| <i>zhazhuangyao</i> | 扎桩搖 | lit. pricking <i>yaozhi</i> . To indicate playing with the <i>yaozhi</i> technique using the little finger for physical support |
| <i>zheng</i> | 箏 | plucked string zither with bridges to support the strings |
| <i>zhonggong</i> | 中共 | Chinese Communist |
| <i>zhongguo</i> | 中國 | Chinese nation |
| <i>zhonghua</i> | 中華 | Chinese (nation/language); China |
| <i>Zhonghua Wenhua Fuxing Yundong</i> | 中華文化復興運動 | Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement |
| <i>zhongzhou gudiao</i> | 中州古調 | ancient tunes from the central land |

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