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**NANYIN MUSICAL CULTURE IN SOUTHERN  
FUJIAN, CHINA:  
ADAPTATION AND CONTINUITY**

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**Volume 1: Main Text**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**2014**

**Department of Music  
School of Oriental and African Studies  
University of London**

**Dedicated to the Heavenly Father**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the musical genre *nanyin*, one of the oldest and most prestigious living folk traditions preserved in southern Fujian (Minnan), China. As an emblem of Minnan ethnic identity, *nanyin* is still actively practised in the Southeast Asian Fujianese diaspora as well.

Based on ethnographic investigations in Jinjiang County, this research explores multifaceted *nanyin* activities in the society at large. The importance of the genre is manifested in its active role in political, socio-economic and cultural spheres, its adaptations to state cultural ideologies in the ebb and flow of different political periods, and its continuity despite changing transmission modes.

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 offers an introduction to the genre and centres on an examination of published literature relevant to my approach and my fieldwork objectives. Chapter 2 gives an overview of *nanyin* and its pivotal role as musical source to other folk performing arts in southern Fujian. Chapter 3 focuses on the historical roots of *nanyin*, its musical identity, and prestige and gender shifts. Chapter 4 traces the processes of social and cultural transformation and illustrates their effects on shaping musical changes in *nanyin* in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Chapter 5 investigates contemporary *nanyin* performance contexts in Jinjiang, including examination of how ritual practices are situated in the present state ideology. In Chapter 6, I draw on my field observations to discuss the methods of *nanyin* transmission in formal and informal contexts. With Westernization and urbanization since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, institutionalization of folk music has become common, and *nanyin* is no exception. Chapter 7 looks at music as cultural capital and discusses diasporic support and government involvement as factors in the preservation of *nanyin*. Chapter 8 summarizes and reflects on my findings with reference to my research queries, and suggest how these findings supplement existing *nanyin* studies.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of illustrations (Examples, Figures, Maps, Tables)	10
Romanization	15
Timeline of Chinese dynasties and periods	16
Acknowledgments	17
<b>Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>22</b>
1.1 Aims and objectives	24
1.2 Literature review	26
1.2.1 Relevant approaches in ethnomusicology	26
1.2.2 Musical ethnography and theory	27
1.2.3 Approaches to preservation and revival	33
1.2.4 Literature relevant to Minnan culture	34
1.2.5 Research and literature on <i>nanyin</i>	37
1.2.6 <i>Nanyin</i> musicological materials	41
1.3 Methodology	42
1.3.1 Fieldwork strategies	43
1.3.2 Field sites	48
1.3.3 Problems encountered	51
<b>Chapter 2 OVERVIEW</b>	<b>53</b>
2.1 Musical characteristics	53
2.1.1 Mode and metre	54
2.1.2 <i>Gunmen</i> and <i>qupai</i>	59
2.2 Instrumentation	62
2.2.1 <i>Shangshiguan</i> (Upper Four ensemble)	62
2.2.2 <i>Xiasiguan</i> (Lower Four ensemble)	66

2.3	Notation and texture	70
2.3.1	Notation	70
2.3.2	Texture	78
2.4	Repertory ( <i>Zhi</i> 指, <i>Qu</i> 曲, <i>Pu</i> 譜)	84
2.4.1	<i>Zhi</i>	85
2.4.2	<i>Qu</i>	86
2.4.3	<i>Pu</i>	87
2.5	<i>Nanyin</i> in relationship to other performing arts in southern Fujian	88
2.5.1	Classical opera - <i>Liyuanxi</i> 梨园戏	89
2.5.2	Street opera - <i>Gaojiaxi</i> 高甲戏	92
2.5.3	Other folk performing arts genres in southern Fujian	94
2.5.4	Case study – <i>Lijingji</i> 荔镜记	96
2.6	Conclusion	102
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b><i>NANYIN</i> TRADITION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE</b>	<b>106</b>
3.1	Historical roots of <i>nanyin</i>	107
3.1.1	<i>Nanyin</i> 's relation to earlier musical forms	108
3.1.2	Historical outward migration tides	111
3.1.3	<i>Nanyin</i> in geographical context	114
3.2	Identity and ethnicity	117
3.2.1	Social identity from the perspective of ritual performance	118
3.2.2	Self defined identity of amateur musicians	122
3.2.3	Assimilation and reconstruction of ethnicity	123
3.3	Prestige and gender	134
3.3.1	Social class and prestige	134
3.3.2	Feminization of <i>nanyin</i>	137
3.4	Conclusion	146

<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF NANYIN PRACTICE (20<sup>TH</sup> to 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURIES)</b>	<b>148</b>
4.1	Social and cultural contexts of <i>nanyin</i> tradition in the early 20th century	149
4.1.1	Life cycle activities	150
4.1.2	Calendrical events and temple fairs	152
4.1.3	Secular <i>nanyin</i> activities	153
4.2	Advent of modernization	154
4.2.1	Developments in the <i>nanyin</i> repertoire	156
4.2.2	<i>Nanyin</i> musical changes in the late 1950s	158
4.2.3	Urbanization and commercialization of <i>nanyin</i> in Xiamen	160
4.2.4	Regional interpretative differences between Quanzhou and Xiamen	162
4.3	Maoist period suppression and survival	169
4.3.1	The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)	171
4.3.2	Revolutionalization of repertoire	178
4.3.3	Amateur composers in Jinjiang	180
4.3.4	Current <i>nanyin</i> works	182
4.4	Conclusion	185
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS OF NANYIN ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>187</b>
5.1	<i>Nanyin</i> performance contexts and structure	188
5.1.1	Indoor performance	188
5.1.2	Outdoor performance	189
5.1.3	Ritual performance	190
5.2	<i>Nanyin</i> societies and their operations	191
5.2.1	The oldest <i>nanyin</i> society in southern Fujian	193
5.2.2	Local organization of the <i>nanyin</i> hub	201
5.3	The contemporary scene in <i>nanyin</i> religious activities	211
5.3.1	Invented tradition – funeral rituals	212

5.3.2	Revitalization of temple fair tradition	220
5.4	Conclusion	228
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF NANYIN EDUCATION</b>	<b>231</b>
6.1	Traditional oral transmission	231
6.1.1	<i>Nanyin</i> traditional oral transmission	232
6.1.2	<i>Quanqiang</i> – basic accent in <i>nanyin</i> vocal	233
6.1.3	Learning of instrumental pieces	234
6.2	Institutionalized <i>nanyin</i> education	235
6.2.1	School for professional training	237
6.2.2	Institution for the cultivation of <i>nanyin</i> teachers	245
6.2.3	Teacher/student relationship	248
6.3	<i>Nanyin</i> education in elementary and secondary schools	250
6.3.1	<i>Nanyin</i> in the classroom: a strategic launching	250
6.3.2	Classroom pedagogies	251
6.3.3	Annual student’s <i>nanyin</i> competition	254
6.4	Informal children’s <i>nanyin</i> education in southern Fujian	255
6.4.1	Acquisition of music	256
6.4.2	Choice of repertoire	259
6.5	Notation and teaching materials	260
6.5.1	The use of notation in <i>nanyin</i>	260
6.5.2	<i>Nanyin</i> teaching materials	261
6.6	Canonization	262
6.6.1	Computerization of <i>nanyin</i> notation	264
6.6.2	Standardization of transmission in individual <i>nanyin</i> societies	265
6.7	Conclusion	266

<b>Chapter 7</b>	<b>NANYIN AS CULTURAL CAPITAL</b>	<b>269</b>
7.1	The impact of transnational <i>nanyin</i> networks	270
7.1.1	Diasporic networks of <i>nanyin</i>	270
7.1.2	<i>Nanyin</i> in cultural perspective	272
7.1.3	Transnational patronage	276
7.2	Government policy towards <i>nanyin</i> activities	280
7.2.1	<i>Nanyin</i> as political diplomacy	280
7.2.2	Re-inventing tradition	281
7.2.3	Commodification and tourism	283
7.3	ICH Preservation and revival	287
7.3.1	Preservation of <i>nanyin</i> as ICH	289
7.3.2	The revival of <i>guozhiqu</i> tradition	298
7.4	Conclusion	305
<b>Chapter 8</b>	<b>CONCLUSIONS</b>	<b>308</b>
8.1	Contributions of this research	308
8.2	Research findings	309
8.2.1	Historically constructed	309
8.2.2	Individuality in identity and musical meanings	310
8.2.3	Class and gender shifts in <i>nanyin</i> tradition	311
8.2.4	Musical changes	311
8.2.5	<i>Nanyin</i> societies in Minnan	314
8.2.6	Rejuvenation and secularization of rituals	315
8.2.7	The perpetuation of <i>nanyin</i> heritage	317
8.2.8	The impact of diasporic patronage	320
8.2.9	Different practice and safeguarding of <i>nanyin</i> between Taiwan and Minnan	322
8.2.10	Current cultural strategies and challenges in Minnan	323
8.2.11	Revival of traditional repertoire	325
8.2.12	Sustainability	325
8.3	Topics for future research	327

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### Examples

2.1	<i>Wukong siche guan</i>	55
2.2	<i>Wukongguan</i>	56
2.3	<i>Sikongguan</i> – pentatonic on F	56
2.4	<i>Beisiguan</i> – pentatonic on D	57
2.5	<i>Qiliaopai</i> 8/2 or 16/4	58
2.6	<i>Mansanliao</i> 4/2 or 8/4	58
2.7	<i>Jinsanliao</i> or <i>yi'er pai</i> 2/2 or 4/4	58
2.8	<i>Diepai</i> 2/4 or 1/2	59
2.9	<i>Jindiepai</i> 1/4	59
2.10	Extending the syllable <i>xiao</i> via melisma in <i>nanyin</i> singing	79
2.11	Extending the syllable <i>hieng</i> via melisma in <i>nanyin</i> singing	79
2.12	<i>Niqu duoduo</i> , bb.1-5 (CD-1 0:05-34)	81
2.13	<i>Niqu duoduo</i> , bb.26-28, doubling of trills (CD-1 2:16-30)	82
2.14	Alternative ornamentations, bb.1-5	82
2.15	Sustaining function, bb.33-5	83
2.16	Contrary motion b.13	83
2.17	<i>Qiutianwutong</i> – <i>nanyin</i> version	93
2.18	<i>Yishuo</i> – <i>gaojiaxi</i> version	93
2.19	<i>Nanyin</i> , bb.1-6 (DVD-1, 0:06-1:01)	98
2.20	<i>Liyuanxi</i> , bb.1-6 (DVD-1, 8:54-9:12)	99
2.21	<i>Gaojiaxi</i> , bb.1-6 (DVD-1, 11:10-43)	99
2.22	<i>Nanyin</i> , bb.15-19 (DVD-1, 2:09-39)	100
2.23	<i>Liyuanxi</i> , bb.16-19 (DVD-1, 9:45-57)	100
2.24	<i>Gaojiaxi</i> , bb.15-19 (DVD-1, 12:15-26)	100
2.25	<i>Nanyin</i> , bb.29-32 (DVD-1, 3:38-53)	101
2.26	<i>Liyuanxi</i> , bb.29-32 (DVD-1, 10:10-30 with repetition of lyrics)	101
2.27	<i>Gaojia</i> , bb.29-32 (DVD-1, 12:38-52 with repetition of lyrics)	101
2.28	<i>Nanyin</i> , bb.38-42 (DVD-1, 4:25-48)	101
2.29	<i>Liyuanxi</i> , bb.38-42 (DVD-1, 10:30-46)	102
2.30	<i>Gaojia</i> , bb.38-42 (DVD-1, 12:53-13:03)	102

4.1	Quanzhou Version – excerpt of <i>Emaoxue</i> , C mode, free tempo, <i>sanban</i> 4/4-1/4	163
4.2	Xiamen Version – excerpt of <i>Emaoxue</i> , C mode, <i>Jin sanliao</i> 4/4	163
4.3	Excerpt of <i>pipa</i> skeletal melody, bb.12-15	165
4.4	Excerpt of Quanzhou style interpreted by Yang Shuangying	165
4.5	Excerpt of Xiamen style interpreted by Qiu Yumin	165
4.6	Excerpt of <i>pipa</i> skeletal melody, bb.6-11	166
4.7	Excerpt of Quanzhou stylistic rests interpreted by Yang Shuangying	166
4.8	Excerpt of Xiamen style interpreted by Qiu Yumin	166
4.9	Excerpt from <i>Wang Beijing</i> , bb.55-64	179
4.10	Excerpt from <i>Chuhuatang</i>	179
4.11	Excerpt from <i>Zhiru huayuan (Luolilian)</i>	183

## Figures

1.1	Hierarchal system of Chinese local Governments with locations of <i>nanyin</i> musical interest	49
2.1	<i>Nanyin</i> pipa	63
2.2	<i>Paiban</i> – 5 slaps of wood clappers used in Minnan	64
2.3	The <i>shangsiguan</i> ensemble setting	65
2.4	<i>Nanyin</i> percussion instruments	66
2.5	The <i>nanyin ai'a'zhi</i> ensemble setting	67
2.6	<i>Nanyin ai'a'zhi</i> ensemble setting, Hong Kong Fukien Athletic Club, Ltd.	68
2.7	<i>Nanyin</i> street parade ensemble setting	69
2.8	Quanzhou Cross Strait Minnan cultural festival – street parade	69
2.9	Traditional <i>nanyin gongche</i> notation – <i>zhi</i> suite	72
2.10	Some <i>pipa</i> fingerings and their time values	72
2.11	Unnotated song text with small circles marking the <i>paiban</i>	74
2.12	Manuscript written in 1823	75
2.13	Manuscript written in 1881	76
2.14	Handwritten <i>nanyin gongchepu</i> score for teaching in Jinjiang	77

3.1	Ding lineage ancestral hall in Chendai	126
3.2	The mosque – Chendai Qingzhen Si	129
3.3	Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society	131
3.4	Chendai Muslims perform in Guizhou, 2010	133
3.5	Dongshi <i>nanyin</i> musicians in 1909	139
3.6	Chen Yuxiu (1936-2013) - The first known female student in the history of <i>nanyin</i>	140
3.7	Nightly <i>nanyin</i> concert outside Wenmiao, Quanzhou City	141
3.8	Jinjiangshi Guyun Nanyin Yishutuan	142
3.9	A ritual event celebrated by male musicians of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society	144
4.1	Zhou’s family courtyard in Baisha, Dongshi – a <i>nanyin</i> music-making venue	149
4.2	<i>Chadan</i>	152
4.3	<i>Jinpeng</i> in the Republican era	153
4.4	<i>Nanyin</i> organological relics in Kaiyuan Temple, Quanzhou	169
4.5	A manuscript salvaged from fire by Gong Wenpeng	174
5.1	Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society, Shenhu	196
5.2	Weekly gathering at Yubinshe	198
5.3	Contemporary <i>Jinpeng</i> at Shenhu temple fair	200
5.4	Dongshizhen Nanyin Society	203
5.5	<i>Longjiang shihua</i> , <i>juan 3</i> (Chapter 3): 21-2	204
5.6	Daily morning session at Dongshizhen Nanyin Society	206
5.7	<i>Baiguan</i> by Shishi Shenghe Nanyueshe to Dongshizhen Nanyin Society	207
5.8	Dongshizhen communal activity: Spring Festival	208
5.9	Home music-making gathering in Dongshi	209
5.10	<i>Sandianjiu</i> ritual on funeral day	214
5.11	Funeral placards at Gong Wenpeng’s funeral	219
5.12	Temple fair at Zhenjiang Gong Liuxing Wangfu Temple	223
5.13	Local ensemble <i>chegu chui</i> in the temple fair	224
5.14	Dongshizhen <i>Nanyin</i> Society temple fair procession	225

5.15	Music offering in the temple	226
5.16	Stage recital at the Baisha temple fair	227
6.1	Fujiansheng Quanzhou Yishu Xuexiao [Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School]	238
6.2	First batch of students in Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School (1984)	239
6.3	<i>Nanyin</i> performance in rural Jinjiang village in the late 1980s	241
6.4	<i>Nanyin</i> vocal session in Fujiansheng Quanzhou Yishu Xuexiao	242
6.5	Choreography class ( <i>xingti ban</i> ) for <i>nanyin</i> students	243
6.6	Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan [Quanzhou Normal University]	245
6.7	2 <sup>nd</sup> year <i>pipa</i> class, Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan	247
6.8	Rock and Roll <i>nanyin</i> performance	254
7.1	Residence of retired overseas Chinese in Shenhu	271
7.2	Qiaosheng Secondary School, Dongshi, Jinjiang	278
7.3	Quanzhou Nanyin Yiyuan	285
7.4	Certificate of recognition as city-level <i>nanyin</i> heritage bearer in 2011	291
7.5	Weekly Sunday rehearsal at Jinjiang Shi <i>Nanyin</i> Yishutuan	297

## Maps

3.1	<i>Nanyin</i> distribution	112
3.2	Qing dynasty district map of Jinjiang Prefecture	115
3.3	Quanzhou City and neighbouring counties	116
3.4	Jinjiang County City	117
3.5	The town of Chendai	125
5.1	Shenhu and neighbouring towns	194
5.2	The town and villages of Dongshi	202

## Tables

3.1	Gender ratio of <i>nanyin</i> enrollment in Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan [Quanzhou Normal University]	143
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5.1	Activities of Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society, Shenhua (December 2009-July 2010)	199
6.1	Some examples of accent differences between Quanzhou and Jinjiang (approximate romanization)	234
6.2	Enrollments of <i>nanyin</i> students (2010-13) in Fujiansheng Quanzhou Yishu Xuexiao	244
7.1	Donations (in RMB) from overseas Jinjiang emigrants, 1988-96	278

## ROMANIZATION

*Minnanhua* [‘language of Minnan’] is the *lingua franca* of *nanyin*. It is the dominant Chinese dialect in southern Fujian (the region called Minnan in Standard Chinese). In English it may be referred to as Minnanese (the term we will use) or (more commonly in Southeast Asia) Hokkienese (Hokkien = Fujian).

Minnanese pronunciation is different enough from Mandarin = Standard Chinese (*putonghua*) that they are basically mutually unintelligible. Even between the three field locations within Jinjiang County where I carried out my research, there are significant dialectal differences in pronunciation, speech tones and expression. Throughout this thesis, Chinese terms are transliterated as pronounced in Mandarin, using the *pinyin* romanization system which is dominant in Chinese studies and thus easiest for the understanding of a wide readership. The only exceptions are the lyrics to Exx. 2.10-11, which are in Minnanese.

Chinese characters are given in the simplified version (*jiantizi*); but for titles and names which have already been published in traditional characters, the published characters are used. For personal names, overseas *nanyin* society names and titles of secondary material which have already been published in English, romanization is as it appeared in those publications.

Readings in English and Chinese are merged into a single list for convenience of reference. For literature in English, the surnames of authors are followed by a comma. For literature in Chinese, the authors’ surnames follow the widespread convention of excluding the comma, e.g. Deng Xiaoping. Where a Chinese name has been published in romanization, I have kept the original format, e.g. Tan Hwee-San rather than Tan Hwee San or Tan Hweesan.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations of Chinese texts are my own work, and I apologize if I have misrepresented anyone.

## TIMELINE OF CHINESE DYNASTIES AND PERIODS<sup>1</sup>

### Dynasties

Xia 夏	2100 – 1600 BC
Shang 商	1600 – 1066
Zhou 周	1066 – 256
Chun Qiu 春秋 (Spring - Autumn)	770 – 476
Zhan Guo 战国 (Warring States)	475 – 221
Qin 秦	221 – 206
Han 汉	206 BC – 220 AD
San Guo 三国 (Three Kingdoms),	
Jin 晋, Southern and Northern dynasties 南北朝	220 – 581
Sui 隋	581 – 618
Tang 唐	618 – 907
Five Dynasties 五代 and Ten Kingdoms	907 – 979
Liao 辽, Xi Xia 西夏 and Jin 金	916 – 1234
North Song 北宋	960 – 1127
South Song 南宋	1127 – 1279
Yuan 元	1271 – 1368
Ming 明	1368 – 1644
Qing 清	1644 – 1911

### Periods

Republican (Minguo 民国)	1911 – 1949
People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国	1949 –

<sup>1</sup> Anon. n.d.1; Jones (1995); Yang Yinliu (2008).

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

The genre of *nanyin* 南音 [southern music] is a regional tradition of long historical heritage which has been practised and maintained by amateur societies and professional groups in the southern Fujian province (Minnan 闽南)<sup>1</sup> of China. There is no documented evidence of its origin but earliest records date back to AD1604. *Nanyin* is thought to have been nurtured and developed in Quanzhou, southern Fujian and has become a symbol of regional identity for the inhabitants of the area. The genre has been given various names in its history: *xianguan* 弦管 [string and pipe]; *nanguan* 南管<sup>2</sup> [southern pipe]; *dongguan* 洞管 [wind pipe]; *nanyue* 南乐 [southern music]; *nanqu* 南曲 [southern song]; *langjunyue* 郎君乐 [music of the patron deity Mengfu Langjun] and *nanyin*.<sup>3</sup> These names have co-existed in publications and musical events in southern Fujian and within the overseas *nanyin* diaspora according to customary practice in different regions.

In the pre-1949 era, the genre was commonly referred to in southern Fujian (Minnan) by a literal organological term, *xianguan* 弦管 (*xian* = strings, *guan* = wind instrument). This term has also been used to refer to a variety of musical, usually instrumental, genres around China. The earliest use of the term was in a poem written by the Quanzhou *jinshi* 进士 [metropolitan scholar] Ouyang Zhan 欧阳詹 (AD756-98) during the mid-Tang period (Chen Shilian and Lin Zhongrong 2008:9).

As a musical tradition with long historical background, *xianguan* was considered to be a cultural relic of feudalism under the ideology of the newly established People's Republic of China (PRC). In 1952, the new local government amalgamated three major *nanyin* amateur groups and established the Quanzhou Nanyin Yanjiushe 泉州南音研究

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<sup>1</sup> *Min* is the abbreviation for *Qimin* 七闽 [Seven Min], which refers to the seven aboriginal tribes living along the southeast coastal area (Fujian) of China before and during the Qin dynasty (221-206BC) (Fujian Ribaoshe 1980:1; Lü Liangbi and Chen Kui 2008:2). *Nan* means 'south', thus Minnan refers to southern Fujian.

<sup>2</sup> The name has been used in Taiwan where the genre was disseminated by immigrants from Fujian since the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (Nora Yeh 1985:9-10).

<sup>3</sup> Lü Chuikuan 2005, 1986b; Zheng Guoquan 2009:61; Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989; Nora Yeh dissertation 1985.

社 [Quanzhou Nanyin Research Society].<sup>4</sup> To comply with the new state ideology of *pojiu lixin* 破旧立新 [abolish the old (feudalism) and institute the new (socialism)], the name *nanyin* was used to gloss over the old genre and has henceforth become an official term to replace *xianguan* in China's southern Fujian province (Chen Risheng,<sup>5</sup> interview, 9 March 2010). (Please see Appendix 5 for further information about all major interviewees.)

The name of the genre remains controversial, as musicological terms such as *nanqu*, *nanyue* and *nanyin* historically refer generally to music in the southern region and not to a particular genre. Despite Minnan *nanyin* scholars' insistence that the former term *xianguan* should be retained, the term *Quanzhou nanyin* is used to accentuate precisely its regional identity and to distinguish the genre from another southern narrative genre, *Guangdong nanyin* (Zheng Guoquan 2009:57-67). The title *nanyin* was officially used in the nomination form submitted to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for consideration to be included in the Representative List of the World Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (ICH). To correspond with the official title used since 1952 in China and the ICH list, the name *nanyin* is used throughout this thesis.

Chinese scholars have found *nanyin* to be a synthesis of elite literati traditions of music, drama and poetry.<sup>6</sup> It enjoys prestige as music of the elite class in southern Fujian for self-entertainment and social functions (Chapter 4.1). The core *nanyin* ensemble consists of four instruments: *nanyin pipa* or *nanpa* 南琶 [four-stringed plucked lute], *dongxiao* 洞箫 [end-blown bamboo flute], *sanxian* 三弦 [three-stringed plucked lute] and *erxian* 二弦 [two-stringed bowed fiddle], with a secondary ensemble of some local types of percussion instruments (Chapter 2.2).

A brief note on language: *Fujian* is pronounced *Hokkien* in the Minnan dialect. The language of southern Fujian is called *Minnanhua*, 'Minnanese', though in the diaspora it is often called *Hokkien* dialect. In this thesis the term 'Minnanese' is used to refer to this dialect, which is the one in which *nanyin* is sung.

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<sup>4</sup> The names of these groups are Huifengge 回风阁, Huifengge Julebu 回风阁俱乐部 and Shengpingzou 升平奏.

<sup>5</sup> Chen Risheng 陈日升 is the former Deputy Director (1987-97) of City Bureau of Culture, Quanzhou; see Appendix 5 for more information about him.

<sup>6</sup> Lü Chuikuan 1986b; Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989; Sun Xingqun 1996; Zheng Guoquan 2009.

Following the flows of migration in different historical periods, *nanyin* music has been disseminated to various Southeast Asian countries and is still actively practised in some Minnanese-speaking communities, notably in Taiwan, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, Macau and Hong Kong. Singing *nanyin* in Minnanese helps to signal the ethnic identity of the genre.

### ***Importance of the genre***

*Nanyin* is an important genre in the region, being the musical kernel which most of Minnan's performing arts genres draw upon. It is often described as the 'mother music' (*muyue* 母乐) of the region's folk theatrical art forms (Chen Risheng, interview, 9 March 2010). Examining the three Ming dynasty anthologies published soon after 1600 for southern Fujian classical theatre discovered by the sinologist Piet van der Loon, it turns out that many of the *xianguan* repertoires therein are living traditions still practised in the folk performing arts of southern Fujian today (Van der Loon 1992; Zheng Guoquan 2009:60-6).

As a marker of regional identity, the genre is a nucleus of Minnan culture and plays a significant role in ritual, political and socio-economic performance contexts. Chinese ritual traditions of auspicious (red) occasions and funerals (white) which Stephen Jones refers to as "*hongbai xishi*, literally red and white joyous business" (S. Jones 1995:14) affect every social stratum, and *nanyin* playing is an integral part in both red and white events. The genre was revitalized after the Cultural Revolution period (1966-76) with financial support from overseas, and *nanyin* musicians became political and cultural ambassadors between Minnan and various Southeast Asian countries.

## **1.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

This study is a continuation of my previous research on *nanyin* in southern Fujian, which focused on interpretive flexibility in *nanyin* instrumentation (C. Lim 2006). The rapid and dynamic socio-cultural changes in Minnan throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century have been constantly transforming the genre and its practice. Hitherto, few writings in English have dealt comprehensively with this change from the viewpoint of folk contexts of performance and transmission and *nanyin* practitioners; it is therefore important to

document these changes before many aspects of practice are lost as a result of modernization. Such a study should also be of interest to the discipline of ethnomusicology as a case study in processes of musical change. Through ethnographic investigation, I attempt to unveil the evolution of the genre during the political and social changes of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, addressing several issues covered by ethnomusicological studies.

As a genre with a long historical background, *nanyin* assumes an important role in Minnan culture. Changes have occurred in the gender and social status of the practitioners; an examination pertaining to these helps understand the gender imbalance in the contemporary *nanyin* performance field at large. The overseas Chinese of Minnan origin have been a source of strong financial support for the culture and economy of southern Fujian, but it is worth considering what kind of performance this diaspora patronage promotes and the impact of the patronage on the development of *nanyin* in Minnan. In an overview of the *nanyin* diaspora, I seek to understand the differences in *nanyin* practice between Taiwan and Minnan and also their respective government cultural strategies in the continuation of the tradition.

China has undergone much social turbulence during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This study explores the cultural sphere during the periods of instability, how the social and cultural transformation impacted the practice of *nanyin*, as well as the contemporary organisation of amateur *nanyin* societies in recent decades. Since the Reform period of the 1980s, Minnan government cultural policy has become more flexible regarding the practice of ritual tradition. Field investigation and observations help explain how *nanyin* ritual tradition is situated within the present state ideology and the dynamics of secularization in the past decade.

Institutionalization of *nanyin* education, which has emerged partly as a symbol of modernization, has changed the mode of transmission in the post-1949 era and impacted the perpetuation of the genre. I will examine continuity in traditional styles of teaching and the introduction of new institutional teaching methods. As an ICH masterpiece, *nanyin* is safeguarded under the UNESCO preservation law. I explore the current government cultural strategies for the preservation of the genre and the challenges facing the traditional form in future.

To support my discussions and seek possible answers to the above issues, I offer seven case studies on the practice of *nanyin* in Minnan today.

## 1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The central preoccupation of this research is to seek answers to the series of research questions detailed above; their broader relevance to ethnomusicological concerns is discussed below. In order to address these questions, I draw on approaches within ethnomusicology as well as various interdisciplinary research paradigms, including theoretical and conceptual discourses as well as fieldwork techniques. For information on social, economic and cultural aspects in southern Fujian, I draw on a proliferation of Western and Chinese anthropological studies of southeastern China carried out by Chinese and Western scholars since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (including in Western languages: Freedman 1958, 1966; Skinner 1977; Schipper 1966; Lagerwey 1987). Via Chinese-language publications, I trace the historical, cultural, socio-political and musicological background relating to the practice of *nanyin* (see sections below). Both Western and Chinese research on *nanyin* during recent decades and their findings are invaluable and greatly inform my research.

### 1.2.1 Relevant approaches in ethnomusicology

Among the many research models put forward by ethnomusicologists<sup>7</sup>, Merriam's (1960) proposal of 'the study of music in culture', which was further revised to 'the study of music as culture' in 1964, has remained an influential tripartite analytical approach emphasizing the study of musical concepts based on social background, musical behaviour and musical sound (Merriam 1964:32-3). Inspired by Clifford Geertz's work (1973) and its interrelation with Merriam's model, Rice, in his article "Toward the remodeling of ethnomusicology", proposed as his first model that the "formative processes" of music should be based on exploring how music is historically constructed, socially maintained and individually experienced (1987:473). In view of the contemporary dynamic world and shared cultures due to highly mobile populaces, Rice later modified his model (2003) to provide a theoretical repositioning to find answers to

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<sup>7</sup> To cite a few: Merriam 1964; Rice 1987, 1994, 2003, 2007; Nettl 1985, 2005; Waterman 1982; Blacking 1995; Levin 1996; Berliner 1993.

the questions resulting from ethnographic encounters with this modern musical world. This revised model broadens the scope and perspectives of research, and it forms the major basis of my study. I examine the historical background of *nanyin* and its musical changes in southern Fujian by dividing *nanyin* music practice into three periods: the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Maoist period, and the post-Mao reform and revival period (Chapter 4). I look at how *nanyin* tradition has been maintained in different social contexts by amateur groups and via patronage. I also examine how political censorship led to the adaptation of the genre and how the genre became a political tool in the 1980s, eventually being repackaged in commoditized forms in the contemporary socio-economic situation. I examine the ideological and aesthetic changes in *nanyin* as it was and is being shaped in the changing cultural and social contexts of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup>-century Fujian, where the genre is an important symbol of identity.

In an extension of the model of a subject-centred music ethnography as suggested in Rice's influential article (2003:156), which focused on exploring the musical practices of small groups, I carried out investigations in three field locations, each having its own characteristics. I draw extensively on interviews with individual musicians to inform my research. Their perspectives form the core of my depiction of the *nanyin* tradition under the rapidly changing social conditions of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century China.

As Andrew Killick suggests, "A model is useful in proportion to its applicability to different cases, its ability to identify recurrent patterns and to suggest explanations for them" (2003:181), I attempt to integrate various ethnographic approaches to situate my research within the conceptual framework of Rice's model.

### **1.2.2 Musical ethnography and theory**

The following themes are crucial to my approach to this study. In order to make connections between the subject matter and my findings with the theoretical and conceptual discourses from relevant disciplines, I draw on ethnographic literature relevant to these themes to get insights and ideas.

#### ***Music identity, prestige and gender***

Since the early 1980s, the issue of music and identity has been a pertinent focus in ethnomusicology research. Anthony Seeger's *Why Suyá Sing* (2004) proposes a musical

anthropology in which musical performances of these Brazilian Indians are manifestations of social life. In Seeger's study, Suyá socio-political relationships are reproduced in the course of the 'Mouse Ceremony'. The every-day interactions between people reveal the ways in which musical performance articulates collectivity, close kinship and fellowship in the life of the Suyá village. In the contexts of *nanyin* performance, aspects of social identity are played out in the biannual ritual performance and the symbolic metaphor of the *si Langjun* ritual. In *nanyin* circles, the integration of close bonds based on models of kinship generated through *nanyin*-related activities is identified as a key aspect of social solidarity. Timothy Rice recently emphasized the continuing importance of music and identity, arguing that if we do not include this in our studies, "we are limiting the potential of our field to grow in intellectual and explanatory power" (Rice 2007:20). This statement was followed in 2010 by his call for a new approach towards discussions of identity, broadening the perspective to include community-based studies covering larger areas drawn along geographic or ethnic lines, or encompassing specific performance contexts, lines of transmission and gendered boundaries. Identity constructs related to *nanyin* are manifold. Drawing on these paradigms, I discuss social identity, self-defined identity and ethnic identity in Chapter 3.2 as these reflect the role of *nanyin* practice in the social life of Minnan.

According to Merriam (1964), the assignment of musicians to a special class or caste may arise for various reasons. Unlike the social status of a shawm player in northern Shanxi (S. Jones 2009), *nanyin* musicians have enjoyed a highly esteemed social status because they did not traditionally perform for money and because of their attention to tradition. However, many of the old directives are not practised at present, as discussed in Chapter 3.3.1.

The ever-increasing studies of music and gender in Western literature have highlighted the asymmetry in musical spheres of expression for male and female musicians. The diverse chapters in the volume edited by Marcia Herndon and Susanne Ziegler (1990) show how musical practices in traditions around the world reflect gender constructs, and how music performance can be an active agent in formulating inter-gender relations. The volume edited by Ellen Koskoff (1987) explores how music and its social values in different contexts are gendered. The studies in these volumes help in framing my understanding of women's involvement in contemporary *nanyin* practice through cultural conditioning.

Nora Yeh (1990:158) considers that in common with other Chinese genres, *nanyin* was dominated by men in the past and female musicians were mostly courtesans who were socially oppressed under Confucian culture. Yeh also observes that vestiges of 'old tradition' still exist as women are limited in several respects in the music world today. This is evidenced in my field findings discussed in Chapter 3.3.2. In early 20<sup>th</sup> century Fujian, women were excluded from the amateur associations, but they were active professional performers of *nanyin* in houses which provided male visitors with musical entertainment and sexual services. Post-1949, women have been allowed entry into the respectable world of amateur associations, as well as into the institutionalised teaching of *nanyin*, and today women and girls form the majority of *nanyin* practitioners, even taking leading roles in some of the societies.

Two articles in the *Garland Encyclopaedia of Music* by Su Zheng and Cynthia Wong (2001), referring in some cases to archaeological evidence, sketch the history of female musicians in China and their contributions to music and sacrificial rites in the past. The authors note the progress in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with governments attempting to overthrow established gendered hierarchies and roles, but they conclude that gender equality in musical spheres is a long way off. In the recent volume on music and gender in China (Harris, Pease and Tan 2013) examining the representation of gender in Chinese music, S. Jones (2013:36) argues that male dominance still prevails in the performance arena today. Gender discourses have also been a significant theme in *nanyin* study, as discussed in Chapter 3.3.2.

### ***Musical change***

Direct political intervention is one of the factors greatly impacting musical changes around the world. In Bulgaria, under the Communist regime in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, changes were seen in both performance style and mode of transmission because of government intervention and the institutionalization of folk music (Rice 1994). The same is found in China, as discussed by Isabel Wong (1984), Barbara Mittler (1997) and Rachel Harris (2004, 2008).

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, music in China's urban centres came under heavy Western influence. Liu Ching-chih (2010) and Andrew Jones (2001) give a clear picture of the social background and ideological changes behind the emergence of New Music in China, which foreshadowed the modernisation of music in order to help build a new society

under the PRC. I trace the impact of these Western models of discipline, organisation and training within *nanyin*. In the post-1949 era, China experienced several periods of social turbulence. Western scholars have contributed perceptive discourses on how Chinese music adapted to the political upheavals. In McDougall's edited volume (1984), David Holm discusses the important influences of the Yangge Movement on the political aesthetics of musical changes; Isabel Wong (1984) discusses the development under the CCP of songs for educating the masses, based on Mao's theory of adapting old forms to new content in order to produce a new revolutionary culture that was distinctively Chinese. I draw on musicians' memories of the period and local historical accounts from an ethnographic perspective (Chapter 4.3); Fred Lau (1996) analyses the tensions in *dizi* composition under the politicized socio-cultural environment of the Cultural Revolution, which limited personal creativity because all the works were politically conceived. To illustrate the same situation in *nanyin* works, I examine excerpts of *nanyin* compositions written in the same era (Chapter 4.3.2). This body of literature outlines the post-1949 political influences on the evolution of *nanyin* compositions, a topic dealt with in Chapters 4.2 and 4.3.

In Chapter 4.3 I discuss musical change in *nanyin* during the Maoist period. My findings reveal that lyrics of revolutionary sentiments dominate the *nanyin* musical sphere even though pre-existing labelled melodies were adopted. An equally significant factor in musical change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is the introduction of institutional forms of transmission and performance. David Harnish (2005) discusses the prolific development of Balinese music resulting from Westernized conservatory music education. His findings illustrate the advantages of absorbing Western compositional technique and provide a useful comparative example with the conservatism in protecting *nanyin* traditional style in Minnan, where the institutions do not include composition in their curriculum (Chapter 4.3.4).

### ***Music education and institutionalisation***

The subject of music transmission and institutionalisation – music education in a broad sense – has been dealt with by many scholars. Early observations are seen in Merriam (1964), which emphasizes lifetime formal and informal music education. Nettl (2005) notes an insufficiency of ethnomusicological studies on children's learning. More recent studies by music education scholars (Kerchner and Abril 2009; Lucy Green 2001,

2008) stress the importance of music enculturation via daily musical experiences in social context. We will see in Chapter 6.4 how the social musical environment plays a crucial role in children's *nanyin* learning. Rice's (1994) discussion on how Bulgarian folk music was taught in the new music colleges is relevant to my discussion of the institutionalization of *nanyin*.

Teaching methods differ according to different genres, cultures and social conditions. Berliner (1993) contributes to such discussions by giving examples of various methods of direct and indirect learning of Zimbabwean *mbira* music as well as teacher–student relationships. John Blacking's study (1995) of Venda children's songs is inspiring in terms of the broad repertoire it covers. I draw on it in examining the *nanyin* repertoire the children sing nowadays in Minnan and note that there is no censorship of *nanyin* repertoire for children (Chapter 6.4.2).

Most folk genres are passed down via oral transmission. Judith Becker (1980) and Tanya Merchant Henson (2006) stress the importance of oral transmission and how it helps to sustain genres. My study of *nanyin* transmission shows a range of contexts for its teaching in contemporary Jinjiang. These range from classes in music colleges to group teaching of children, and informal social meetings held within the traditional *nanyin* societies. As a result of Westernization and urbanization since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, institutionalization of folk music transmission has become common in many parts of the world (Rice (1994) on Bulgaria, Levin (1996) and Henson (2006) on Uzbekistan, and Davis (2004) on Tunisia). Jonathan Stock (1996, 2003) examines the contemporary conservatory tradition in music transmission and modernization of musical composition in China. Contrary to the assumption that the introduction of notation in conservatories leads to a distinct break with traditional transmission, several scholars (Rice 1994; Sun Zhuo 2011; Henson 2006) argue that a high degree of oral transmission can be found in conservatory teaching in various countries, thus providing some continuity with traditional modes of teaching. This view of institutionalisation and informal *nanyin* education in Minnan is upheld in my findings (Chapter 6).

### ***Canonization and use of notation***

Following the change of modes of teaching folk genres in the academies during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, canonization projects and use of notation became a norm. Ruth Davis (2004) points out in her study of the reform of Tunisian *maluf* the importance of using notation in

order to unify musical interpretation. David Hughes (2008) examines the canonization of folk songs in Japan since the Westernization and urbanization of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In her study of the Uyghur Twelve Muqam, however, Rachel Harris (2008) argues that the use of notation is still of minor importance even in institutional contexts today. I argue that although *nanyin* was effectively canonized in the 1960s through government and musicians' efforts to document, promote and standardise the repertoire, and teaching materials with Western notation have been published in recent decades, oral transmission still plays the main role in contemporary teaching.

### ***Diaspora, nostalgia and cultural reconstruction***

Music plays an important role in maintaining memories of the homeland, as we see in Shelemay's study (1998) of the Syrian Jewish diaspora. Performance of *pizmon* songs is not only a tool to preserve the old sacred texts: it is also a means to evoke, access, and remember the long-forgotten aspects of life in different periods of time and across geographic divides (1998:7). The same phenomenon was seen when the early emigrant *nanyin* musicians expressed nostalgia and memories of the homeland through *nanyin* performance. I argue that this consequently formed a significant cultural and economic link connecting the diasporic countries with southern Fujian. This transnational interactivity has been mutually beneficial and a phenomenal success in terms of cultural diplomacy and economic benefits to local music-making. This is discussed in Chapter 7.1.

### ***Music as a political tool***

It is not uncommon that music is used by the state for political purposes. Nancy Guy (2005) shows how the genre of Peking opera was exploited by the Nationalists to strengthen the legitimacy of their claims over Chinese territory in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This parallels Tina Ramnarine's studies (1996, 2004) addressing the hybridization of the Indian genre 'Chutney' in its Trinidadian diaspora through 'pluricultural' interactions: the genre has been used by different political parties in their campaigns for national unity (Ramnarine 2004:154). In my study of *nanyin* activities in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, I discuss how *nanyin*'s symbolising of Minnan identity was also harnessed by the Chinese state as a diplomatic tool to promote rapprochement with Taiwan. In Chapter 7.2.1, I argue that the local government used *nanyin* exchanges in order to woo the Minnan diaspora and to attract overseas investment for economic development.

### 1.2.3 Approaches to preservation and revival

Since its ratification of UNESCO's Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention in 2003, China has been actively engaged in establishing measures and legislation to protect its ICH. It has brought about controversies and drawn scholastic attention to the ICH cultural policies in China and on the issues of ownership, preservation and sustainability.

In the edited volume by Weintraub and Yung (2009), Helen Rees (2009:42-85) examines the underlying factors in the turnaround of Chinese attitudes toward local folk arts from 1991 onwards and the awakening of the people's consciousness of ICH cultural rights. Bell Yung (2009) traces the history of the old and lofty *qin* tradition advocated by elites and observes the changes in its musical aesthetics and performance contexts since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Yung explores the reasons for such changes especially after the genre was proclaimed as an item of ICH of Humanity in 2003. Harris (2008) argues that a state-sanctioned version of Uyghur *muqam* repertoire was officially promoted and became one of the government's political tools to justify its control over the region of Xinjiang, while the musical tradition practised at the grass-roots level did not receive much official support.

Following the UNESCO 2003 Convention for promoting and safeguarding intangible heritage, the issue of preservation of cultural heritage has received global attention. Since then, numerous ethnomusicological studies on the topic of ICH preservation have merged. Indeed, many ethnomusicologists have been closely involved with the development of UNESCO's ICH programme.

Since submissions to the UNESCO list are made by states, inevitably ICH projects tend to be top-down initiatives, and critiques have centred on the degree to which they support grass-roots practices and priorities. Keith Howard (2006:viii) argued that South Korean government's policy was a political intervention and that preservation initiatives have tended to emphasise the presentation of synthetic and glossy cultural artefacts rather than grass-roots transmission. In the case of *nanyin* in Jinjiang, my fieldwork reveals a similar pattern of government intervention, with large funding for new musical composition and performance repertoire of government-owned ensemble, discussed in further detail in Chapter 7.2.2.

In a volume edited by Keith Howard (2012a), several scholars explore the interactive efforts between the local people and governments of East Asian countries towards the preservation of their ICH properties. Helen Rees gives three case studies to demonstrate a successful government interventionist approach towards ICH preservation in Yunnan. In these three cases, continuity of music contributes to community interest and cohesion, government support, grassroots efforts and national pride. There are similarities and differences in sustaining *nanyin*, which are discussed in Chapter 7.3.1. With reference to *nanguan* practice in Taiwan since mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Wang Ying-fen (2012) discusses how the genre was maintained and exploited under Nationalist cultural policy. She criticizes the preservation movement that emerged in 1980 as a government intervention which led to deterioration of the music's quality and the amateurism of musicians. Government intervention is also seen in Minnan over the maintenance and continuation of *nanyin*. My findings in Chapter 7.1 reveal that aside from institutional transmission and subsidy on publications, government money is being spent on projects that are barely relevant to local concerns and that *nanyin* revival is attributed mainly to the support from the diaspora at grass-roots level through old family ties and active concerns amongst local people.

#### **1.2.4 Literature relevant to Minnan culture**

##### ***Ritual tradition***

As is the case across China, the people of Fujian maintain a wide range of religious practices which draw on a mixture of Buddhist and Daoist traditions; ritual performances permeate every social stratum, and most traditional forms of musical practice including *nanyin* are deeply implicated in ritual practices. Nevertheless, ritual practice contradicts the Communist ideology and literature on rituals was rarely published before the 1980s. In recent decades, *nanyin* ritual began to appear as chapter discussions in a few publications.<sup>8</sup> Chen Yanting's (2008) is the first book-length study on the biannual worshipping of the *nanyin* deity Langjun. Chen describes in detail the ritual, its history and social functions of fostering social unity and solidarity in the community; her work underpins my own field findings on the same ritual as a symbol of group identity (Chapter 3.2.1).

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<sup>8</sup> Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:426; Zheng Changling and Wang Shan 2005:122-9.

The study by Watson and Rawski (1988) covers a wide spectrum of funeral practices in Southeast China. It attempts to examine the co-existing diverse ritual practices from different disciplinary perspectives and how these practices demonstrate a unified Chinese culture. Through participant-observation of two funerals in Jinjiang, I came to understand that the ritual is mainly based on Confucian ideology. Yet, Buddhist and Daoist notions about salvation, geomancy, and the use of food offerings to convert the dead to ancestors are still in practice nowadays in Minnan. According to my findings in the field, these beliefs and practices are also evident in *nanyin* rituals surrounding death (discussed in Chapter 5.3.1), and support the ideas of Watson and Rawski on the unity underlying diverse ritual practices in Chinese culture. Another funeral-related ritual intended for the betterment of the after-life is discussed by Tan Hwee-San (2003), who examines the role of the ritualists in the Buddhist *gongde* ritual, the different musical styles in their ritual performances, and the effects on music of changes in contemporary social and political contexts. Her findings inform my own investigation of the secularization of funeral ritual. The contemporary expression of thoughts as discussed in Chapter 5.3.1 explains how social bonds are formed in *nanyin* circles in ways that reflect kinship bonds, and also how funeral ritual expresses social relations.

Religious practice can be manipulated for political purposes, as reflected in the studies of Yang Mu (1998) and Frank Kouwenhoven (2006) of the temple fair in Lianhuashan, southern Gansu. Starting in the 1990s, government policy towards religion has shown a renewed degree of tolerance aiming at the inclusion of China's different ethnic groups within the national culture. This is manifested in the Guizhou music festival in which various ethnic groups are invited to perform, including Chendai *nanyin* musicians who were considered to represent Muslims in Jinjiang. Temple fairs have traditionally been important contexts for *nanyin* performance; they were held to celebrate the birthday of local deities, and brought together large gatherings of people for a variety of ritual activities, performing arts and commercial activities. Banned during the Maoist period, they were revived in the 1980s (Feuchtwang 2001; Adam Chau 2006).

Wang Mingming's (1997) investigations of the source of financial support for the temple fair reveal personal intentions to gain higher social status and influences. In Chapter 5.3.2, I discuss how the contemporary temple fair is revitalized as an extravagant festivity.

### *Socio-economic studies*

The historical study of *nanyin* practice shows the great impact of the economic situation of society on *nanyin* activities. Vermeer (1990) describes the waxing and waning of the economic background of Fujian prior to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, illuminating a fundamental understanding of the economic significance of interactions between southern Fujian and its diaspora in more recent times as well. Yang Xuelin (1999:213) notes that the diaspora has become the primary financial source of sponsorship for *nanyin* education since 1979. Since China's opening-up policy in the 1980s, the overseas Chinese network has played a vital role in the socio-economic development of Minnan. Researchers such as Tan Chee-Beng, Zhang Xiaojun, and Zhang Zhanhong (2000), Douw (1999) and the authors in the volumes edited by Tan Chee-Beng (2006 and 2007) outline the important *qiaoxiang*<sup>9</sup> links between the Chinese in Southeast Asia and mainland China. They also focus on the influences of this relationship in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which eventually formed the transnational patronage of *nanyin*, a topic which I explore in Chapter 7.1.3.

Southern Fujian has attracted increasing interest from anthropologists. Potter and Potter (1993) analyse the forms and consequences of social reform and economic development in rural China since the 1949s, a study which is relevant to my work on Jinjiang, as similar social transformations have had a great impact on *nanyin*. Southern Fujian is known for its underlying lineage network, which forms an important part of the contemporary social infrastructure. In the volume edited by Tan Chee-Beng (2006), the co-authors contribute to the studies of the lineage reconstruction and the reproduction of social traditions in the post-Mao era. This is evidenced in my discussion of the history of a Muslim lineage in the town of Chendai, where the lineage system played an essential role in the historical assimilation of Muslim immigrants into Chinese society (Chapter 3.2.3). In the section on 'Minority performance in the PRC' in Chapter 3.2.3, I discuss the role of *nanyin* in the representation of Chendai Muslim ethnicity. Stevan Harrell (1996) examines the PRC's 'civilizing' projects and their effect on its minorities in terms of development of ethnic consciousness. Harrell's study contributes to the understanding of state cultural policy which aims to show harmony between China's diverse ethnicities

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<sup>9</sup> Defined as 'sojourner's home village' (Lynn Pan 2006:16).

through festive activities in which minorities exhibit their performance arts with individual ethnic characteristics.

China's local historical governmental records, or gazettes, are essential documents recording details of historical, geographical and other important events of a specific locale. For this research, I sourced three valuable gazettes during my field trips. Two are versions of *Jinjiang zhi* [the gazette of Jinjiang]: one was compiled and revised in 1830 by Hu Zhiwu and Zhou Xuezheng and reprinted in 1990, and the latest version is a new brief version dated 2001. The other is *Shenhu zhenzhi* (2007) [the gazette of Shenhu]. These gazettes provide rich historical information about Jinjiang in all aspects. The Shenhu gazette provides interesting information on local folk traditions as well as the social transformation and the mobility of people since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It also marks Shenhu's change from a fishing village to an industrial town.

### **1.2.5 Research and literature on *nanyin***

For various reasons noted below, much of the significant research on *nanyin* was done in the diaspora, by scholars based there. Overall, research in Minnan itself developed later. Let us first review the literature on *nanyin* in diaspora, then examine work done within the PRC.

#### ***Research on nanyin in the diaspora***

The Japanese musicologist Tanabe Hisao (1883-1984) was the first to carry out research on *nanguan* in Taiwan, as early as 1922 (Wang Ying-fen 2012:168). Access to China for fieldwork was limited between 1949 and 1979 following the establishment of the PRC, so foreign scholars researching Chinese culture had to go to Taiwan or other parts of the diaspora. No ethnographic investigation of the *nanyin* tradition in its motherland southern Fujian could be conducted by Western scholars until the 1980s, so activities there are scarcely mentioned in English and are little known to scholars in the Western world.

Several Western scholars who worked in Taiwan became serious *nanyin* researchers and aficionados, including Kristofer Schipper, Frederic Lieberman, Laurence Picken, Alan Thrasher, and François Picard. Piet van der Loon dedicated several decades to the study of *nanguan* and Chinese classical theatre. His work (1992) provides historical

background and ritual context for the classical theatre in Minnan, performances in Japan, Indonesia and the Philippines from the 16th to 18th centuries and information on the heritage of *nanyin*. As early as 1971, the first *nanyin* LP recording was produced in the West, documented by Frederic Lieberman (S. Jones (1993 (7):114)).<sup>10</sup> This shed light on the early development of *nanguan* in Taiwan. Stephen Jones' research (1995) covers a broad spectrum of Han Chinese instrumental music, providing historical background of the genres and the changing dynamics related to the interactions between the authorities and the musicians. Jones also did some fieldwork in Minnan and included an overview of Fujian *nanguan* [*nanyin*].

In the Philippines, the renowned *nanyin* master Liu Honggou (Lao Honkio in Minnanese) first taught *nanyin* music in the University of the Philippines in the 1970s. His works (1973, 1981) were the texts most frequently referenced by early *nanyin* scholars in Southeast Asia. Patricia Lim of the University of the Philippines produced a Master's thesis (P. Lim 1981) focusing on musical analysis of *Nan Kuan* (*nanguan*, the common term for *nanyin* in the Philippines).

An important step in non-Chinese exposure to *nanguan* was the performance in Paris by the Taiwanese *nanyin* (*nanguan*) troupe Tainan Nanshengshe in 1982 (Wang Ying-fen 2012:169). Research on the genre as practised in Taiwan has been published by Taiwanese scholars. Nora Yeh (1985, 1988, 1990) has explored its historical and cultural background and produced several musicological studies. Lü Chuikuan (1986a, 1986b) provided a historical and musicological studies via manuscripts collected from Taiwanese *nanguan* societies. Wang Ying-fen's musicological studies (1986, 1992a, 1992b) centred on analyzing structure and tune families of *nanguan*, adopting Western semiotic analytical methods. In her two works (2003, 2012) she discussed the outcome of government intervention and the Taiwan government's preservation strategies of the genre. Chou Chiener (2001, 2002a, 2002b) discussed *nanguan* learning from her own field experience in Taiwan.

### ***Research on nanyin in its homeland***

*Nanyin* did not receive much attention from the state before the 1980s. The earliest research on *nanyin* was initiated by the eminent Chinese musicologist Yang Yinliu before

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<sup>10</sup> LP 'Anthology of the world's music: musical anthology of the Orient 3, Music of China II, Traditional music of Amoy', Bärenreiter AST-4002, recorded by Liang Tsai-ping.

the 1950s, but data was scantily documented in his report, which was assumed to be the consequence of language problems, namely Yang's lack of familiarity with the Minnan dialect (Zhao Feng 2000: Preface). In 1961, the researcher Li Quanmin was sent to study folk music in Minnan by the Chinese Music Research Department of the Central Music Academy. He visited Xiamen and Quanzhou but included in his field report only a short introduction to *nanqu* (southern songs) performance in these two places (Li Quanmin 1963). Before the revival of traditional culture during the Reform period, the genre was undermined by the government and even neglected by Fujianese pioneers of folk music research such as Liu Chunshu and Wang Yaohua, and *nanyin* "only occupied 22 out of 610 pages of the 1986 Survey of folk music in Fujian" (S. Jones 1993:115). Nevertheless, Liu and Wang were the first to produce a *nanyin* monograph, in 1989.

The late 1980s marked the revival of traditional culture in China, and in order to stem the gradual decline of traditional arts, many mainland Chinese scholars started to document folk traditions from written and oral materials in order to raise awareness of and respect for indigenous culture. Following the publication of the first comprehensive *nanyin* monograph by Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu (1989) are the writings of several scholars and *nanyin* educators, such as Wu Shizhong and Li Wensheng (2000), Wang Aiqun (1984), Sun Xingqun (1996), Yuan Jingfang (2006), Zheng Changling and Wang Shan (2005). These are mostly historical discussions and musical analyses. Many of these articles were published in periodicals and bulletins through major publishing outlets.<sup>11</sup>

As preparatory work for submitting *nanyin* to UNESCO for consideration as ICH in 2002, a special government department was set up in Quanzhou City in the mid-1990s to conduct *nanyin* research. Enthusiasm in *nanyin* study became intensified and *nanyin* activities proliferated which included publication of books and compilation of scores, significantly a series of volumes by the Quanzhou Difang Xiqu Yanjiushe [Quanzhou Local Opera Research Society] authored and edited by Zheng Guoquan (2005, 2006). The publication is a composite of *nanyin* studies tracing the historical background of the genre, notation, instruments and repertory based on archaeological findings and documentation of manuscripts discovered. From this I draw the history of *nanyin*, social background in the pre-1949 era, and the class and prestige of music and musicians in Chapter 3. In the year 2006, a series of *nanyin* teaching materials, *Zhongguo Quanzhou nanyin xilie*

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<sup>11</sup> *Quanzhou lishi wenhua zhongxin; Fujian Minjian Yinyue Yanjiu and Zhongguo Yinyuexue.*

*jiaocheng* [Zhongguo Quanzhou nanyin teaching material series], for theoretical studies with practising scores and separate volumes of *nanyin* repertoires (*zhi, qu, pu*) were published. This series has become the main *nanyin* teaching material used by two institutions, Fujian Quanzhou Arts School and Quanzhou Normal University, as discussed in Chapter 6.5.2.

In Jinjiang, Ding Shibin's recent work (2009) is a musicological discussion of performance practice in *nanyin*. This text initiates the discussion of an obsolescent repertory, the 'transitional songs' (*guozhiqu* 过枝曲) which *nanyin* musicians have striven to revive in the recent years. Ding specifies five different procedures and rules in performing the transitional songs during a formal *nanyin* recital. This is the first publication detailing performing processes, and it forms the ground for my discussion in Chapter 7.3.2. My rationale for researching this repertoire is because despite much documentation, there are still many interesting elements (such as performance practice, unique concert programmes) that deserve more careful study.

Recent Master's dissertations on *nanyin* include Zhang Zhaoying's (2003) study of the relationship between *nanyin gongche* notation and the realisation of melody in performance; Zhang Yingying's (2004) comparative study of Xiamen and Quanzhou interpretive style, which I consider in Chapter 4.2.4; and Zhou Xiaofang's (2006) study of *nanyin* in the Republican period and its relationship with religious practice, on which I draw in Chapter 5.1.3. A common shortcoming I found in these theses is the lack of references and of clear citation of the sources of quotations. I had to confirm the accuracy of some of the claims in these writings with *nanyin* musicians in the field. Chen Yu's MA thesis (2008) discusses *gunmen* features in *nanyin* music. I compared her conclusions with those of Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu (1989), Chen Shilian and Lin Zhongrong (2008, 2009) and Lü Chuikuan (1986b); based on the discussions in these studies and my own work with several *nanyin* masters in the field, I drafted my own classification of *gunmen* families (Appendix 1) and discussed it in Chapter 2.1.2. Though most of these dissertations focus on musicological analysis, a change of approach in China can be seen: contemporary research shows an emerging trend as scholars are beginning to adopt Western empirical and theoretical methodology in their fieldwork by playing the role of an observer/participant in the field. The earlier studies were restricted by specific social and political criteria largely through self-censorship. Since the 1980s, a more open style

of writing can be seen in research by Chinese scholars, and with the political relaxation of the 1990s, they clearly no longer felt that they needed to censor their own writings by omitting details about religion and so forth (S. Jones 2003:291). Nevertheless, there is no discussion in these dissertations about the political impact on the evolution of the repertoire. The musical changes sections (Chapters 4.2 and 4.3) of my thesis intend to expand understanding of this subject.

### **1.2.6 *Nanyin* musicological materials**

#### ***Encyclopaedic anthologies***

During the past three decades, several monumental encyclopaedic anthologies of folk music traditions from numerous regions of China have been published with the concerted efforts of various teams of scholars and musicians commissioned by the PRC government. Each individual province contributed publications representing its ethnic identities. The Fujian Province group of scholars and musicians published two compilations of narrative-singing (2001, 2006) and one of instrumental genres (2001)<sup>12</sup>; *nanyin* is included in the narrative singing (2006) and instrumental (2001) publications.

Cipher notation is used in all these three publications to standardize the transcriptions. The publications are prefaced with textual introduction. Political bias and propaganda inevitably pervade the prefaces but they do not appear too often in the texts. These publications are a wealth of historical information on folk living traditions of Fujian province.

#### ***Publications of nanyin scores in Minnan***

In Quanzhou, the most significant compilation of scores, the canonized *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* 泉州指譜大全 [Complete repertoires of Quanzhou *zhi* and *pu*] was published in 1962 by the Quanzhou government. The canonization and standardization process of this compilation is discussed in Chapter 6.6.

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<sup>12</sup> The former are: (1) *Zhongguo quyiyinyue jicheng, Fujian juan* [Anthology of Chinese narrative-singing music: Fujian volume] (2001) and (2) *Zhongguo quyizhi, Fujian juan* [Chinese narrative-singing monographs: Fujian volume] (2006). The compilation for instrumental genres is: *Zhongguo minzu minjian qiyuequ jicheng, Fujian juan* [Anthology of Chinese folk instrumental pieces: Fujian volume] (2001).

More extensive collections were published in Jinjiang in 2005: three compilations containing the complete repertoires of *zhi* and *pu* and the first publication of the *guozhiqu* [transitional songs] repertoire. I draw on their musical contents in Chapters 2.4 and 7.3.2. In addition, a series of over a thousand *nanyin* ballads was published, giving strong evidence of the number of *nanyin* songs collected in Minnan. The latest publication is a selection of *guozhiqu* mainly compiled by Su Tongmou; it is accompanied by 15 CD recordings in which Su demonstrates the transitional repertoire by singing to his own *pipa* accompaniment. I drafted the *guozhi* models Appendix 4 on the basis of this compilation.

In Anxi County, a series of four volumes of *nanyin* suites was compiled based mainly on handwritten manuscripts dated as early as 1881, and sourced widely locally and from overseas. This set contains 1051 songs from 267 *gunmen* [tune families or labelled melodies], of which 159 are *guozhiqu*. However, this does not represent the exact number of *gunmen* [tune family] which is considered not traceable and has remained controversial.

All these compilations published in Minnan were sponsored by the governments of their respective localities. The compilations are prefaced with textual introductions providing valuable historical data on the genre as well as discussions of musical elements and the interrelationship between *nanyin* and other traditional performing arts. There are, however, no significant discussions of the adaptation of the music to the social, economic and cultural background of the region; therefore, this thesis aims to fill this gap through anthropological perspectives.

### 1.3 METHODOLOGY

My research is based on the synthesis of musicology and anthropology, and my methodology is both analytical and empirical. To understand music in its cultural context and to eschew a simple musicological analysis and discussion, the focus of fieldwork-based ethnography shifts to “experiencing and understanding music” (Titon 1997:87), and drawing on direct field observations. I interviewed musicians and others, participated in lessons, attended performances and rituals during fieldwork carried out in Jinjiang and to a certain extent covering Quanzhou municipal City in southern Fujian, the region where *nanyin* was initially nurtured. Aside from these interactions with the people and the

society, I also studied historical accounts and analysed the musical material collected, including publications, old manuscripts and scores, and audio and video recordings.

### 1.3.1 Fieldwork strategies

Western ethnomusicologists who have carried out research in southeast China in the past two decades provide established methods, interactions, new perspectives and strategies (Witzleben 1995; Stock 2003; A. Jones 2001). Anthony Seeger (2004:20-1) contends that “research strategies must be adapted to one’s perception of the field situation.” I conducted fieldwork in three locations, and my strategy in each site was different according to the objectives for that site (Chapter 1.3.2 below). The remarkable and admirable fieldwork experiences of Antoinet Schimmelpenninck (1997) in southern Jiangsu owed much to her skilful conducting of formal structured interviews, to covering a wide geographic region, and to using analysis of recordings to build up an overview of practice in terms of style, contexts and meanings. I did not generally rely on formal arrangement of interviews, but I find my approach parallels hers as I also moved around three geographically diverse rural field sites in Jinjiang County. I used many of my field audio and video recordings for analytical examination of *nanyin* musical content; I also include many music examples to illustrate my discussions. I borrowed three excerpts from existing literature to demonstrate the interpretations of *nanyin* and other local arts genres, as well as regional interpretive differences. In Chapter 2, I transcribed the instrumental piece by listening to the field recording and confirming the performance details with the players. Since 2006, I have been learning *nanyin* music theory and transcription from Zeng Jiayang (Appendix 5), a principal *pipa* player and deputy director of the government-owned Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble, a provincial-level heritage bearer and author of *nanyin* teaching materials (with scores in triple notations). Under his supervision, I transcribed from audio recordings all the music examples of the Case Study in Chapter 2.5.4 and those in Chapter 4. The staff notation scores (except Score 1) in Volume 2 of this thesis are the works of Zeng Jiayang, who transnotated the *nanyin gongchepu* to Western notation. To standardize the format and presentation, I did all the input of scores, translated any Chinese-language content and added indications by using Sibellius software.

### ***Reflection on researchers' perspectives***

All fieldwork involves making judgments and evaluating personal accounts. Marcia Herndon (1993:65) draws our attention to the need for reflexivity, through which scholars' research goals and assumptions are re-examined. Herndon suggests that whilst being "human and fallible" limits our knowing, "multiple voices, from many points of view, over a considerable period of time would weave a clearer picture of the music of a people.... no voice, by itself, is sovereign, absolute, and definitive" (ibid:78). I interviewed many people, asked questions and reconfirmed answers with several others before I drew conclusions. I visited *nanyin* masters and scholars Ding Shibin and Su Tongmou to learn the conventions of the *guozhiqu* transitional processes. I drafted the four model programmes for a *guozhiqu* recital (Appendix 4) and reconfirmed their accuracy with both authors. The attached audio and video recordings will help the reader evaluate my claims.

Avoiding bias, Jonathan Stock notes (2001:12-3), is "part of our responsibility in our representations of others. We have a duty to be clearer about which people we interacted with, how and when." My interviewees included scholars, musicians, teachers and students, and I also conducted field conversations with non-*nanyin* practitioners in order to collect general feedback about *nanyin* culture. Inevitably personal relationships developed in the course of my research, but I made every effort to remain detached when I had to make judgments. To help obtain first-hand information and to examine contemporary *nanyin* transmission in Minnan, I attended *nanyin* vocal classes in the Fujiansheng Quanzhou Arts School, *pipa* classes in Quanzhou Normal University, and secondary and elementary school *nanyin* classes in Jinjiang. I observed the institutional transmission methods, interviewed *nanyin* teachers and students, and examined teaching materials.

Reflecting on my various field trips for this research from 2009 to 2013, I believe that my ethnographic accounts provide an accurate picture of the genre and a wide range of valuable choices of topics for further research.

### ***Overlapping identities***

Tanya Merchant Henson observes from her field experience in Uzbekistan that "fieldwork is a temporal and dialogic process in which the observer's position changes ....

[T]he observer's behaviours and motives are scrutinized and reinterpreted over time by those with whom he or she works" (2006:116). The identity of a researcher determines the fieldwork methodology, ethics and technique of adaptation to the field environment.

Chou Chiener (2001, 2002a) discusses her experience as a *nanguan* student in Taiwan, first as a 'native' Taiwanese academic researcher and later as an ordinary learner. Comparing the musicians' welcoming attitude towards an overseas researcher (Jonathan Stock) as he studied the separate Taiwanese genre *beiguan*, with their attitude to a native *nanguan* learner, Chou expounds the frustrations and breakthroughs she went through with her overlapping learner's status (see below).

In the case of my research, although I am engaged in the study of my own culture, I have overlapping identities doing fieldwork in Jinjiang. I am a Jinjiang native as I was born in the small hamlet of Dazhou 大洲 in the village of Haiwei 海尾 north of Chendai, Jinjiang. I left when I was ten years old, becoming a member of the Fujianese diaspora, to be raised and educated in Hong Kong. My native identity is similar to Chou Chiener's but different from Rulan Chao Pian's (1992), whose links were "simply due to shared ethnicity" because she had not lived in and had no direct cultural contact with the place she was researching. Because I have kept constant contact with relatives in Jinjiang since the 1980s, the Jinjiang natives identify me as a *huaqiao* 华侨 [overseas Chinese].<sup>13</sup> I learnt *nanyin* previously in Hong Kong, which makes me a *xianyou* 弦友 [friend of the strings], a term commonly used among *nanyin* musicians, but my present role is one of a researcher from a Western institution. In Minnan, people look up to *huaqiao* because in general they are seen to be usually of good financial standing, as in history they have been benefactors to the education and economic developments of Minnan and contributing to the *nanyin* education up to this date (Chapter 7.1.3). At the same time, people admire and respect scholars, especially those from Western institutions. A visiting *xianyou* from abroad is always welcomed by members of the *nanyin* societies which purport unity and solidarity. These statuses put me in a privileged position, and wherever I went in Fujian, I was always very well accepted.

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<sup>13</sup> This term, in use since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, is also translated as 'Chinese sojourners' (L. Pan 2006:16).

### *Advantages and drawbacks*

Being a native researcher has both advantages and challenges. Undertaking research in the field of one's "home" culture reduces or eliminates geographical inconvenience, culture shock and language barriers. Sun Zhuo (2011:21) notes that such favourable aspects "could lead to a better acceptance by one's fellow musicians and therefore deepen one's contact with the research topic. The insider also benefits from a greater ability to identify and interpret codes and symbols imbedded in the musical culture". Most ethnomusicologists perceive that the trust brought about by familiarity is an asset especially in the finding of informants and access to archives (Burnim 1985: 438; Cottrell 2004:16-7; Sun Zhuo 2011:21-2). In spite of the frustrations that Chou Chiener encountered with her overlapping status, she found her previous *nanguan* learning experience in Taiwan very valuable:

I feel that this earlier period of experience was more than a background to subsequent "proper" fieldwork following ethnomusicological training, and that it led to understandings that were in some cases distinct from, rather than inferior to, those gained through fieldwork. (Chou 2002a:457)

As a Hong Kong resident, I could travel freely with my visa status without having to inform the Fujian government officials of my research intention. Although a personal connection with officials might prove to be an advantage especially when it helped to gain access to historical documents, sometimes involving higher-level official channels might put oneself in an awkward situation (Harris 2004: xvii). Being a native-born 'insider ethnomusicologist', I found my fluency in the Minnanese language an asset to my research. I benefit from having the knowledge of local folk traditional issues such as ritual practice, folklore festivities and the socio-political situation in Jinjiang. My childhood experiences in one way or another provided essential understanding and insight; conversely, this research has also rejuvenated and updated my knowledge of my hometown.

With the advantages of conducting research within one's own culture also came drawbacks. As Chou Chiener (2002a) observed, the expectation of the musicians may differ between a native learner and a foreign learner. An overseas learner is always treated like a guest whilst an ordinary learner has to accept the traditional and hierarchical concepts, and perform relevant menial duties in the music society; from a recruited learner turning into a native researcher, one is expected to play a contributory role after

the completion of one's studies, whereas a foreign researcher is always treated hospitably as a guest. Sun Zhuo (2011:22) found less "control over the direction of discussions" during interviews with previous teachers and colleague performers.

As a native researcher, I faced the challenge of avoiding being framed by my own culture and thus missing a broader perspective. To prevent this, I collected data, reconfirmed and sought opinions from as many *nanyin* people in the field as possible.

### ***Rapport with people in the field***

As a researcher who needed to commute frequently in a year's time in the field, I found it crucial to establish "bonds of friendship, *guanxi*" (Harris 2004: xvii), in order to collaborate with relevant government departments and the people in the field. William Noll frames fieldwork as a kind of relationship with those whom he calls 'partners' in the field:

As a social activity, fieldwork is a selection of a series of working relationships, each with its particular and special obligations and responsibilities. These relationships can be with a wide range of people.... Who we choose and why we choose them can be among the most important questions we face, influencing the outcome of nearly all professional activities. The selection process can be strange, haphazard, and drawn out, with dead ends and false starts. (Noll 1997:165)

In my research, the choice of people to work with in the field was not as drawn out, nor did I experience false starts as described by Noll. The rapport with people I met in the field was built up from 2006 when I began my research. My key informant was Zeng Jiayang (mentioned just above) who introduced me to the leaders of the *nanyin* societies in my field locations. With his professional status, Zeng has high exposure in the performance field and is well known to most *nanyin* practitioners.

I realised that the relatively small age gap between me (b.1948) and the vast majority of my subjects should enable them more willingly to share ideas and views. This was particularly apparent when we discussed political and social issues. I could easily understand and share their feelings, as what they had lived through was also part of my own childhood experience. When Seeger was doing his research on the Amazonian Indians, he found that "Fieldwork is a delicate exchange of information and a subtle interaction of personalities, set within a larger socio-economic and political context" (Seeger 2004:20) and that his research would be two-sided: he too would be watched, studied, evaluated and discussed by the locals. In rural areas of Minnan in particular, most

of the old musicians had never left their village and were curious about the outside world. They are very interested to hear my life experience and my current academic studies abroad; they could not understand why I would pursue this research which brings me no fiscal advantage.

### ***Participant-observation***

Learning and performing music in the field is now a standard and generally expected element of ethnomusicological fieldwork. In the field, I took some *pipa* lessons to help my understanding of the *gongchepu* notation, because *pipa* finger technique indicates the time value of the notes and the embellishment implied. I also practised singing in Dongshizhen Nanyin Society and observed performance practice and musical behaviour of their musicians. From the vocal sessions, I found that speech inflection plays a very important and yet particularly difficult part even for vernacular-speaking learners.

I joined the *nanyin* section of Hong Kong Fukien Athletic Club and participated in the Cross-strait Minnan Cultural Festival held in Quanzhou in March 2010. I was offered the chance to be the *paiban* player of their team in the street parade. I learnt the parade setting, instrumentation, and the differences in ensemble setting and musical behaviour between an indoor recital and street parade performance. All these valuable personal experiences provided insights not only into the music itself but also into its cultural contexts.

### **1.3.2 Field sites**

My first fieldwork for my PhD research in Jinjiang took place from August 2009 to July 2010, with some later supplementary visits, focusing on three rural towns in Jinjiang City, namely Shenhu 深沪, Chendai 陈埭 and Dongshi 东石, where I carried out intensive research.

Figure 1.1 illustrates the current hierarchical system of Minnan local governments as well as places of *nanyin* musical interest in the region. This is to provide an understanding of the power hierarchy of individual authorities responsible for the supervision of *nanyin* activities discussed in this study (Fig. 1.1).

## Hierarchical system of Minnan local government

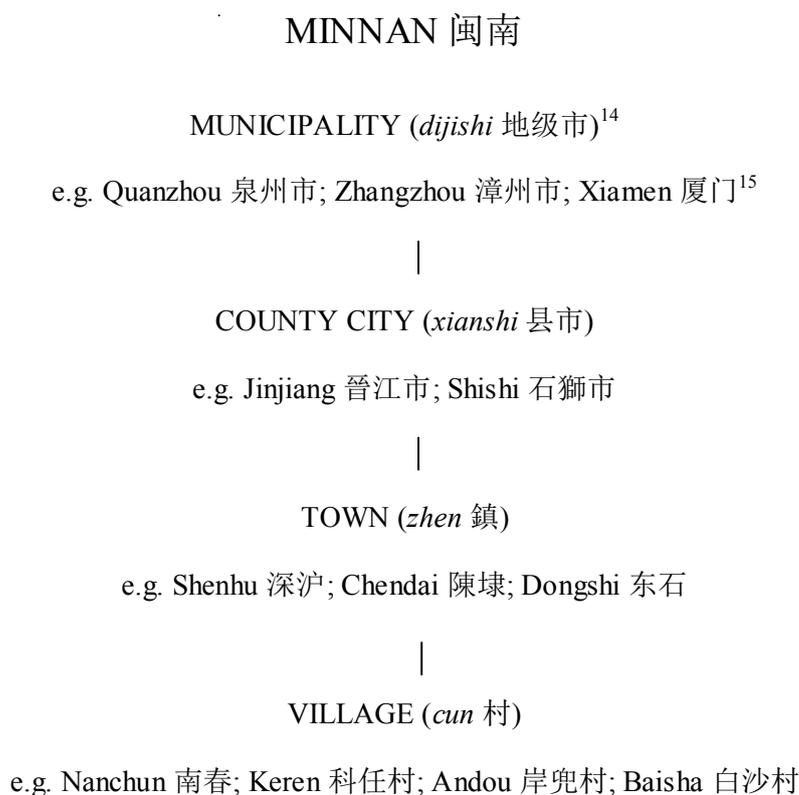


Fig. 1.1 Hierarchical system of Chinese local governments with locations of *nanyin* musical interest

There are hundreds of *nanyin* societies across the Minnan region, and the reason for choosing my three specific field locations for study is because they have different things to offer for the objectives of my research. Hujian Yubin Nanyin Society of Shenhu is the oldest *nanyin* society in Minnan; there I explored the historical background of this society, its activities and transmission of the *nanyin* tradition. I also investigated their local network and relationship with *nanyin* groups in the neighbouring villages. Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society is unique because of its Muslim ethnicity. I will examine how the early Muslims adapted to their rural surrounding and reconstructed their ethnic identity in the Chinese community in Jinjiang through *nanyin* practice. Dongshizhen Nanyin Society was established as an umbrella organisation to unite over twenty *nanyin* societies from neighbouring villages. Their strategies in contemporary management of a traditional culture will be examined and analysed.

<sup>14</sup> Also called *shequshi* 设区市, literally a city with districts (*qu*) under its administration, e.g. Licheng qu 鲤城区, Fengze qu 丰泽区, Luojiang qu 洛江区 and Quangan qu 泉港区 (Map 3.3).

<sup>15</sup> Xiamen was designated by the national government as one of the Special Administrative Regions in the 1980s.

**Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society, Shenhu** is the oldest *nanyin* society where my original purposes were to prioritize interviewing senior musicians, to explore the historical background of *nanyin* practice and the early practice of *guozhiqu* in *nanyin* performance. An 84-year-old lay Buddhist, who was once a virtuosic *nanyin* vocalist, shared his musical experience with me. From the interview I gained an overview of *nanyin* music practice as well as the social background of Shenhu in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

I attended the weekly gatherings of Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society and interviewed their musicians. I interviewed the children *nanyin* students during their learning sessions of both voice and percussion instruments, which I recorded on video.

I also visited the other three neighbouring *nanyin* societies and interviewed their musicians. I studied the societies' histories and their present activities.

**Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society, Chendai** is unique because the majority of its musicians and permanent inhabitants are of Muslim descent. I was interested in studying how the Muslim background was bound up with contemporary social, cultural and economic changes. Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society was once the most famous *nanyin* society in the Jinjiang region where many of the masters were trained, and they were known to be a proactive group. I visited their Muslim ancestral hall and studied the history of their ancestral lineage and I attended their Society celebrative activities. Chendai is now a rapidly-growing shoe manufacturing centre, and the majority of its population, if one includes temporary residents, are migrant workers. Through interviews, I realised that there are scarcely any young *nanyin* learners and that the society's activities have greatly diminished in recent years. The economic impact on *nanyin* practice and the reasons for the drop in activities will be examined in this thesis.

**Dongshizhen Nanyin Society, Dongshi** is a contemporary hub of *nanyin* learning. The initial purpose of my research there was to investigate how Dongshizhen Nanyin Society runs as a centre to manage its affairs and to take care of its twenty member groups. Dongshizhen is the most active *nanyin* society in my three field locations. I was introduced to musicians from their member groups and interviewing these representatives gave me a quick overview of the town's *nanyin* societies. I attended their daily morning practice sessions and weekly gatherings and recitals with visiting guest groups. Hence I met musicians from young children to elderly veterans. My research at Dongshizhen

enabled me to witness how a contemporary *nanyin* society functions successfully as a hub for traditional *nanyin* learning.

Ritual events are part of daily life in Jinjiang. I attended several temple fairs and local pilgrim and ritual events during my year of fieldwork. At the temple fair, I interviewed the organisers and musicians to gain insights into the ritual and its social contexts. In the past decade, the upsurging economy has greatly revitalized the celebration of temple fairs across China. I witnessed a large-scale Baisha temple fair in Dongshi; I discuss it in Chapter 5.3.2 with supporting field photos and video recording.

### 1.3.3 Problems encountered

During the process of this research, I encountered several problems in the field. The most unforgettable were two serious accidents which could have put an end to my study. In February 2009, a *nanyin* master and national-level ICH bearer, Ding Shuiqing of Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society, passed away. I understood this was a rare occasion to witness the ritual music *sandianjiu* (Triple offerings of wine). This ritual is only offered, and the song only sung, to lament the dead during the several days of a funeral: for superstitious reasons, the musicians do not practise it under any other circumstances.

After a long flight from London, I attended the funeral vigil. The same evening, I slipped on the watery floor of the bathroom at my relative's place where I stayed. An x-ray revealed a severe wedge fracture in a vertebra as well as several protrusions in the lumbar spine. Ignoring the doctor's orders to lie in bed for several days, I struggled to attend the funeral the following day. I asked my friend to drive slowly and to recline the car seat to a position where any pounding to the spinal bones could be minimized, as it could lead to paralysis from the waist down. I witnessed a grand funeral parade and broadened my understanding of rituals. On the third day, I was sent to the airport on a stretcher to be flown back to Hong Kong. I was hospitalised for three weeks, but thanks to modern communications technology I was able to complete my unfinished fieldwork for the trip vicariously through the help of an assistant.

Strangely, the second accident was also funeral-related. It happened on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2011 after I had attended the funeral of *nanyin* master Gong Wenpeng (documented in Chapter 5.3.1). I had a pre-arranged appointment to interview several *nanyin* students in one of the students' house in Quanzhou. It was a rainy day; I slipped on the wet marble step at the

front door and fell over. At the hospital I was diagnosed with a broken main bone in my right lower leg. To continue my scheduled work, I managed to conduct the interview in my hotel room while lying in bed with the students sitting around me. I was sent back to Hong Kong on the third day for an operation, and a 28cm titanium rod was inserted into the fractured bone.

My zeal for this research project produced the perseverance in me to run the race against my physical weaknesses. I have no regrets about pursuing this study, and I regard these physical pains as spices added to the excitement in accomplishing this project.

## **Conclusion**

The genre of *nanyin* is considered as a historical legacy and a symbol of ethnic identity of southern Fujian. It is the fundamental source from which most of the performing arts there draw their musical elements and therefore the intrinsic value of the music is certainly noteworthy.

The genre has been actively practised in diaspora in Southeast Asian countries; research by several Taiwanese scholars has been published in recent decades. Due to political constraints, field research on *nanyin* in the PRC was open to Western scholars only since the 1980s, so studies in English were rare until then.

The ethnographic data collected from field investigations of folk practices in Jinjiang County trigger discussions of several themes, including: music and identity; gender and prestige; musical change; music as capital; transmission; canonization and notation. With reference to a diversity of genres and discourses worldwide, this study attempts to situate its ethnography of *nanyin* within a broader scholarly perspective. My findings suggest answers to the various research questions set out earlier in this chapter and attempt to supplement existing studies on the genre.

## CHAPTER TWO

### OVERVIEW

#### Musical features, Repertoire, Instrumentation, Aesthetics and Style

*Nanyin*'s musical characteristics, notation, rigidly formalized musical structure, performance style and its rich repertoire have little in common with other “silk and bamboo” (*sizhu*) instrumental ensemble traditions in the neighbouring regions, e.g. of Guangdong, Chaozhou, the Hakka communities<sup>16</sup> and the Jiangnan area.<sup>17</sup> Most *nanyin* scholars have mentioned in their writings the essential musical features of the genre.<sup>18</sup> However, a brief overview is necessary for readers new to *nanyin*.

To support my discussion, I include in volume 2 of this thesis a classification of *gunmen* tune families (Appendix 1) summarized from what I have learnt in the field and drawn from relevant secondary materials. In the instrumentation section, I include the street parade ensemble setting common in southern Fujian, and I present a case study exemplifying *nanyin*'s relationship to other folk performing arts in southern Fujian; none of these have been discussed previously in English.

#### 2.1 MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Taiwan scholars and *nanyin* folk musicians in my three field sites (Shenhu, Chendai and Dongshi) traditionally considered the repertoire as analogous to a family with clan allegiances. Wang Ying-fen (2006:92) uses the term *mentou* 门头, literally ‘main door’, referring to unit of the *gunmen* family, and *mentou jiazhu* 门头家族’ [clan of *gunmen* families] to categorise a group of different *gunmen* of the same melodic type. Jinjiang *nanyin* musicians habitually call the faster metre group of the same *gunmen xia yidai* 下

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<sup>16</sup> Unlike Guangdong and Chaozhou, Hakka 客家 [literally guest people = sojourners and migrants par excellence] is not a region or area, it is a distinct speech group which does not claim a homeland of their own. The Hakkas live in dispersion around southern China, especially the interior of eastern Guangdong and southwestern Fujian provinces (L. Pan 2006:25-6; Thrasher 2008:14).

<sup>17</sup> Thrasher 2008; Witzleben 1995; Frederick Lau 1998.

<sup>18</sup> Nora Yeh 1985; Wang Ying-fen 1986; Lü Chuikuan 1986a, 1986b; Chou Chiener 2001.

一代 [the younger generation]; e.g. *Jinban* 锦板 (4/4) is the offspring of *Chang Jinban* 长锦板 (4/2), etc. Structurally, this family consists of four constituent members or components: mode, metre, tune family (*gunmen* 滚门) and labelled melody (*qupai* 曲牌), all closely interrelated.

### 2.1.1 Mode and metre

There are four modes in *nanyin*: *wukong siche guan* 五空四伡管 (C), *wukongguan* 五空管 (G), *sikongguan* 四空管 (F) and *beisiguan* 貝士管 (D) (Exx. 2.1-4); the equations to the respective Western keys of C G F D appear in Liu Honggou (1981).<sup>19</sup> These four modes are subsumed under the family of *guanmen* 管门 [mode family; not to be confused with *gunmen* (tune family)].

*Nanyin* is the only southern Chinese genre which is similar to the ancient *wuyin* 五音 [five notes, pentatonic]<sup>20</sup> system in terms of using five pitch names only. The *nanyin* pitch names (all different in writing from those of *wuyin*) are *che* 乂, *gong* 工, *liu* 六, *si* 甲 (or 思), and *yi* (一), equivalent in intervals to *do*, *re*, *mi*, *sol*, *la*. These five Chinese syllables are sung as solfège as in the West. *Gong* is the tonal centre of most *nanyin* works (Yang Yinliu 1962:1, quoted in Nora Yeh 1985:147). In current *nanyin* practice, unlike the *wuyin* system, these five pitches are fixed: *che* is equivalent to Western C.<sup>21</sup> I once saw a musician tuning his *pipa* with an electronic tuner.

*Nanyin*'s scale also differs from the standard *gongche* system used in other regional traditions (Chapter 2.3.1 Notation). As in many old folk genres, though *nanyin* scales are notated as if having only five pitches, during performance other pitches of the chromatic 12-tone scale occur as a result of embellishment and (in vocals) speech inflection (CD-3; CD-4; Exx. 4.4-5). In other words, the limitation of *nanyin* notation to five pitches allows the players freedom to improvise, as Nora Yeh notes:

[If] every pitch is written down in a prescriptive manner, how can every individual performer on his particular instrument break away from the precise indication and achieve

<sup>19</sup> Liu Honggou was a former *nanyin* instructor in the University of the Philippines (1960s–1988).

<sup>20</sup> In *wuyin* (also called *wusheng*), the basic pentatonic pitches are: *gong* 宫, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵 and *yu* 羽. It is a transposing system with moveable *do* (*gong*) established at any of the twelve fixed chromatic pitches (Thrasher 2008:86).

<sup>21</sup> This is reflected in the transnotated scores from elementary and secondary teaching material, e.g. Scores 3, 7 and 13 in volume 2 of this thesis.

[a] unique style of his own? Nevertheless, the musician could use it as a general guide and feel free to introduce some variation. (Nora Yeh 1985:149)

Of these five notes, D (*gong*) and A (*yi*) are fixed notes not subject to modification by means of accidentals, but the others can be modified according to the mode used (Exx. 2.1-2.4). In *nanyin*, the 4<sup>th</sup> (F) and 7<sup>th</sup> (B) steps in any range of the scale are not given names: when they appear in traditional scores they are represented as a raised *liu* or a lowered *che*. These variants and those that are an octave lower or higher are written with the same characters but with indicative elements to the left or above (cf. d, d' and d'' in Ex. 2.1).

The ranges of the melodic instruments of *nanyin*, in terms of notes actually utilized in the traditional repertoire, are as follows: *dongxiao* d–b''; *pipa* d–b''; *sanxian* A–b'; *erxian* g–b''.<sup>22</sup> The tunings of the string instruments are: *pipa* d, g, a, d'; *sanxian* A, d, a; *erxian* g, d'. So far, only the pitch names in the following scales are found in *nanyin* manuscripts and no other characters are given for out-of-range pitches.

The scales of the four modes below start with the lowest pitch (d in the bass clef) available on *dongxiao* and *pipa*. The pentatonic scale *wukong siche guan* (C) does not include b and b', but in the high register b'' is used instead of c''' (Ex. 2.1); according to Zeng Jiayang, principal *pipa* and deputy director of Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble, this is because it is the highest pitch on *dongxiao* and *pipa*. In the high register of *sikongguan* (F mode), the f'' on *dongxiao* is replaced by e'' (Ex. 2.3); in my opinion, Zeng's explanation would not apply in this case (since e'' is not the highest available note), so further research is needed to relate this to traditional modal practice.

Che Gong Liu Si Yi Che Gong Liu Si Yi Che

Gong Liu Si Yi

工 尺 十 下 又 工 六 一 収 仁 伏 仕 仁 収

d e g a c' d' e' g' a' c'' d'' e'' g'' a'' b''

Ex. 2.1 *Wukong siche guan* 五空四仪管

<sup>22</sup> These pitches are indicated using the Helmholtz system commonly used for naming notes of the Western chromatic scale. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Helmholtz\\_pitch\\_notation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Helmholtz_pitch_notation). Accessed 7 March 2013.

Gong Liu Si Yi (Che) Gong Liu Si Yi (Che)

Gong Liu Si Yi Che

工 六 四 一 仩 仩 仩 仩 仩

d e g a c' d' e' g' a' b' d'' e'' g'' a'' b'''

Ex. 2.2 *Wukongguan* 五空管

*Wukongguan* is a significant mode as it contains two pentatonic scales: *wukongguan* (g', a', b', d'', e'') and *Wukong sichenguan* (c', d', e', g', a'); it was thus called *shuangdiao* 双调 [dual modes] during the Ming dynasty (Van der Loon 1992; Zheng Guoquan 2009:63). In *wukongguan*, the pitch *mi* (b') is written as 伍 in Chinese. The superscript symbol 5 at the left top corner is the Chinese abacus numeral 5 (*wu*) which indicates the mode *wukongguan* (G); so is 4 abacus numeral 4 (*si*) beside 仩 (Ex. 2.3) to indicate that it is equivalent to the pitch *sol* (c'') in *sikongguan* (F).<sup>23</sup> The symbols signify the respective modes for which the notes are written.

Gong (Liu) Si Yi Che Gong (Liu) Si Yi

Gong (Liu) Si Yi Che

工 六 四 一 仩 仩 仩 仩 仩

d f g a c' d' f' g' a' c'' d'' e'' g'' a'''

Ex. 2.3 *Sikongguan* 四空管—pentatonic on F

<sup>23</sup> The abacus numeration is one of the Chinese numerations used in the past, in which numbers 1 to 10 are represented by symbols: 一、二、三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十.

Gong Liu (Si) Yi (Che) Gong Liu

Gong Liu (Si) Yi (Che)

圭 芳 吐 下 仄 工 六 颯 一 佺 仁 伏

d e f# a b d' e' f# a' b' d'' e''

Ex. 2.4 *Beisiguan* 貝士管 – pentatonic on D

The metrical system in *nanyin* is called *liaopai* 撩拍; *liao* represents an unaccented beat, marked by (、), and *pai* is an accented beat marked by a red circle (o) and played by the wooden clappers. *Liaopai* lays out the metre in the *gongche* notation, as would bar-lines in Western notation. The strong beats marked by the clappers in the traditional system signify the rhyme of most of the Chinese poems and thus could be conceived of as ending a bar. However, to avoid confusing readers, all the musical examples transnotated into staff notation in this thesis will have the strong beat shown as the first beat of the bar.

In general, *nanyin* music starts slowly and then accelerates. There are five types of *nanyin* metres: *sanban* 散板, *qiliaopai* 七撩拍, *sanliaopai* 三撩拍, *diepai* 叠拍 and *jindiepai* 紧叠拍. Let us introduce these five and their sub-types.

*Sanban* are free rhythm, i.e. non-metrical passages; they may appear as a *mantou* 慢头 [slow introduction], *pofuman* 破腹慢 [in the middle of the piece], or *manwei* 慢尾 [at the end], each indicating their locations in the piece. In traditional *guozhi lianchang nanyin* formal recitals, programmes may require pieces with *sanban* in designated locations of the piece to suit different conventional requirements (Chapter 7.3.2).

*Qiliaopai* features bars of seven unaccented beats (*liao*) followed by one strong beat (*pai*); indeed, the term literally means ‘seven *liao*, [then one] *pai*’. In staff notation, it has been written as 8/2 or 16/4 (Ex. 2.5) at the discretion of the person who transnotates it as these figures are not used in *nanyin gongchepu*. In *gongchepu* scores, they are represented by the symbols ○○○○∟○○○. According to my conversations with musicians, the symbol on beat 5 is called *jiaoliao* 角撩 [cornered *liao*], which is an indication to show that music is halfway through an 8/2 bar. It is notated for pedagogical purposes without any

implications for performance. Ballads in *qiliaopai* metre are difficult long pieces; to perform a bar of 8/2 would sometimes take 5 minutes, as in the beginning of *zhi* suite *Yizhixiangsi* 一纸相思. Therefore, this symbol serves to remind the musicians, especially the vocalist and the *pipa* player, how far the music has progressed.



Ex. 2.5 *Qiliaopai* 8/2 or 16/4

*Sanliaopai* 三撩拍 [three *liao* [then one] *pai*] includes *mansanliao* 慢三撩 [*man* = slow] 4/2 or 8/4 (Ex. 2.6) and *jinsanliao* 紧三撩 [*jin* = fast; also called *yi'erpai* 一二拍, 'one-two *pai*'] 2/2 or 4/4 (Ex. 2.7).

*Mansanliao* [slow three *liao*] metre is written in *gongchepu* as ○ ∙ ∙ ∙ . It occurs mostly in *gunmen* (tune families) prefixed with the character *chang* 长 [long] in their titles, e.g. *Chang Jinban* 长锦板.



Ex. 2.6 *Mansanliao* 4/2 or 8/4

Many popular ballads are in *jinsanliao* [fast three *liao*] 2/2 or 4/4 (Ex. 2.7); they tend to be seen in *gunmen* with the prefix *duan* 短 [short], e.g. *Duan Xiangsi* 短相思. *Jinsanliao* is notated in *gongchepu* as (○ ∙ ).



Ex. 2.7 *Jinsanliao* or *yi'erpai* 2/2 or 4/4

*Diepai* 叠拍 2/4 or 1/2, commonly notated as 2/4, consists of one strong and one weak beat; it is also referred to as *yiban yiyan* [one strong one weak], especially with reference to *xiqu* 戏曲 [drama], which draws upon *nanyin* musical elements. The character *die* 叠 [literally fast and repetitive] is suffixed to a piece's title to illustrate the tempo, e.g. *Yujiaodie* 玉交枝叠 (Ex. 2.8).



Ex. 2.8 *Diepai* 2/4 or 1/2

*Jindiepai* [*jin* = fast] is written as 1/4 metre and characterised by strong beats only. It usually occurs in instrumental pieces (Ex. 2.9).



Ex. 2.9 *Jindiepai* 1/4

Like most Chinese musical genres, *nanyin* usually proceeds from slow to fast, ending in ritardando. Sometimes the music begins with a very slow improvisatory passage known as *sanban*, and there may also be a slow section in the middle or a slow ending.

### 2.1.2 *Gunmen* 滚门 and *qupai* 曲牌

*Gunmen* [tune family] is a complex core melodic classification system in *nanyin*. *Qupai* are pre-existing labelled melodies found widely across Chinese instrumental repertoires, traditional folk genres (such as *nanyin*) and opera, except perhaps in *caoqu* 草曲 [short and popular folk songs]. These labelled melodies were mostly given literary titles, and their origin can be traced back to the sung poetic form (*songci* 宋词) of the Song dynasty (960-1279). Gradually, the texts were discarded and the tunes were later varied and developed in operas of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). Due to natural change and variation across time and space, tunes of the same title may have quite different melodies in different repertoires whilst the same tune might be found under a different title (S. Jones 1995:130; Harris 2004:77). The flexibility of these tunes enables composers to adapt them to the prosodic structure of poetic lyrics, but in narrative singing such as in *nanyin* vocal genre, it is difficult to collate with the syllabic structure due to the use of vernacularized adaptations. Bell Yung (1989:7) distinguishes two ways of combining the pre-existing tunes in opera: *lianquti* 联曲体 [a form combining many different *qupai*] and *banqiangti* 板腔体 [tempo-variant form]; some similarities with both are found in the form of *nanyin*.

Within the *nanyin* repertoire, it is difficult to differentiate between *gunmen* and *qupai* as they both function as models of melodic phrases in songs. Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu (1989:34) state that the 108 *gunmen* generally accepted were in fact “a combination of *gunmen* and *qupai*.... *Gunmen* synthesize different *qupai* that are in the same mode and metre, and share the same melodic features.” Taiwan scholar Lü Chuikuan gives a different definition:

*Gunmen* is a tune family of *qupai* in different metric variations. These *qupai* share similarities in tunes and are characterized by accelerating metres within each *qupai*. As such, *gunmen* gives an indication of its metre.... Compared to *nanguan*, the *xipi* system in regional operas is the same as *gunmen* in terms of its accelerating metres of the same melodic elements.... The characteristic of *qupai* is that a labelled melody possesses its own unique melodic phrases and there is no metrical variation. (Lü Chuikuan 2005:102-3)

Within the macro-structure of *nanyin*, the tune family may be divided into two categories: the *qupaiti* 曲牌体 tune family and the *gunmenti* 滚门体 tune family. The *qupaiti* comprises mainly seven *gunmen* called the *qizhitou* 七枝头 [seven main branches] (also called *qida leyuan* 七大乐源 [seven main musical sources])<sup>24</sup>. In the *nanyin* classification system, each of these seven tune families consists of at least twenty labelled melodies (*qupai*), all of which are in 8/2 metre and provide the melodic fundamentals for a huge number of songs (Wang Ying-fen 2006:93). The title of the tune family itself gives clue to the modes, e.g. *Erdiao Jixianbin* 二调集贤宾 is a labelled melody in F mode *qupaiti gunmen* (Appendix 1).

The *gunmenti* tune family is categorised in three sequential metres (*sanliao pai-yi'er pai-diepai*); the same melodic elements are varied and reused in each tempo group.<sup>25</sup> This is analogous to Bell Yung’s finding of *banqiangti* [tempo-variant form] as mentioned earlier. Wang Ying-fen (2006:92) classifies such tempo-variant form as one of the types in the ‘clan of *gunmen* families’, of which “the fundamental melody is diminished half of the time value in each metrical category, i.e. 4/2 or 8/4 – 2/2 or 4/4 – 2/4”. One of such tempo-variants form is seen in C mode: *Chang Yujiaozhi* 长玉交枝 (4/2), *Yujiaozhi* 玉交

<sup>24</sup> Namely: *Zhongbei* 中倍 and *Beigong* 倍工 (G mode), *Dabei* 大倍, *Xiaobei* 小倍 and *Shanpoyang* 山坡羊 (C mode), *Erdiao* 二调 (F mode) and *Qiliaobesi* 七撩倍思, also named as *Da Chaoyangchun* 大潮阳春 (D mode).

<sup>25</sup> The only exception is seen in the *Qiliaobesi* (or *Da Chaoyangchun* 大潮阳春) tune family: this *qupaiti* in 8/2, D mode also has the feature of *gunmenti* in that the main melodic idea is reused in 4/2 metre (known as *Chang chaoyangchun* 长潮阳春), 4/4 metre (*Zhong chaoyangchun* 中潮阳春) and 2/4 metre (*Duan chaodie* 短潮叠).

枝 (4/4) and *Yujiaozhidie* 玉交枝叠 (2/4) (Appendix 1); they feature the same melodic theme (*dayun* 大韵) in sequential metres. This pre-existing melodic theme is a significant determinant identifying the tune family to which the piece belongs, and thus enhances the essential cohesion in a tune family.

A special feature worth mentioning is that it seems to be a norm to organise groupings of four tune families or labelled melodies of the same programmatic or melodic motifs within each metrical variation, e.g. *si* [4] *waidui* 四外对 (G mode) in *qupaiti* family and *wukong dasizi* 五空大四子 (G mode) in the *gunmenti* family (Appendix 1). In Taiwan, such groupings are identified as another of the ‘clan of *gunmen* families’ mentioned earlier (Wang Ying-fen 2006:92).

In conclusion, a traditional *nanyin* song is composed of melodic variants derived from a tune family; they are adapted melodically and rhythmically to suit the meaning and mood of the lyrics. The classification system is complex as the corpus of tune families and labelled melodies is vast. The method of classification is sometimes inconsistent or flexible, and this remains problematic in terms of distinguishing the exact demarcation between *gunmen* and *qupai*. This is particularly obvious across the system of Chinese *qupai* where “Tunes of the same name occur widely in different regional genres, but melodies bearing the same title may ... have nothing in common” (Harris 2004:77).

*Qupai* is the foundation on which the instrumental repertoires of South China are built; it is “employed in identifying a wide variety of instrumental melodies used as opera interludes and as models for instrumental repertoire” (Thrasher 2008:114). Based on the use of *qupai* in *Kunqu*, Witzleben (1995:70) noted that “While the skeleton melody is relatively fixed, a *qupai* will be realized differently for different texts, operas, and roles, and individual singers’ interpretations also vary, even in performances of the same scene.”

The huge number of pre-existing tunes in *nanyin* are reused in thousands of *nanyin* songs and in other performing arts genres. Many pre-existing tunes have been altered through diminution, augmentation, varied repetition and transposition, then given different titles. The exact number of tune families is unknown. It was previously thought to be 108, but the editors of *Anxi Xian Wenhua Congshu* claimed that they compiled 267 *gunmen* (Chen Shilian and Lin Zhongrong 2009:14).

## 2.2 INSTRUMENTATION

*Sizhu* [silk-bamboo] is a term commonly referring to instruments partly made of silk (i.e. strings) and bamboo which predominate in a variety of Chinese regional chamber ensembles combining heterogeneous instrument types. Such genres have been widely practised in China for over two millennia. Thrasher (2008:1) writes that southern China is dominated by four cultures – Chaozhou, Minnan, Hakka, and Cantonese – and that in each of these areas, different regional *sizhu* genres are distinguished, despite similarities in aesthetics, musical behaviour and musical concepts. The *nanyin* ensemble is recognised as a regional symbol of southern Fujian, and because its ensemble consists of “silk and bamboo” instruments, it is considered as a *sizhu* type of musical tradition (Han Kuo-huang 1979; Thrasher 2008).

*Nanyin* instrumentation has changed over the centuries. Various Chinese scholars document that more instruments were used before the Republican period (before 1911), and that the ensemble was divided into two categories of instrument, *shangguan* 上管 and *xiaguan* 下管 (Lü Chuikuan 1986b (1):30-1). The number of instruments was gradually reduced, and the ensemble is now categorized into *shangsiguan* 上四管 [Upper Four ensemble], consisting mainly of melodic instruments, and *xiasiguan* 下四管 [Lower Four ensemble], which are percussion instruments.<sup>26</sup>

### 2.2.1 *Shangsiguan* [Upper Four ensemble]

The *shangsiguan* is the core ensemble which plays instrumental pieces of the *zhi* and *pu* repertoires and accompanies the vocalists in the singing section of a recital (DVD-1). It is referenced by scholars as resembling the ensemble prototype of *xianghe ge* 相和歌 [song of harmony] of the Han dynasty (206BC-220AD), which features “*sizhu geng xianghe, zhijiezhe ge* 丝竹更相和，执节者歌” [silk and bamboo accompany, and the wood-clapper player sings].<sup>27</sup>

Many Chinese scholars contend that various styles of Han-dynasty northern Chinese folk songs, commonly called by this term *xianghe ge* 相和歌, were the precedent which

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<sup>26</sup> For more details about *nanyin* instruments, see Nora Yeh 1985; Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989; Liu Honggou 1973.

<sup>27</sup> Yang Yinliu 2008(1):114; Wang Shan 2006:1; Chen Shilian and Lin Zhongrong 2008:8; Zhao Feng 2000:9.

led to *nanyin*. *Xianghe ge* was initially an *a capella* style of singing documented as *Han jiuge* 汉旧歌 [old songs of Han] in chapter 1 of the early historical record *Jinshu, lezhi yi* 晋书. 乐志一 (Jin dynasty, 220-420).<sup>28</sup> *Xianghe ge* evolved and developed into *daqu*, which was later disseminated to the south and came to be known as *qingshang yue* 清商乐 subsequent to cross-influences with southern genres. *Qingshang yue* continued to develop in both the southern and northern regions during Tang.

The four main melodic silk and bamboo instrument types are *nanyin pipa*, *dongxiao*, *sanxian* and *erxian*. Unlike the better-known *pipa* commonly seen nowadays, *nanyin pipa* is held horizontally (or nearly so), has a neck with the pegbox bent back and fewer frets (4 blocks and 9 frets; Fig. 2.1).



Fig. 2.1 *Nanyin pipa* (field photo 2013)

*Nanyin dongxiao*, also known as *chiba* 尺八 (literally one foot and 8 inches according to the Tang dynasty measuring system), is an end-blown bamboo notched flute. *Sanxian* is a three-stringed fretless plucked lute whose sound-box membrane is made of snakeskin. *Erxian* is a two-stringed fiddle whose bow passes between the strings as for the *erhu*. Other supplementary melodic instruments are transverse flute (*pinxiao* 品箫 or

<sup>28</sup> Huang Xiangpeng 2007(1); Nora Yeh 1985; Lü Chuikuan 1986a, 1986b; Yang Yinliu 2008 and Chen Shilian and Lin Zhongrong 2008.

*qudi* 曲笛)<sup>29</sup> and small double-reed shawm (*aizi* 嗩仔 or *suona* 唢呐), which play mostly for recitals. During routine or weekly practice, *dongxiao* is the most frequently used wind instrument and *pinxiao* is added when the orchestration needs to be expanded; *aizi* only plays *zhi* suites in an *ai'a'zhi* ensemble (Chapter 2.2.2).

A set of wood clappers (*paiban* 拍板) is used by the vocalist to punctuate strong beats; it is indispensable but does not count as an instrument in the ensemble. From the *nanyin* organological relics found carved on the roof of the main shrine in Kaiyuan Temple, Quanzhou City, which was renovated during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the *paiban* used at that time consisted of five slabs of wood (Fig. 2.2; Fig. 4.4 Kaiyuan Temple). Taiwan *nanguan* [*nanyin*] musicians often claim that there were originally seven slabs but “Two were later stolen by the players of northern music (*beiqu*), where a two-piece *ban* was employed, leaving just five for the *nanguan* performers” (Chou Chiener 2001:30); but this theory lacks historical evidence.



Fig.2.2 *Paiban* - 5 slaps of wood clappers used in Minnan (field photo 2013)

<sup>29</sup> The *nanyin pinxiao* is also called *qudi* 曲笛, literally ‘song flute’ (Sun Xingqun 1996:155). There are two types of traditional *dizi*: *bangdi* 梆笛 and *qudi*. Most commonly, the former accompanies the northern *bangzi* opera 梆子戏 and the latter accompanies *kunqu* 昆曲, hence their names. *Nanyin pinxiao* belongs to the *qudi* type (Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:379).

Musicians in Jinjiang told me that the set of wood clappers was not used there for playing the instrumental (as opposed to vocal) repertoire before the 1980s, but now it articulates the beats in some instrumental pieces. In Taiwan *nanguan* circles, it is used for idiomatic playing in the instrumental piece *Bajunma*, imitating the stomping sounds of a horse's hooves (Chou Chiener 2001:29), which is also seen in Minnan.

### ***Shangsiguan ensemble setting***

The seating arrangement of the *shangsiguan* ensemble separates the plucked instruments on the (audience's) left side from the wind and bowed stringed instruments on the right (Fig. 2.3). Instruments on the left play the skeletal melody whilst the right-side instruments add ornaments (*jiahua* 加花, literally 'add flowers').

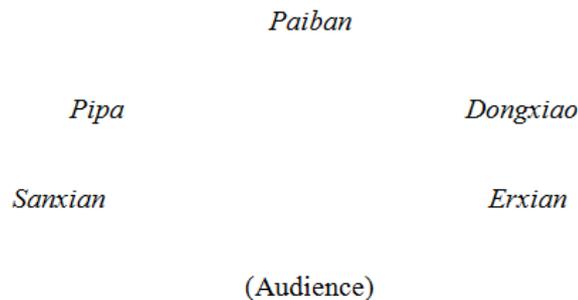


Fig. 2.3 The *shangsiguan* ensemble setting

### ***Instrumental hierarchy***

The concept of instrumental hierarchy is crucial in *nanyin*, as mentioned by musicians in the field and almost all *nanyin* scholars (Nora Yeh 1985; Wang Ying-fen 1986; Chou Chiener 2001). In traditional performance, the host/guest hierarchy governs the role of each melodic instrument in music-making: *sanxian* is the guest of the *pipa* while the *erxian* is the guest of the *dongxiao*. The guests support the hosts in order to produce a harmonious musical effect. There is no conductor, and I have heard from musicians of nearly all the *nanyin* societies that the *pipa* is the commander-in-chief (*wanjun tongshuai* 万军统帅) – a testament to the *pipa*'s significance.

I observed that the *pipa* player often gave the entry signal and marked strong beats by nodding his head or tapping his foot. He/she also prompted the vocalist if the latter forgot the lyrics.

### 2.2.2 *Xiasiguan* [Lower Four ensemble]

The *xiasiguan* is a secondary ensemble of five percussion instruments: *jiaoluo* 叫锣 (also called *xiaojiao* 小叫), a small metal gong attached to a fist-size wooden block *muyu* 木鱼, both played by one player; *xiangzhan* 响盏, a 5cm-diameter metal gong nestled inside a bamboo woven basket with a narrow flat bamboo stick beater; *sibao* 四宝 [four treasures], two pairs of flat unattached bamboo pieces which produce a crisp tone when struck together; *shuangling* 双铃, a pair of bronze bells shaped like small Chinese teacups; and a small drum called *biangu* 扁鼓 [*bian* = flat; *gu* = drum] (Fig. 2.4). *Shuangling* and *biangu* are not used together, so only four of these five are played at any one time; indeed, nowadays *biangu* is almost always replaced by *shuangling*. Therefore, it is considered as an ensemble of four instruments (*xiasiguan*).



Fig. 2.4 *Nanyin* percussion instruments (field photo 2013)

Folk musicians called all these instruments *jiasi* 家俬 [tools]. The use of percussion strictly follows the principle of *jinmu butong ming* 金木不同鸣 [metal and wood do not sound together] except for the *sibao*, which plays with either metal or wood percussion instruments. The *jiaoluo* is played by one person who follows this principle: the small

metal gong is played on weak beats and the wooden block on strong beats (with the *paiban*) (DVD-10). Greater flexibility is given to *jiaoluo* to create more rhythmic patterns.

***Xiasiguan ai'a'zhi ensemble setting***

In a traditional formal *nanyin* recital, the *xiasiguan* only plays the opening piece (*zhi* suite) with the *shangsiguan* ensemble. When the melodic part of the opening piece is led by a small shawm, it is called an *ai'a'zhi* 唛仔指 ensemble. *Xiasiguan* is the essential orchestration for outdoor performances such as street parades and calendrical events, since the instruments are appropriate for a noisy and bustling environment. In indoor venues, the *xiasiguan* ensemble players are not seated but stand behind the *shangsiguan* players (Fig. 2.5; Fig. 2.6).



Fig. 2.5 The *nanyin ai'a'zhi* ensemble setting (the *shangsiguan* instruments are in bold letters)

Fig. 2.6 below shows an *ai'a'zhi* ensemble of a combination of players from Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble 泉州南音乐团 and Hong Kong Fukien Athletic Club, Ltd. during an exchange visit in Hong Kong in 2010. The percussionists holding metal and wood instruments were in alternating order and separated into two sides – from (the audience's) left to right: *shuangling*, *sibao*, *xiangzhan* and *jiaoluo/muyu*.



Fig. 2.6 *Nanyin ai'a'zhi* ensemble setting - Hong Kong Fukien Athletic Club, Ltd. (field photo 2010)

### ***Street parade ensemble setting***

For a street parade, the director of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society, Cai Changrong (interview, 11 March 2010), suggested that an outdoor ensemble should consist of at least eleven musicians, but seventeen would be better.<sup>30</sup> Each processional ensemble represents a *nanyin* society. The number of participating players is flexible as long as the instrumentation is well balanced; in general, the larger the ensemble, the larger the society it represents.

The parade is led by holders of the placard and symbolic parasol carrying the name of the participating *nanyin* society, followed by percussionists, then melodic instrumentalists (Fig. 2.7). Such parades are common in various events in southern Fujian. In either a basic or an expanded parade ensemble, only one *aizi* is used.

<sup>30</sup> An ideal street parade ensemble consists of: one person carrying the symbolic parasol, two holding the placard with the society's name, five percussionists (*xiangzhan*, *xiaojiao*, *sibao* and two *shuangling*) and *paiban*, plus *aiya*, *sanxian*, *erxian*, *pipa*, two *pinxiao* and two *dongxiao* (Cai Changrong, interview, 11 March 2010).



**(Placard /symbolic parasol and lantern holders)**

Fig. 2.7 Nanyin street parade ensemble setting (front = bottom)

Once, I participated in a street parade as *paiban* player. The ensemble setting was similar to the arrangement in Fig. 2.8.



Fig. 2.8 Quanzhou Cross-strait Minnan Cultural Festival: street parade (field photo 2010)

Each group in a parade plays whichever pieces it prefers: there is no need to coordinate with other groups. The result, as desired, is the creation of an exuberant atmosphere.

## 2.3 NOTATION AND TEXTURE

### 2.3.1 Notation

*Gongchepu* 工乂譜 [*pu* = notation] is a traditional notation used only in Quanzhou *nanyin*; hence it has a regional identity. *Nanyin* scholars stipulate the correct use of Chinese characters 工乂譜 [*gongchepu*] to differentiate this notation from the much more widespread standard *gongche* notation 工尺譜 (Zheng Guoquan 2009:117). The two names are pronounced almost the same in Minnanese but represent two different systems. (Thus we often need to refer clearly to “*nanyin gongche*”.) In either case, *gongche* is a commonly employed mnemonic system for notating most of the regional music traditions in China since the Tang dynasty. It has diversified over the centuries in different regions and genres, and *nanyin gongchepu* is said to be one of these variations (Yang Yinliu 1962:27 quoted in Nora Yeh 1985). *Gongche* 工乂, referring to ‘*re-do*’ in *nanyin* notation, is based on the five fundamental pentatonic notes of *wuyin* (*che* 乂, *gong* 工, *liu* 六, *si* 思 and *yi* 一) used since the Qin dynasty (221-206BC). The other notation, *gongche* 工尺 – ‘*mi-re*’ of the seven-note scale (*shang* 上, *che* 尺, *gong* 工, *fan* 凡, *liu* 六, *wu* 五 and *yi* 一) – has been used in regional traditions since the Song dynasty (960-1279AD) (Wang Jinsheng and Hong Mingliang 2006:150). The latter became prominent and developed variants in several regions such as Shanghai, Chaozhou-Hakka and Guangdong province (Thrasher 2008:88).

*Nanyin* notation features undecorated skeletal scoring written for *pipa* and wooden clappers (*paiban*) only; traditionally the other instruments do not have their own written parts. A *nanyin* song’s title is taken from the first three to five words of the lyrics. Since the lyrics are set to a pre-existing labelled melody (*qupai* or *gunmen*), the melodic shaping often does not reflect textual divisions, e.g. a melodic phrase might be in the middle of a sentence. In a contemporary *nanyin* score, the tune family, labelled melody,

mode and metrical marking are specified at the beginning of the score together with the background story and its provenance (see Fig. 2.9 below).

*Nanyin gongche* notation is written in three columns: from right to left are the *liaopai* metrical signs for the *paiban*, *pipa* fingering/plucking technique and the skeletal melody (*gugan yin* 骨干音). The song text in larger characters is in between these symbols. The *pipa* skeletal notes (*che*, *gong*, *liu*, *shi* and *yi*) represent the core melody, and the *pipa* fingering signifies the note values and also implies certain types of ornamentation to be added by other instruments. The conventions of embellishment are not free; an experienced instrumentalist would be able to add ornaments by listening to the *pipa* during performance. The time values of *pipa* fingerings may vary depending on the subsequent note symbol; e.g. at the beginning of the score (Fig. 2.9), the first circle ‘o’ refers to a crotchet value of accelerating tremolo on D (*gong* 工)  followed by repeating the same crotchet D, in a total time value of a minim. The second ‘o’ refers to a crotchet tremolo in E (*liu* 六)  followed by a downward plucked (·) on E to the value of a quaver. This quaver together with the subsequent upward plucked quaver symbol ✓ forms a crotchet on the same note E, thus: . See Fig. 2.10 for some examples of *pipa* fingerings and their time values.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> For more details, see Quanzhou Nanyin Jichu Jiaocheng 2009:9-11.

**1 照见我**

2【说明】本套六曲，分六节。原本刊载：五代残唐，徐州沙陀村刘智远，为继父出。梓人李文奎收为牧役，旋以女三娘妻之。李卒，为哥嫂所逐。后投节度使岳勋管，平太行贼，拜总兵，迁九州安抚。刘初从军，三娘有孕，遭哥嫂凌辱，受尽折磨。磨房产子，无剪，以口咬断脐带，因以一咬脐一名子。子生三日，为嫂溺于荷池，幸得救，送与刘抚养。至十六岁，一日游猎，追白兔于沙陀八角井，见一妇人跣足蓬头，井边汲水，诘问之，知是亲母，母子相认。后刘与三娘相会于磨房，夫妻团聚。哥嫂行恶有报，押送法曹慈处。参看《泉州传统戏曲丛书》二卷《刘智远》。

1. Title:  
*Zhaojian Wo* 照见我

2. Background story

3. First section

4. Tune family  
*(gunmen): Jinban*

5. Labelled melody  
*(qunpai): Fengchan Bei*

6. Mode:  
*Wukong-guan (G)*

7. Slow introduction

8. Metre: 2/2 (*Yier pai*)

9. Song text

10. Metrical markings

11. *Pipa* fingering

12. *Pipa* tablature of main melody: *che, gong, liu, si and yi.*

【弦管指谱大全】 指套 照见我 第一页 总第二四二页

首节 锦板 风撼北 五空管 慢头起一二拍

Fig. 2.9 Traditional *nanyin gongche* notation - *zhi* suite<sup>32</sup>

Pipa fingering	Time value	Pipa fingering	Time value
○		○	
、		∟	
一		ㄣ	
ㄣ		×	
十		ㄩ	

Fig. 2.10 Some *pipa* fingerings and their time values. Right-hand techniques are very diverse but are not described here.

<sup>32</sup> Su Tongmou and Ding Shuiqing 2005b:242

## ***Tempo and Rhythm***

Tempo in *nanyin* does not follow the rigid pulsation of a metronome as traditional oral transmission has integrated a sense of musical time. It is common for the *pipa* player to start a piece with the improvisatory tremolo accelerating from slow to fast (CD-3-9). The discrepancy in duration of the same piece between different groups is usually minimal.

*Gongchepu* does not indicate tempo and bar-lines; the *paiban* notation shows the strong and weak beats, rendering bar-lines unnecessary. The *paiban* (if used) punctuates strong beats. In actual performance these beats are largely regularly spaced; irregularities are most frequent in vocal performances, resulting mainly from embellishments including different lengths of slides and effects of speech inflection (CD-3; Chapter 4.2.4 Regional interpretive differences).

Dynamic marking is also absent in both instrumental and vocal pieces. The characteristic mood of *nanyin* is mild and tranquil; dynamics vary most commonly according to melodic contour: crescendo in ascending passages and decrescendo when the melody descends. In instrumental music, among the melodic instruments, *pipa* generally maintains a stable dynamic while *dongxiao* provides variable dynamic contrasts as it embellishes the melodic lines. *Sanxian* and *erxian* follow the host/guest hierarchy principle, offering a softer and gentler timbre (Instrument hierarchy in Chapter 2.2.1). In vocal music, there can be interpretive flexibility according to each vocalist's interpretation and the contents of the text. Nevertheless, to maintain the musical characteristic of serenity, the dynamic contrast in *nanyin* vocal is not extreme.

Except for the *paiban*, the percussion part is never notated: percussion instruments are mainly responsible for marking strong and weak beats, which experienced players are expected to be able to realise.

Before the printed publication of *nanyin* scores became common, teaching was strictly by oral transmission. *Nanyin* teachers would not show their handwritten scores to students: they only gave them song texts with circles indicating *paiban* [wood clappers] (Zheng Guoquan 2009:407). *Nanyin* teachers tended to devote all their time to music-making, and most of them lacked skills to earn a living by other than teaching *nanyin*. Teachers would use the pretext that score-writing was too time-consuming, but it was

generally understood that teachers did this deliberately to prevent the students from learning the scores by themselves and hence not needing their teachers (ibid). The text given by the teacher was written vertically from right to left with only small circles representing *paiban* at the right of the text. This is perhaps similar to the manuscripts used by classical theatre performers during the Ming dynasty, as found in one of the anthologies discovered by Piet van der Loon (1992) (Fig. 2.11). From the right to the left, the score shows the title and the name of the compilation, the labelled melody adopted and the title of the piece. Such scores are not used today.

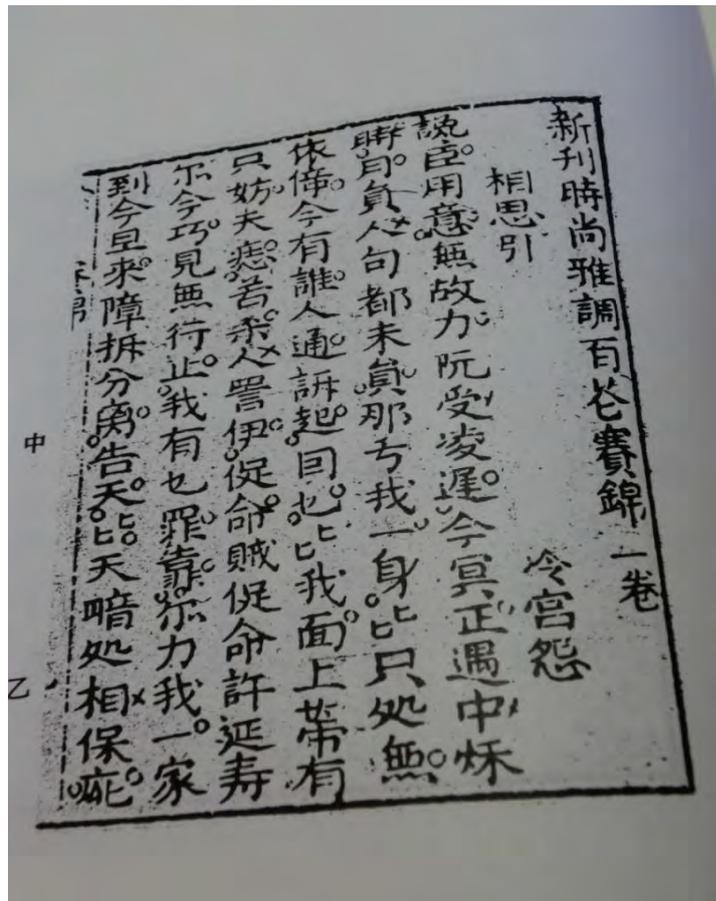


Fig. 2.11 Unnotated song text with small circles marking the *paiban*

Before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the manuscripts used in *nanyin* societies were handwritten and passed down by the teachers. These manuscripts were assets which represented the tradition of the Society and were used for reference only, never for teaching. The quality of paper used was poor and the manuscripts were not given due care. The manuscripts found nowadays in Minnan and overseas *nanyin* societies most probably date from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

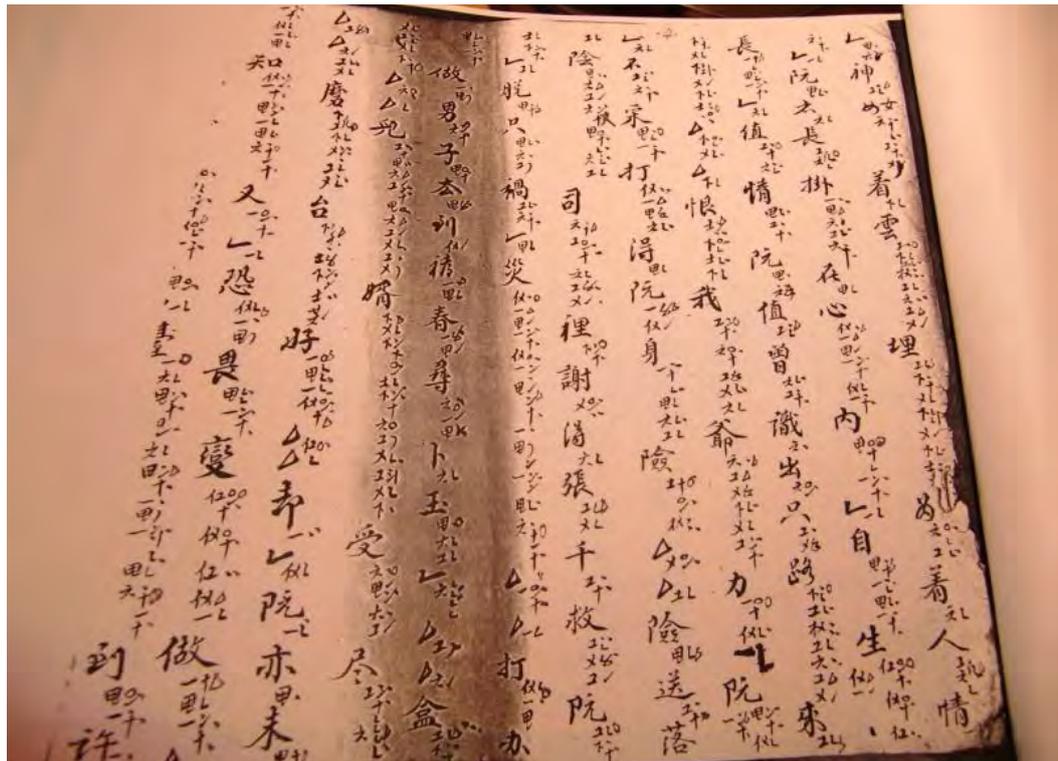


Fig. 2.12 Manuscript written in 1823 (photo by author, 2010; score courtesy of Su Tongmou)

Special symbols are found in two old manuscripts dated 1823 (*Daoguang sannian* 道光三年) and 1881 (*Guangxu qinian* 光緒七年) (Figs. 2.12-3). In these sources, as Su Tongmou explained, straight lines | replace the *pipa* technique ㄣ; △ and └ indicate applications of decorative singing, sounding the Minnan vernacular *yü* 於 (CD-2, 0:04-9, 0:49-51, 0:58-1:15) and *ng-li* 不汝 (CD-2, 2:06-12, 3:07-11) respectively, which are words without lexical meaning but frequently used as fillers in *nanyin* vocals. These two symbols are not found in later scores; instead, the characters 於 and 不汝 are actually written out.

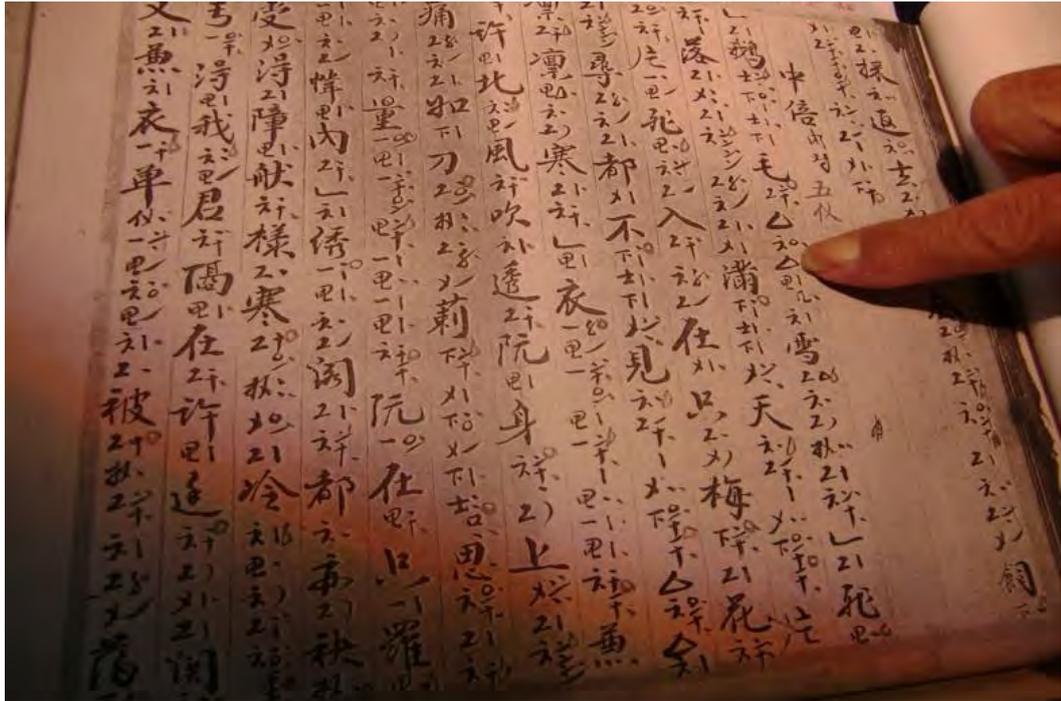


Fig. 2.13 Manuscript written in 1881 (photo by author, 2010; score courtesy of Su Tongmou)

Cai Changrong told me (interviews 11 March 2010 and 25 October 2011) that the late master Chen Sichuan of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society, who studied in depth the appropriate use of phonetics in *nanyin* singing, claimed that insertion of these non-lexical syllables was to facilitate singing without using consecutively the same lip gesticulation, i.e. in order to alternate open and closed lips: in cases where the original lyrics do not allow this desirable pattern, a *ng-li* or *yü* could be inserted for the same purpose. No other *nanyin* musician, however, has echoed this claim.

Nowadays, for durability, the music is often written on a piece of fabric and hung on a stand in teaching venues so that all learners in a small group can see. I observed this in Jinjiang among *nanyin* societies as well as in the communal Laorenhui [Old People's Association] (Fig. 2.14). However, I have never seen any scores used during recitals.

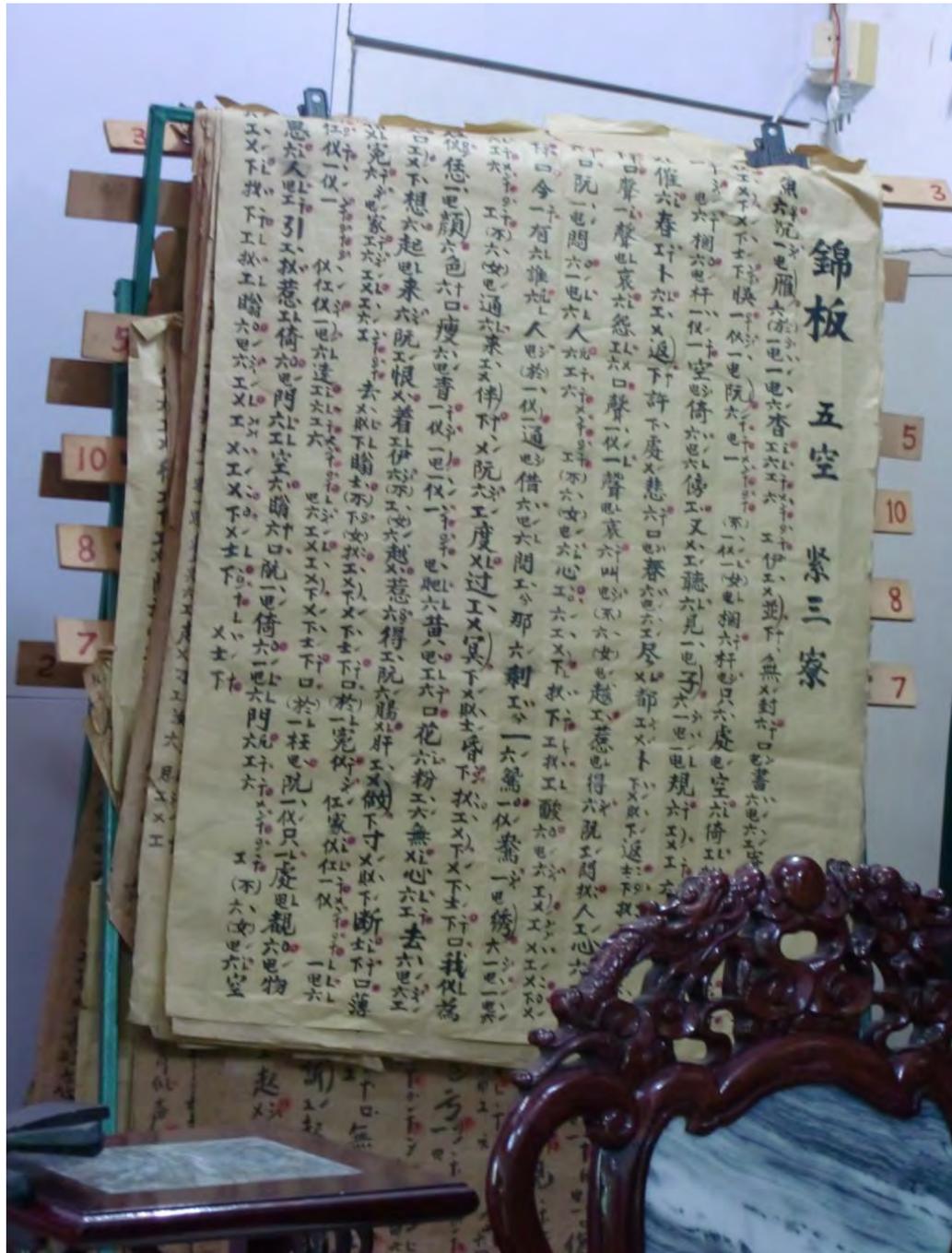


Fig. 2.14 Handwritten *nanyin gongchepu* score for teaching in Jinjiang (Field photo 2010)

Nowadays with the computerization of *nanyin* notation and modern publishing techniques (Chapter 6.6.1), many of the manuscripts have been compiled and published for documentation and studying purposes (Fig. 2.9). Triple notation (*gongchepu*, *jianpu* cipher notation<sup>33</sup> and Western staff notation) is employed in teaching materials (Score 7 in volume 2 of this thesis; Chapter 6.5.2).

<sup>33</sup> Cipher notation came from the French Galin-Paris-Chev  system. The numerals 1 to 7 represent a major scale, but in relative pitches (equivalent to movable *do* in solf ge). Dots above or below the numerals

### 2.3.2 Texture

The development of a specific style and features characterizing a traditional folk genre is through a historical process of aesthetic ideal based on the culture and language of the people. For *nanyin* vocal, it particularly entails skills in delivering correct and clear diction. These are formative in constituting an ideal interpretation of the genre. The artistic pursuit of *nanyin* is very much influenced by the traditional aesthetics for elegance and serenity which is considered representative of this genre, as opposed to, say, the harsher voices of Beijing opera. In this section, I will first discuss the musical characteristics in *nanyin* vocal interpretation, followed by the heterophony of instrumental interpretation.

#### ***Musical interpretation in nanyin singing***

As opposed to opera, the aesthetic ideology of *nanyin* vocal emphasizes correct articulation and enunciation as well as the quality of singing. Minnanese is a very different dialect from the modern standard Mandarin (*putonghua*). It is usually spoken at a lower overall pitch. There are seven different speech tones and nineteen nasalized vowels, and both directly impact the melodic nuances in *nanyin* vocalisation (Sun Xingqun 1996:181; Brösicke 1999/2000:85). The nasalized vowels have a particular impact in *nanyin*:

The nasalized sound is said to be a soft sound.... In the case of *nanyin*, it adds to the sentimental (i.e. emotionally charged) style of the music.... [Minnanese] is characterized, amongst other things, by nasalized vowels.... These tonal features [in Minnanese] are believed to contribute to the smooth and warm character of the *nanyin* vocal style. (Brösicke 1999/2000:84-5)

A Chinese character represents one syllable, but these can vary in complexity from a single vowel (e.g., *e*) to a sequence of consonant, vowel, final consonant (e.g. *hieng* in Ex. 2.11 below). If the vowel is a diphthong, the syllable is even more complex. In *nanyin* singing, a single character may be stretched out for many seconds via melisma. However long the syllable is extended, the overall contour must reflect clearly the speech tone to convey the meaning.

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represent a higher or lower octave respectively. Horizontal lines and other symbols are used to indicate time values (Bernarr Rainbow 2001:440-1). It has been adopted in various modified forms in China, Japan and Indonesia.



Lieberman (1971) and Thrasher (1980) discuss the nature of heterophony in *nanguan* with supporting transcriptions. Nora Yeh, who pioneered Taiwan *nanguan* research, observed:

The type of heterophony found in *nanguan* music leaves the skeletal melody virtually unchanged. Rather, it enhances this melody. True, sometimes the secondary instruments seem to dominate the musical space. Yet ultimately the secondary and variable melodic instruments remain in their respective places, according to the instrumental hierarchy. (Nora Yeh 1985:327)

Variation occurs partly because of the nature of the different instruments (and voice) themselves: the voice cannot do a *pipa*-type trill, so it gives way at trills (Exx. 4.6-7; CD-3); *pipa* and *sanxian* plucks cannot sustain, therefore the music keeps going seamlessly via the collaboration of winds and fiddles; instrumental range constricts possibilities, as evidenced in practical performance (CD-1).

In order to identify the heterophonic texture and the variations embellished by *nanyin* instruments, a field recording of *Niqu duoduo* 你去多多, the fifth section of the *zhi* suite *Zhaojian wo* 照见我 played by veteran amateur *shangsiguan* players of Jinjiang origin in Hong Kong, is used here for discussion (Score 1; CD-1)<sup>34</sup>. The score is transcribed according to the host/guest instrumental hierarchy in the order of *pipa*, *sanxian*, *dongxiao* and *erxian* (Chapter 2.2.1 Instrumental hierarchy).

In the recording, the hierarchical concept and heterophonic texture is realised throughout the whole performance process. The instrumentation of the Upper Four Ensemble comprises plucked, wind and bowed instruments in different sound and pitch groups. Conventional *nanyin* instrumental hierarchy suggests that the *pipa* plays the skeletal melody with the support of *sanxian*, and *dongxiao* adds the ornaments with *erxian* (Ex. 2.12).<sup>35</sup> The support is based on the idiomatic playing of each instrument: an experienced instrumentalist embellishes intuitively through different types of instrumental techniques.

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<sup>34</sup> Recorded in Hong Kong, 30dec2012. Players: Cai Meichun 蔡美純 (*pipa*), Lin Jinfeng 林锦峰 (*dongxiao*), Huang Yingchang 黄英长 (*erxian*), Chen Zixiu 陈子修 (*sanxian*).

<sup>35</sup> In Example 2.12 and others, the word ‘scoring’ refers to producing the printed score via computer.

NIQU DUODUO

你去多多

Fifth section of *zhi* suite *Zhaojian Wo*

Qupai: Jinban  
 ♩ = 76  
 Transcription and scoring by Cloris Lim

Pipa

Sanxian

Dongxiao

Erxian

4

Pipa

Sanxian

Dongxiao

Erxian

8<sup>va</sup> = an octave lower

Ex. 2.12 *Niqu duoduo* bb.1-5 (CD-1, 0:05-0:34)

*Sanxian* enhances the *nanyin* skeletal melody with a less sharp timbre than the *pipa*; it supports and supplements the *pipa* by doubling the same melody, including the *pipa* trills, in near-unison but an octave lower (Ex. 2.13, 2<sup>nd</sup> beat of b.26, last quaver of b.27, 1<sup>st</sup> beat of b.28). When octave doubling exceeds the *sanxian*'s range, it plays the same pitch as the *pipa*, e.g. last two quavers (g) in b.5 (Ex. 2.12). Conventionally, *sanxian* is not allowed to play louder than its host, the *pipa*, and it should always match its host's tempo.

Musical score for four instruments: Pipa, Sanxian, Dongxiao, and Erxian. The score is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked as quarter note = 88. The piece is numbered 26. The Pipa part starts with a trill marked '8va'. The Sanxian part has a trill marked '8va'. The Dongxiao and Erxian parts feature various trills and ornaments, with the Erxian part having a trill marked 'w'.

Ex. 2.13 *Niqu duoduo* bb.26-28, doubling of trills (CD-1, 2:16-2:30)

*Dongxiao* and *erxian* provide the essential ornamented lyricism, thus these two parts are denser. The ornaments added linearly by both instruments include trills, passing notes, lower and upper auxiliary notes. The most frequently used intervals are major 2<sup>nd</sup>, major and minor 3<sup>rds</sup>, and sometimes 4<sup>th</sup> (Ex. 2.12, bb.4-5). These spontaneous ornamentations tend to vary between players but also by any one player in different renditions. An amateur *dongxiao* player who wishes to remain anonymous provides an alternative ornamentation for bb.1-5 (Ex. 2.14):

Musical score for Dongxiao. The score is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked as quarter note = 84. The piece is numbered 26. The score shows five measures of music with various ornaments and trills. The first measure has a trill marked 'trill' and a note marked 'w'. The second measure has a note marked '2'. The third measure has a note marked '3'. The fourth measure has a note marked '4'. The fifth measure has a note marked '5' and a trill marked 'w'.

Ex. 2.14 Alternative ornamentations, bb.1-5

*Erxian* sustains with a less elaborate melody to support *dongxiao* at the breathing points of the latter. In Ex. 2.15, the first minim note in b.33 sustains the *dongxiao*'s semi-quaver rest, and in b.35, the *erxian*'s first dotted c" sustains the *dongxiao*'s quaver rest.

Ex. 2.15 Sustaining function, bb.33-35

The multilinear relationship reveals a highly heterophonic texture overall. The melodic contour moves in the same direction except that contrary motion is occasionally seen, e.g. last beats of b.13 (Ex. 2.16).

Ex. 2.16 Contrary motion, b.13

The secondary melodic instrument, the small shawm *aizi*, is not a core instrument in the *shangsiguan* ensemble as it only plays the opening suite in a recital (aside from playing in the street parades). The ornamentations that it adds are basically the same as *dongxiao*; it can be very decorative but must abide overall by *nanyin* ornamentational practice.

In Chinese music, the development of melodic line by varying the melodic parameters themselves is of great significance, and the improvisatory skill of the

musicians determines the extent of success in a rendition. *Nanyin* ensemble playing emphasizes the *moqi* 默契 [implicit understanding] between players, which aims to achieve the desired musical harmony.

## 2.4 REPERTOIRE (*ZHI* 指, *QU* 曲, *PU* 譜)

The *nanyin* repertoire is in three categories: *zhi*, *qu*, and *pu*. Traditional performance structure is bound by certain restrictions, still strictly followed by performers today. In most performance contexts aside from street parades – formal recitals, *zhengxian paichang* 整弦排场 [tuning the instruments and setting up a formal performance stage] (Chapter 7.3.2 The revival of *Guozhiqu* tradition), small recitals with visiting members of other *nanyin* societies, and routine weekly gatherings – all three categories are performed in the sequence instrumental (*zhi*)-vocal (*qu*)-instrumental (*pu*) (Chapter 5.1).

Scholars have noted some similarities in performance structure between Tang *daqu* 大曲 [great suites] and formal *nanyin* recitals (Chapter 7.3.2). *Daqu* was a category of Sui- and Tang-dynasty *yanyue* 燕乐 [court banquet music] featuring multi-sectional dancing songs (Yang Yinliu 2008(1):221).

Yang Yinliu (2008 (1):115-9) assumes that *daqu* was a composite of instrumental, vocal and dance repertoire. The *daqu* performance structure called *dabian* 大遍 was in three parts: (1) *sanxu* 散序, instrumental suite in free tempo and free performance style, solo or ensemble; (2) *zhongxu* 中序 or *getou* 歌头 [literally head of song], mainly accompanied vocal pieces with or without dancing; (3) *po* 破 [fast tempo section] or *wubian* 舞遍 [dance section], mainly instrumental but sometimes vocal pieces to accompany dance. This final section is characterized by accelerando metrical changes from free tempo to very fast metre ending with ritardando. The three parts were linked by transitional musical passages: *sanxu* and *zhongxu* were connected by a passage with tempo specification *sa* 鞞 [literally ‘drag’]; and *zhongxu* was linked to *po* by a passage with the tempo mark *dian* 擷 [literally ‘drop’] or *zhengdian* 正擷, which I conjecture could be the dropping of time value, e.g. 16/4 to 8/4 (as found in *nanyin*).

Despite differences in detail, *nanyin* still retains the basic three-part performance structure of *daqu* (Chapter 5.1.1).

### 2.4.1 *Zhi* 指

The *zhi* suite, also known as *zhitao* 指套, consists of two to seven sections. The score is written with song lyrics (Fig. 2.9). The texts may be legendary or may express sentiments such as love, sorrowful dejection and melancholic longing. Pieces from the ritual music repertoire, such as *pu'an zhou* 普庵咒, *nanhai guanyin zan* 南海观音赞 and *Dizi Tanqian* 弟子坛前, occur in the *zhi* repertoire.

According to local musicians, *zhi* texts were initially not meant to be sung (except the ritual repertoire) but were provided to help memorize the music (Lü Chuikuan 1986a:18). *Zhi* is not the principal vocal repertoire, but *zhi* suites can be sung because the score provides text. When performed as a vocal piece, accompaniment is provided by the *shangsiguan* ensemble to open a recital; when played as an opening instrumental piece, the lead melodic role can be taken by a *nanyin* shawm, *dongxiao*, or *pinxiao* accompanied by both the *shangsiguan* and the *xiasiguan* ensembles.

It is not compulsory to perform all suite sections in a recital. On celebratory occasions and for street parades, pieces in slow tempo are omitted. Like much of traditional Chinese music, including the *daqu*, the sections in suites are performed successively following the progression from slow to quick. However, there are some exceptions. The Daoguang (1846) *zhi* manuscript contained 40 suites (Zheng Guoquan 2005:6), later expanded to 49 suites,<sup>36</sup> out of which only 28 start with 8/2 metre while all the others are in 4/2 and 4/4. This suggests that the choice of starting tempo in *nanyin* recitals is not as rigid as in *daqu*. *Zhi* suites, especially those in 8/2, are technically demanding, and only a few performers nowadays can sing a mere handful of *zhi* ballads.

### *Wudatao* 五大套 [Five Great Suites]

The *zhi* repertoire contains five suites known as *wudatao* 五大套 [Five Great Suites]: *Zilai shengchang* 自来生长 in F mode; *Xingan bazu* 心肝跋蹕 in G; *Yizhi xiangsi* 一纸

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<sup>36</sup> This excludes the Buddhist chant *Pu'an zhou* 普庵咒, which was later included in *Xianguan zhipu daquan* (Su Tongmou and Ding Shuiqing 2005b) to bring the total to 50.

相思 in C; *Chenshang huadeng* 趁赏花灯 in G; and *Weijun qushi* 为君去时 in C. *Nanyin* musicians acknowledge these as the most important works representing the comprehensive characteristics of the entire repertoire that form the basic learning material for every player. Musicians who can play these five major pieces competently would be recognised as masters. During exchange visits between *nanyin* groups, both host and guest groups will play a piece from the *wudatao* to demonstrate their knowledge of the repertoire and performance technique. These five suites never use *beisiguan* (D mode). People in *nanyin* circles consider *beisiguan* as a pun, as *beisi* could be interpreted as ‘betraying teacher’ (*beisi* 背師); some past masters apparently would not teach beginning students the D mode.

#### 2.4.2 *Qu* 曲

The repertoire of *qu* [ballads] consists of both ritual songs and extensive programmatic, legendary and operatic subjects. In the vocal section, *nanyin* ballads are accompanied by the Upper Four ensemble only. The singer plays the wooden clappers to emphasize accented beats.

There is a huge volume of songs in this repertoire, with lyrics both literary and vernacularized. The *qu* repertoire consists of *daliaoqu* 大撩曲 (or *qiliaoqu* 七撩曲), *sanqu* 散曲 (or *caoqu* 草曲) and *taoqu* 套曲 [cycles]. *Daliaoqu* refers to technically demanding songs in 8/2 metre. *Sanqu* [miscellaneous songs] are short popular ballads. *Taoqu* is a cycle of songs categorised in accordance with their mode and in sequential metres. The origin of *taoqu* is not traceable, but it is believed to have evolved from the Yuan dynasty (Chen Shilian and Lin Zhongrong 2008:14).

The exact number of ballads in the existing *qu* repertoire is not known, but thousands have been published in recent years. The frequently sung pieces are mostly from the popular opera songs. The characteristic features in *nanyin* pieces manifest an interwoven relationship between *gunmen*, *qupai*, and lyrics, and they give hints to tracing the history of the repertoire.

#### ***Characteristic features in nanyin composition – medley form***

*Nanyin* uses a popular compositional technique to combine tunes from different *qupai* and *gunmen* into a medley, though there is no vernacular term for this. Medleys

drawn from pre-existing melodies also occur in operatic genres. Bell Yung observes an analogous form in Cantonese opera:

[P]re-existing tunes are combined to form larger units or suites [which] may comprise a number of entirely different tunes. Called the *lianquti*, this kind of suite might appropriately be termed the “medley” form in English because of its obvious similarity to the “medley” of Western music. (Yung 1989:7)

Medley tunes feature a synthesis of several *gunmen* or *qupai*. For example, in the *zhi* suite *Duilinghua* 对菱花, the first section entitled *Duilinghua* in 8/2 metre is a medley of tunes from the *qupai* *Wushan shi'er feng* 巫山十二峰, the title of which suggests a combination of twelve different labelled melodies, all sourced from the ‘seven main branches’ *qupaiti* tune families (Appendix 1; Score 2; CD-2).

Not only are the compositions characterized by the use of medley form, but texts and titles of various existing songs are also used. This is one example: the titles of 42 *zhi* suites were reorganised and written as lyrics for the song *Qing qing xing* 轻轻行 and adapted to a pre-existing melody entitled *Zhonggun shisan qiang* 中滚十三腔, which was a medley of thirteen labelled melodies without melodic recurrences.

The numerals *shi'er* [12], *shisan* [13] etc. as in the titles of the above *gunmen* or *qupai* are obvious indications giving the number of melodic themes applied in the music. With this compositional technique, the composites of *gunmen* and *qupai* are repeatedly used in a majority of *nanyin* pieces, which helps to familiarize *nanyin* learners with the melodic patterns of the tune families.

### 2.4.3 *Pu* 譜

*Pu* (literally ‘scores’), also known as *dapu* 大譜, are instrumental suites written without text and are to be played by the Upper Four ensemble (*shangsiguan*) only. Because every *nanyin* recital concludes with a *pu* piece, this repertoire is also called *suapo* [finishing-up score] in Minnan dialect.

The *pu* repertoire consists of programmatic pieces with two to eight sections in each suite; these sections follow the usual gradual accelerating tempo progression. The sections are given programmatic titles of scenery, flowers, and birds, and the music well

depicts the context. The concept of *gunmen* metric system does not apply in *pu* suites, but some do consist of a group of labelled melodies.

The most salient features intended to demonstrate the technical virtuosity of the instrumentalists as the musical contents portray the titles are seen in the composition of the *Sidapu* 四大谱 [Four great scores]. In *Sishijing* 四时景 [Scenes of the four seasons], the technically demanding part is the embellishment by *dongxiao*; *Meihuacao* 梅花操 [Plum blossom suites] challenges the *sanxian* by the use of unusually high pitch; in *Bajunma* 八骏马 [Eight handsome horses], the kicking of the horses is interpreted by plucking rather than bowing the *erxian* fiddle; and *Bainiao guichao* 百鸟归巢 [Hundreds of birds returning to their nests] challenges the *pipa* by using unconventional finger positions (Lee Zhongrong, interview, 20 September 2009).

Twelve traditional *pu* suites are found in the manuscript *Wenhuantang zhipu* 文焕堂指谱 (1857), but this repertoire gradually increased to seventeen (Su Tongmou and Ding Shuiqing 2005b:1-2). Though new compositions were added in the 1950s and 1960s, the traditional pieces are still the most frequently performed (Appendix 2).

## 2.5 NANYIN IN RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTHERN FUJIAN

Theatrical and indigenous performing arts in various forms in China have co-influenced each other throughout history (Yung 1989:1). The relationship between *nanyin* and other performing arts in southern Fujian is often said to be like *xuerou xianglian* 血肉相连 [blood and flesh], meaning extremely close. *Nanyin*, reputed to be one of the oldest folk traditions, exerts immense influence on various major performing arts in Minnan (Chen Risheng, interview, 9 March 2010).

But cross-fertilization works both ways: *nanyin*'s musical contents have been enriched by operatic genres. The presence of the vernacular terms and many of the lyrics used in the *zhi* and *qu* repertoires were derived from the stories of the southern operas since Song times (Wang Yaohua 2001:32). Van der Loon's (1992) discovery of three volumes of Ming dynasty operatic anthologies was considered a unique contribution to the historical study of *nanyin*. More than 200 songs in those volumes have lyrics still

found today in *xianguan* [*nanyin*] song repertoire. These selected and shared songs further affirm the close relationship between *nanyin* and the classical Liyuan theatre since Ming.

The extant folk performing arts in Minnan most closely related to *nanyin* music are: *liyuanxi* 梨园戏, *gaojiaxi* 高甲戏, *muouxi* 木偶戏, *nanpai budaixi* 南派布袋戏, *dachengxi* 打城戏, and *zhumaxi* 竹马戏. Their nature and connections to *nanyin* are summarised below. Some of these theatrical arts are rarely performed nowadays whilst others have evolved and still enjoy popularity. A case study of a single song interpreted in traditional *nanyin*, *liyuanxi* and *gaojiaxi* will give an overview of the general interpretive differences in a macro context.

### 2.5.1 Classical opera – *Liyuanxi* 梨园戏

#### *Theatrical troupes in the pre-1949 era*

*Liyuan* [Pear Garden] is a famous name first used as the title of the conservatoire for court music: it was one of the four departments in the music bureau of the imperial government during the Tang dynasty (Yang Yinliu 2008 (1):233). The name thus represents a label of prestige and high performance standard for classical theatres and has also been adopted by contemporary Chinese operatic troupes and theatres in Beijing and Shanghai to elevate their professional status. Before the 1950s, there were three theatrical traditions in Minnan: *shangluxi* 上路戏 [upper-circuit troupes], *xia'nanxi* 下南戏 [down-south troupes],<sup>37</sup> and *qizixi* 七子戏 or *qiziban* 七子班 [seven-boy-actors troupes]. The first two, with mature players, came under *laoxi* 老戏 [old opera], also known as *daliyuan* 大梨园 [big *liyuan*], while *qizixi* was known as *xiaoliyuan* 小梨园 [little *liyuan*] (see below). Each of these three had its own distinctive repertoire. They were disbanded after 1949, and in 1953 the new classical theatre named the Experimental Minnan Theatre Company was founded. The term *liyuan* was added when the troupe was officially renamed as the Experimental Liyuan Theatre Company in 1957 (Van der Loon 1992:16).

The terms upper-circuit troupes and down-south troupes demarcate regional and stylistic differences: the former referred to troupes performing in areas north of Fujian province, particularly Zhejiang and northern Jiangxi, and the latter to a regional theatrical

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<sup>37</sup> Translations used by Van der Loon 1992:15. Chen Risheng, interview, 9 March 2010.

style of southern Fujian. The origin of the troupes remains conjectural (Sun Xingqun 1996: 39). Plays for the upper-circuit troupes were mostly stories of civil contexts ideologically based on Confucian virtues of loyalty, filial piety and moral integrity, as well as the emotionally expressive and sympathetic tales about ill-fated and lamenting women. Down-south troupes performed plays mainly about political struggles distinguishing righteousness from the crafty and evil power.

The seven-boy-actors troupes were called ‘little *liyuan*’ in the pre-1949 era. The emergence of boy actors was believed to be a consequence of women being completely banned from operatic performance at the turn of eighteenth century (Su Zheng 2001:407). Such small troupes were often maintained by rich families in their residence for private entertainment (Van der Loon 1992:18). The repertoire of the boy-actor troupes was mainly civil plays, and the themes generally centred on love stories. The lyrics concerned tragic separation, yearning for love, affection, and loneliness. The music of the upper-circuit troupe and the seven-boy-actors troupes was stylistically parallel to *nanyin* (Van der Loon 1992:15, Sun Xingqun 1996:195). The exact formation period of the upper-circuit and seven-boy-actors troupes is not traceable, but the performance of *qiziban* was documented in Taiwan in 1697 (Sun Xingqun 1996:213). This classical art form declined rapidly when the fighting and acrobatic feats in other plays such as *gaojiayi* became comparatively popular.

### ***Adaptation across genres***

The fifteen volumes of operatic genres *Quanzhou chuantong xiqu congshu* 泉州传统戏曲丛书 [Quanzhou traditional operatic genre series] compiled by Zheng Guoquan (1999-2000) affirm that *nanyin* songs frequently sung in recent decades were closely related to operas. For just one popular opera, *Lijingji* 荔镜记 (also named as *Chensan Wuniang* 陈三五娘 and *Lizhiji* 荔枝记 in different historical periods), over 150 songs were written to be selected from (Zheng Guoquan 2009:231). The lyrics of the operas enriched the *nanyin* vocal repertoire, and many operatic songs are still sung nowadays (Fujiansheng 1962:2). Out of the 71 stories in the *zhi* suites, 36 were found to be similar to those of *liyuan* plays (Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:160).

Whilst the three *liyuan* operatic traditions discussed above borrowed tunes from *nanyin*, they also have their respective repertoire styles. The plays of down-south troupes

were mostly vulgar and sarcastically witty, contrasting with the emotional sentiments of *nanyin*, so *nanyin* ballads were less often adapted from these troupes. However, the micro-stylistic difference only refers to contents of the plays; the musical components of these performing arts manifest inter-genre co-influences (Sun Xingqun 1996:195).

### ***Tempo variation***

*Nanyin*'s slow tempo allows the vocalist to demonstrate the technique of embellishment: elegant melodic interpretation and accurate diction are strongly emphasised. Conversely, operatic performance puts a major focus on bodily movements and delicate gestures for interpreting the role types, mood and ambience according to the story background. To emphasize the mood and enhance expression, lyrics are repeated and developed.<sup>38</sup> In general, the tempi of opera songs are faster than in *nanyin* performance, e.g. from 4/2 in *nanyin* to 4/4 in opera songs (Chapter 2.5.4 Case study), as choreographic movements, recitation and dialogues in between the singing need to be considered. Thus adjustments through metrical augmentation and diminution were made to suit different purposes.

### ***Musical influences***

A common *nanyin* refrain, *luolilian* (Ex. 4.11 in Chapter 4.3.4), which is from the labelled melody *Wengyige* 翁姨歌, often occurs in *liyuan* operas. *Luolilian* are vocables with no lexical meaning, possibly related to a Daoist incantation (Van der Loon 1992:20).

The background music for *liyuan* opera is usually played before and after the singing. There are three types of background ensemble music: *sixian* 丝弦 [strings and lute], *chuida* 吹打 [shawm band] and *luogubang* 锣鼓帮 [drum-and-gong] ensembles. The first two genres are related to *nanyin*; their repertoires are categorised into *nandiao* 南调 [southern tune] and *beipu* 北谱 [northern scores]. *Nandiao* refers to the southern repertoire, notated in *nanyin gongchepu* 工义谱, whilst *beipu* is the northern repertoire and employs the standard *gongche* notation 工尺谱 generally used by other northern Chinese genres. The background music of *liyuan* opera partly borrowed from the *nanyin zhi* and *pu* repertoires (Sun Xingqun 1996:196). It was also influenced by other popular *xiaodiao* 小调 [local ballads] and cross-regional folk genres.

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<sup>38</sup> See Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:161; Sun Xingqun 1996:187; Zheng Guoquan 2009:240, 243.

### 2.5.2 Street opera - *Gaojiaxi* 高甲戏

*Gaojiaxi* is a local folk opera genre believed to be in existence from late Ming to early Qing in the form of street operas; it originated as a celebrative parade during festivities with actors in make-up and costume. The genre was a mixture of singing, dancing and martial arts accompanied by local drum-and-gong ensembles. It was given various names in connection with performance content. At first, it was named *songjiangxi* 宋江戏,<sup>39</sup> then later *gejiaxi* 戈甲戏 [plays with weapons and armour]. Later, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, street opera groups evolved and developed into professional operatic troupes. The play themes were extended to encompass military, civil and clowning repertoire known as *hexingxi* 合兴戏 and *gaojiaxi* 高甲戏 [played on a high stage in armoured costume]. This is when the genre got the most commonly used name I am using here. It was in this period that *gaojiaxi* absorbed a huge number of labelled melodies from *nanyin* (Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:161). Other names used were *jiujiaxi* 九甲戏 [nine-armoured troupe] because the roles were based on the formation of seven-boy-actors troupes with two additional military roles; and *jiaojiaxi* 交加戏 [synthesized plays] when enriched with northern and southern operatic genres.<sup>40</sup> *Gaojiaxi* did not have its own repertoire: the plays were a synthesis of Beijing opera (*jingju* 京剧), *liyuanxi*, *muouxi* and other folk operas such as *zhumaxi* 竹马戏 (Chapter 2.5.3 below).

There were three types of *gaojiaxi* differentiated by thematic content: *daqixi* 大气戏 [court plays], *shengdanxi* 生旦戏 [civil and military plays] and *choudanxi* 丑旦戏 [clowning plays]. The *daqixi* and *shengdanxi* adopted *muouxi* music and *nanyin* labelled melodies. Often the melodies which *gaojiaxi* borrowed from *nanyin* were applied to the opera without any changes. The same song was even reused in different *gaojiaxi* plays for which the text matched the meaning of the story background. In *liyuan* opera, by contrast, a *nanyin* song was adopted only for the specific story it was written for.

The core music for clowning roles in *gaojiaxi* was derived mainly from local and non-local folk ballads, and therefore is less related to *nanyin*. The *nanyin* labelled melodies which were borrowed by *gaojiaxi* were the vividly short pieces which were easy

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<sup>39</sup> Initially *gaojiaxi* repertoire was mostly derived from the stories of *shuihuzhuan* 水浒传 [The water margin], one of the four major Chinese novels written from late Ming to early Qing; its most popular heroic figure was Song Jiang 宋江, hence this name became representative.

<sup>40</sup> For more information about names, see Van der Loon 1992:16; Sun Xingqun 1996:213.

to understand for ordinary audiences (Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:161; Sun Xingqun 1996:198). *Gaojiaxi*'s performance style was greatly influenced by *liyuan* opera: they shared much repertoire, because during the development processes, the teachers of *gaojiaxi* troupes were mostly *liyuan* performers. Compared to *liyuanxi*, the street operas are sonorous and exuberant.

In adapting to the style of *gaojiaxi* plays, the tempi of the music borrowed from *nanyin* were augmented or diminished as with *liyuan* opera. There are several ways in which *nanyin* melodies are modified to fit the performance style of *gaojiaxi*. The most obvious and distinguishable difference is that the *gaojiaxi* singing style is terse and the melody is close to the skeletal melody of the notation. An excerpt of a piece *Qiutianwutong* 秋天梧桐 from the *nanyin* song repertoire is borrowed by *gaojiaxi* and renamed as *Yishuo* 伊说 with different text content but the same labelled melody *Fumalang* 福马郎. The interpretation in *nanyin* vocal is ornamented and with *pipa* tremolo (Ex. 2.17), whilst the *gaojiaxi* version simplifies the main theme but maintains the framework of the original *nanyin* piece (Ex. 2.18).

*Qiutianwutong*  
秋天梧桐

Wukongguan  
Jinsanliao  
Qupai: Fumalang (Excerpt from Wang and Liu 1989: 165)

秋 天 梧 桐 落 叶 金 井  
寒 衣 背 送 (不 汝) 寒 衣  
背 送 未 知 边 关 路 底 去

Ex. 2.17 *Qiutianwutong* 秋天梧桐 – *nanyin* version

*Yishuo*  
伊说

Wukongguan  
Jinsanliao  
Qupai: Fumalang (Excerpt from Wang and Liu 1989: 164)

伊 说 时 常 问 公 主 一 齐  
去 到 伊 一 齐 去 到 海 岸 边

Ex. 2.18 *Yishuo* 伊说 - *gaojiaxi* version<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Excerpt from Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:164. The original version is in *wukong pinguan* (a minor 3<sup>rd</sup> higher), and this is transposed to *wukongguan* by myself for easy comparison.

The melody might be segmented and used as interludes in *gaojiaxi*, and it may recur several times in different places within the same song. Two features which characterise the use of melody in *gaojiaxi* are *jiajie* 加介 and *bangqiang* 帮腔. *Jiajie* is additional percussion embellishment on long notes to dramatize the atmosphere, and *bangqiang* features a background chorus to echo the verses and enhance the expression. These features are added to the original *nanyin* music.

### 2.5.3 Other folk performing arts genres in southern Fujian

In addition to *liyuan* and *gaojia* theatrical genres, folk performing arts in southern Fujian include: *muouxi* 提线木偶 [marionettes], *nanpai budaixi* 南派布袋戏 [southern glove puppets], *dachengxi* 打城戏 [Storming the Fortress (of Hell) Theatre]<sup>42</sup> and *xhumaxi* 竹马戏 [bamboo horse opera]. There are many musical similarities among these performing arts genres as they all draw popular repertoire from each other and from *nanyin*.

#### ***Muouxi* 提线木偶**

Two types of puppetry exist in southern Fujian: *muouxi* and *budaixi* 布袋戏. *Muouxi* is also known as *kuilei* 傀儡 and ‘marionette theatre’ (name used by R. Ruizendaal). Its roots have been traced back to the Han dynasty (202BC-220AD), when it was first related to exorcism and funerals and later became a secular entertainment (Yang Yinliu 2008 (1):125; Ruizendaal 2006:15).

The *muouxi* theatre has its own distinctive repertoire named *kuileidiao* 傀儡调 [marionette music], but it also shares over thirty labelled melodies with the *nanyin* song repertoire and some musical elements with the *pu* instrumental music repertoire (Zhongguo minzu minjian qiyuequ 2001:14). The marionette theatre was known for its historical plays with martial content; as such, it used mainly northern melodies which were identified as loud and less refined (Ruizendaal 2006:170). *Muouxi*’s repertoire of nearly 500 individual labelled melodies are a hybrid of *nanyin* music, northern melodies and the musical elements of *liyuan* opera, as well as Daoist and Buddhist ritual music (Sun Xingqun 1996:200; Ruizendaal 2006:170, 270). During *muouxi* performance, musicians and players at the back of the stage assist with the choral accompaniment

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<sup>42</sup> Translated by Van der Loon 1992:35.

(*bangqiang*). The common refrain *luolilian* from *nanyin* is usually sung at the end of the play by all members of the puppet group (Ruizendaal 2006:171).

*Nanyin* songs with lyrics about love stories are rarely adopted by *muouxi*, but several instrumental pieces from the *nanyin* repertoire are used as background music. *Muouxi* is performed for several kinds of religious functions nowadays following local tradition and at the special request of the organiser. Such activities include funerals, weddings, thanksgiving to all kinds of deities, and inauguration and renovation of temples and ancestral halls (Ruizendaal 2006:185-7).

### ***Nanpai budaixi* 南派布袋戏**

The genre of glove puppetry is divided into northern and southern styles. The northern style is performed in the Zhangzhou area and adopts musical elements of Beijing opera. The southern style (*nanpai budaixi*) discussed here is performed in the Quanzhou region and could still be seen in temple fairs during my field trips. The genre is a hybrid of its own repertoire with elements of *muouxi* music and stronger influences from *nanyin* ballads. Southern glove puppetry maintains the musical framework and thematic materials of *nanyin* with variations mainly by adding prelude, interlude and postlude, and with changes in tempi (Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:169).

### ***Dachengxi* 打城戏**

*Dachengxi* was also called *xiao kaiyuan* 小开元 in the Quanzhou area. Known for its acrobatics, it was originally a ritual celebrated by Daoist priests and Buddhist monks to save suffering spirits from purgatory, or to rescue wandering souls to protect people from disasters. Due to the government's repression of 'superstition' since the Reform period of the 1980s, official *dacheng* opera troupes no longer exist, but as a part of rites for the dead (*gongde*) performed by folk Buddhist/Daoists ritualists, it is very much alive in towns and rural areas (Hwee-San Tan 2005).

### ***Zhumaxi* 竹马戏**

The bamboo opera (*zhumaxi*) was an indigenous genre which reflected the livelihood of people in rural villages in southern Fujian. It was documented by a Christian minister, François Valentijn, who witnessed it in Ambon, Indonesia in 1711: "the players had a

framework covered with paper around the waist, a horse's head at one end and the tail at the other" (quoted in Van der Loon 1992:29).

*Nanyin* music sung in the vernacular of Quanzhou was the main musical genre of *zhumaxi*. It adopted *nanyin* labelled melodies and instrumental music repertoire for background music and integrated northern influences (Sun Xingqun 1996:199; Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:170). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, the two main prefectures of South Fujian, had different dialects (Van der Loon 1992:1). The musical repertoire was not further developed in Zhangzhou most probably because of this linguistic problem: in earlier times, the players were mostly illiterate, and oral transmission was restricted by the use of Quanzhou dialect. No attempt was made to adapt the genre to the local Zhangzhou vernacular, so the genre gradually lost support and finally became extinct (Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:170).

#### 2.5.4 Case study – *Lijingji* 荔镜记

The comparative discussions below attempt to illustrate how *nanyin* musical elements are integrated into different operatic folk genres. The earliest traceable *liyuan* opera script was the engraved version entitled *Lijingji* (Tale of the Lychee and Mirror) known more widely as *Chensan Wuniang* 陈三五娘, published in 1566; this is the earliest publication of *nanyin* song repertoire (Zheng Guoquan 2009:77). The rationale for choosing this piece as the case study is because it frequently occurs in both *liyuan* and *gaojia* operas, and the song *Yinsong gesao* 因送哥嫂 [Sending off my brother and sister-in-law] is sung in nearly every household. The story of *Chensan Wuniang* is briefly described below:

During the Lantern Festival on the 15<sup>th</sup> of the first lunar month, ladies of wealthy families would go out with their maids to see the lanterns. Wuniang, daughter of a rich Chaozhou family, accompanied by her maid Yichun, met the young man Chensan from Quanzhou whilst enjoying the lanterns. It was love at first sight. Chensan was on the way to send off his brother and sister-in-law to take up an official position in a neighbouring province. He returned to look for Wuniang in June. She was at the balcony when she saw Chensan walking by and threw a stalk of lychees to him. Chensan was eager to be with Wuniang, so he pretended to be a mirror repairer. He purposely broke the precious antique mirror which Wuniang's family gave him for polishing and offered his servitude

to work for the family for three years in compensation for the damage. Despondent with no chance to get near Wuniang because of his servitude status, Chensan decided to leave by singing *Yinsong gesao* to express his admiration and to say farewell to Wuniang.<sup>43</sup> I have translated the lyrics as follows:

因送哥嫂(於)卜去广南城	To send off my brother and sister-in-law, I headed for the city of Guangnan (Exx. 2.19-2.21)
才到潮州喜遇上元灯(於)月明	Arriving in Chaozhou, it was a great delight to see the celebration of the full moon Lantern Festival
偶然灯下遇見阿娘有只絕群娉婷	By chance, I caught a glimpse of you, a beauty of none other, stood amidst the lanterns....
见恁娇姿绝色女(於)	Deeply enchanted was I by the sight of your charm and beauty (Ex. 2.22)
即会惹动我只一种相思	Completely enthralled by you was I, at first sight (Exx. 2.23-2.24)
勉强送哥嫂(於)次早起程	I woke early the next morning, to send off my brother and his wife in haste
一身为恁割吊	Yearning to meet you again soon
即会离別我胞兄轉回潮州	I returned in haste to Chaozhou after departing from my brother
骏马雕鞍游遍街市	Around the streets I roamed, on a handsome horse (Ex. 2.25)
	[On a handsome horse, on a handsome horse I roamed around Chaozhou (Exx. 2.26-2.27)]
对恁楼前经过	Passing by your place
往來來真個難解意馬心猿	Pacing restlessly back and forth, I lose myself in the thought of you, my heart pounding recklessly
幸逢六月恁在楼上适兴	It was in June when I chanced upon you leaning leisurely on the balcony (Exx. 2.28-2.30)
你掠荔枝投落卜來共我眼里偷情	You threw a lychee at me; catching each other's eyes, we felt a deep longing for each other
我估叫, 估叫恁有真心 我即故意打破宝鏡	Hazarding a guess that you are true to my heart I deliberately broke the precious mirror

<sup>43</sup> Quanzhou *nanyin* jichu jiaocheng bianweihui. 2009. *Quanzhou nanyin jichu jiaocheng* [Basic teaching material for Quanzhou *nanyin*], pp. 97-101.

愿甘心(於)捧盆水共恁掃廳堂	And willingly cleaned your household [as a servant]
我一心望卜共您喜会荔枝姻盟	How I wish we could be together forever
誰知今旦(於)说是錯手無定	Now that you said this [throwing a lychee] was by chance
既然那是錯手罗帕夙世前缘	Be it a lucky chance, a dream, or an unfinished love story brought from our previous incarnations
都是阿娘你今親手綉成	It was all hand-crafted by you, my beauty
你今日那卜亏心何卜騙我恁厝空行	Today I feel deceived coming to see you in vain
相思一病了会送南幽冥	Pining for you, I felt sickly
懨懨成病大半了会送南幽冥	So sickly was I for so long that death came knocking on my door ....

The excerpts of the same song from the performances in three video recordings – *nanyin*<sup>44</sup>, *liyuanxi*<sup>45</sup> and *gaojiaxi*<sup>46</sup> (Exx. 2.19-30) – demonstrate the similarities and interpretive differences in tempo, use of instruments, text, and styles.<sup>47</sup> The metronome markings indicate approximate speed; there is some flexibility in performance.

Yinsong Gesao  
因送哥嫂

Qupai: Duan xiangsi  
bb.1-6  
♩ = 60

Nanyin

因 送 哥 嫂 於  
卜 去 广 南 城 *rall.*

Ex. 2.19 *Nanyin*, bb.1-6 (DVD-1, 0:06-1:01)

<sup>44</sup> Fujiansheng Yinxiang Chubanshe. Undated. “Yinsong Gesao’ in *Nanyin: Quanzhou xianguan*”. *Renlei feiwuzhi wenhua yichan daibiaozuo* [Representative works of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity]. Quanzhou Wenhua Ju (ed.). Vocalist: Zhou Chengzai. ISRC CN-E17-09-301-00/V.J8.

<sup>45</sup> Shanghai Dianying zhipianchang. 1998 [1957]. Excerpt. Minnan: *Chensan Wuniang* [Minnan: Chensan and lady Wuniang]. Yiuxiu chuantong xiqu: Minnan. VCD. Cai Ziqiang, Su Wushui, Su Ou, Lin Yuhua (actors). Yang Xiaozhong (director). Distributor: Beijing Dianying Luyin Luxiang Company. A08-97-0166-0/V.9.

<sup>46</sup> Xiamenshi Jinliansheng Gaojia jutuan. 2008. Excerpt. *Chensan Wuniang* [Chensan and lady Wuniang]. Hong Dongxi, Wu Jingjing and Lin Liya (actors). One of the *Gaojia jingdian chuantong lianbenxi ‘Lijingyuan’*. Distributor: Fujiansheng Yinxiang Chubanshe. ISRC CN-E17-08-0060-0/V.J8.

<sup>47</sup> My transcriptions, based on the video recordings and Score 3, and corrected after consultation with my teacher Zeng Jiayang.

bb.1 - 6  
♩ = 120

Liyuanxi

因送哥嫂卜去广南

城

Ex. 2.20 *Liyuanxi*, bb.1-6 (DVD-1, 8:54-9:12)

bb.1 - 6  
♩ = 72

Gaojiaoxi

因送哥

嫂卜去广南城

accelerando

Ex. 2.21 *Gaojiaoxi*, bb.1-6 (DVD-1, 11:10-43)

The singing of *gaojiaxi* is in *sikongguan* (F), but to facilitate easy comparison, the excerpts are transcribed into *wukongguan* (G). The *gaojiaxi* version starts slowly and gradually accelerates. The durations of these operatic excerpts are much shorter than that of the *nanyin* version.

The much slower tempo in *nanyin* allows the ornamentation to be more complex, therefore the melodic lines in *nanyin* singing are much more embellished. In *nanyin pipa* fingering, upward (↗) and downward slides (↘) are so pronounced as to split the note of the skeletal score into two separately sounded pitches. The characteristic abrupt ending to a phrase and the accented short break-off note are evident in the *nanyin* version. It also appears in the opera versions, suggesting the sharing of stylistic features as well as the basic melody among the genres. The tempo in the *liyuanxi* part is stable, whereas that in *gaojiaxi* is very flexible, starting slow and accelerating in b.4. The less embellished interpretation in the two operas emphasizes the focus on stage actions.

In the *liyuanxi* version, a 1957 performance, the instruments were *pipa*, *dongxiao*, *suona*, *erxian* and *sanxian*. Clappers are not used in opera singing, and the sound of *suona* in *liyuanxi* is not as sharp as in *gaojiao*. This is a civil play in which heavy percussion instruments are not commonly used. The *liyuanxi* version, however, does not start with *pipa* tremolo (first bar in Ex. 2.20 above). The *gaojiaxi* version starts with a *pipa* tremolo as in the *nanyin* version, and is followed by *dongxiao* and *erhu* – but as soon as the vocal

part starts, *suona* becomes the accompanying instrument and other percussion such as drum and cymbals also accompany the singing. The modern addition of a cello can be heard in the bass part.

The song by the *nanyin* vocalist is in full text (Score 3) with all the details of the episode, and it is sung straight through to the end, unlike the operas in which the story line is interrupted by dialogues. The video excerpts cut off at bar 46 where the dialogue first enters. In the *liyuanxi* and *gaojiaxi* versions, bars 13-17 where Chensan praises Wuniang's beauty and charm are eliminated in order to keep the flow of excitement: the text moves directly to describing how Chensan is captivated after meeting Wuniang. Similarities in text are seen in *liyuanxi* and *gaojiaxi* parts (Exx. 2.23-24). Texts in *liyuanxi* and *gaojiaxi* are the same in this section but different from *nanyin*.

bb.15-19  
♩ = 66

Nanyin

见 恁 娇 姿 绝 色 女 (於) 即 会  
惹 动 我 只 一 种 相 思

Ex. 2.22 *Nanyin*, bb.15-19 (DVD-1, 2:09-39)

bb.16-19  
♩ = 66

Liyuanxi

惹 我 一 见  
无 限 痴 情

Ex. 2.23 *Liyuanxi*, bb.16-19 (DVD-1, 9:45-57)

bb.16-19  
♩ = 63

Gaojiaxi

惹 我 一 见 无 限 痴 情

Ex. 2.24 *Gaojiaxi*, bb.16-19 (DVD-1, 12:15-26)

The descriptive lyrics from bar 20 to the 3<sup>rd</sup> beat of b.29 were removed in the opera versions. The text goes straight on instead to describe Chensan riding a horse anxiously looking for Wuniang (Exx. 2.26-7). Immediate repetition of the last beats of b.29 to the first two beats of b.30 is used to emphasize Chensan's urge. This repetition does not appear in the *nanyin* version (Ex. 2.25).

bb.29 - 32  
♩ = 76

29  
Nanyin

骏 马 雕 鞍 游 遍 街 市

Ex. 2.25 *Nanyin*, bb.29-32 (DVD-1, 3:38-53)

bb. 29-32  
♩ = 76

29  
Liyuanxi

骏 马 雕 鞍 (不 汝) 骏 马

雕 鞍 游 遍 潮 州

Repetition of bb.29-30

Ex. 2.26 *Liyuanxi*, bb.29-32 (DVD-1, 10:10-30 with repetition of lyrics: on a handsome horse)

bb.29-32  
♩ = 84

29  
Gaojixi

骏 马 雕 鞍 (不 汝) 骏 马

雕 鞍 游 遍 潮 州

Repetition of bb.29-30

accelerando

Ex. 2.27 *Gaojixi*, with repetition, bb.29-32 (DVD-1, 12:38-52)

In all three versions, similarity in text is found in bars 38-42 of Score 3 (excerpted below in Exx. 2.28-30).

bb.38 - 42  
♩ = 84

38  
Nanyin

幸 逢 六 月 恁 在

楼 上 适 兴

Ex. 2.28 *Nanyin*, bb.38-42 (DVD-1, 4:25-48)

bb.38 - 42  
♩ = 84

Liyuanxi

幸 逢 六 月 恁 在  
楼 上 适 兴

Ex. 2.29 *Liyuanxi*, bb.38-42 (DVD-1, 10:30-46)

bb.38 - 42  
♩ = 84

Gaojiayi

幸 逢 六 月 恁 在 楼 上 适 兴

Ex. 2.30 *Gaojiayi*, bb.38-42 (DVD-1, 12:53-13:03)

The above exemplify some of the features of the shared repertoire. In general, the lyrics of songs chosen from *nanyin* repertoire and used in various operatic genres are altered, eliminated or repeated in adaptation to the mood and flow of the plays. Vocal ornamentations on ‘nonsense’ syllables such as *ng-li* or *yü* in *nanyin* (Fig. 2.12) are not sung in the operas. The tempi of the songs in operas are often faster, melodic lines less embellished and instrumentation augmented as compared to *nanyin* singing.

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

*Nanyin* is a distinctive ancient living musical tradition in southern Fujian. The study of the genre is pertinent to the study of the language, literature, culture and history of southern Fujian. A composite of research findings on *nanyin* and the revelatory insights of various scholars have contributed greatly to the study.

The music is said to be related to the earliest traceable Chinese music, *xianghe ge* of the Han dynasty, which originated in the north but spread widely and became infused with many regional folk genres, evolving and developing over time. This premise is based on the shared cross-genre musical terms and instrumentation outlined below; similarities are found in many Chinese music genres.

Like many other Chinese musics, *nanyin* is usually performed in the progression of slow-fast-slow with a ritardando ending. This feature is always referred to as a remnant of

*daqu*. Scholars have found similarities and differences between *nanyin*, *xianghe ge* and *daqu*.<sup>48</sup>

In *nanyin*, the basic structural form is a complex tune family (*gunmen*) system, inextricably intertwined with mode and metre and associated with the use of pre-existing tunes (*qupai*). The tune family consists of two systems: *qupaiti* [labelled melody form] with basically pre-existing tunes in a text-tune relationship, and *gunmenti* [metric-variant form], where the same musical features appear in various fixed metric patterns. The metric-variant form resembles the *xipi* system of Beijing opera, which features the reappearance of the main melody in different metres, such as 4/2 - 4/4 - 2/4. Nevertheless, the folk musicians find the concept of *qupaiti* and *gunmenti* hard to understand. Following the convention of slow to quick metrical progression, they almost always assume that the faster metre represents the newer ‘generation’ (Appendix 1).

The concept of *qupai* is significant in the compositional history of Chinese music and operatic genres. To trace the roots of adapting *qupai* to music, Bell Yung includes a comprehensive statement:

It is generally accepted that during the early stages in the development of Chinese poetic genres such as *chi* (*ci*) and *kuk* (*qu*), poems were composed to be sung rather than simply read. As certain tunes became popular among poets, new poems were composed to fit them. The procedure was feasible even for poets who were not musically oriented as long as the new texts followed the verse structure of the model with regard to patterns of beat, phrase structure, and, with some flexibility, the sequence of linguistic tones. Since the verse structure was derived from the musical characteristics of the tune in the first place, conforming to it ensured that the new poems would automatically be suitable for musical performance. (Bell Yung 1989:128)

The *nanyin* ensemble is in two groups: the melodic group is the Upper Four ensemble and the percussion group is the Lower Four ensemble. The melodic group is responsible for producing heterophony. Besides *nanyin*, in other Chinese *sizhu* [silk-and-bamboo] genres including Cantonese music and *Jiangnan sizhu* of Shanghai, heterophony occurs, but Witzleben states that *Jiangnan sizhu* differs from *nanyin* in that “no single instrument actually plays the skeleton melody; in fact, the leading instruments tend to play the most ornamented melodic lines” (1995:109). This draws a distinction between the two genres, because for *nanyin*, the *pipa* is the leading instrument and plays the skeletal notes to which other instruments add embellishments (Ex. 2.12 above).

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<sup>48</sup> Nora Yeh 1985:67-8; Chou Chiener 2001:54-5.

The ideal melodic line in Chinese instrumental music greatly relies on the players' improvisatory technique. Gao Houyong (1981:223-5) asserts the predominance of ascending and descending melodic movements with fewer sudden leaps or changes of direction than in, for example, Western music. He exemplifies some of the characteristics of traditional embellishments with the presence of ornamentation in small intervallic gaps, use of waving and winding motivic movements instead of scalewise running lines, and with a well balanced structure. Thrasher believes that the Chinese character *qu* 曲 [song] bears an ideological implication of cultural significance as *qu* historically could mean 'twisted', 'crooked' or 'bent' which are meaningful for relating it with other cultural phenomenon (Thrasher 2008:76). The field recording (CD-1) demonstrates the melodic lines of *dongxiao* and *erxian* which present ascending and descending motivic movements without dramatic stylistic contrasts as well as the typical heterophonic texture of *nanyin*.

*Nanyin* encompasses three instrumental and vocal repertoires, *zhi*, *pu* and *qu*, in which some musical elements and the performance structure were found to be close to Tang court music *daqu*. In response to the musical similarities claimed by researchers, Nora Yeh argues:

[A]lthough *daqu* and *nanguan* [*nanyin*] share a few common musical terms, we still cannot prove that they correspond to the same musical realities. Yet a relationship between them is highly probable because there has been, and still is, a tendency among the populace to look to the imperial or national government for guidance. The performance of *daqu* in the Tang court could have been imitated in part by the Min court in Fujian. It would hardly be surprising had *nanguan* absorbed something from the *daqu*. (Nora Yeh 1985:70)

The repertoires consist of a huge number of instrumental and vocal pieces, and these are borrowed by local performance arts genres. In the previous section of this Chapter, I showed that *nanyin* music did not exist in isolation but was interrelated with the folk performing genres in such a way that musical components were varied and integrated through melodic diminution, augmentation and contrasting tempi, into the operatic repertoire of civil plays in *liyuanxi*, *gaojiaxi*, *muouxi* and other local folk theatrical genres, contents of which are compatible with the characteristics of *nanyin*. Each genre's realisation of the repertoire is distinctive: the *liyuan* opera focuses on the movements and dialogue, and music is adapted according to the themes of the play; *Gaojiaxi* adopts short and lively *nanyin* melodies and re-uses them in different themes. These performing arts genres have drawn musical elements from each other and were also substantially influenced by regional genres of the neighbouring provinces. The case study reveals that

despite the discrepancies found, many similarities prevail and the melodic contour is generally similar to *nanyin*. The interaction and sharing seen among various performing arts is characteristic of the musical culture of southern Fujian.

## CHAPTER THREE

### *NANYIN* TRADITION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

#### Issues of identity, ethnicity, social standing and gender

The field of ethnomusicology embraces a wide variety of historical approaches. Kay Shelemay's belief in "the potential that a synchronic study holds for illuminating the historical continuum from which it emerged" (1980:233) suggests that important aspects of a culture's history are mirrored in present musical practices. Timothy Rice (1987:475) emphasizes that the historical element is "a primary issue, a fundamental process, a given of music-making"; he proposes the examination of how people created music in the past as one of the formative conceptual processes in his 1987 model for ethnomusicological research. In this Chapter, I will examine the history and geographical aspects of *nanyin* music as a starting point and discuss further how issues of identity, social prestige (or standing) and gender link the past to the present.

Studies by Taiwanese and Minnanese *nanyin* scholars provide valuable references and assumptions for the historical background of the genre.<sup>49</sup> This chapter examines the historical construction of *nanyin* in the motherland and looks briefly into major chronological accounts of history in relation to the genre from political, social and cultural perspectives.

Although the performance of *nanyin* in the diaspora is not within the scope of this research, emigration of the Minnanese from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to many other Southeast Asian countries, and in earlier times to Taiwan, requires some foray into diasporic contexts, especially since the revival of the genre in southern Fujian was inspired and encouraged by diasporic *nanyin* activities mainly in Taiwan, as well as by exchange with other *nanyin* societies in Southeast Asia. These developments had great political and economic impact in southern Fujian during the economic reform period of the 1980s. Therefore, a succinct overview of the historical and geographical background leading to the diasporic dissemination of *nanyin* is included below.

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<sup>49</sup> Nora Yeh 1985; Wang Ying-fen 1986; Lü Chuikuan 1986b; Chou Chiener 2001; Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989; Zheng Guoquan 2009; Chen Yanting 2008.

The issue of music's relationship to identity, ethnicity, prestige and gender is indeed played out in the geographical and historical development of *nanyin* to the present and will therefore frame my discussions in this chapter. Before the 1950s, the identity of *nanyin* was more locally-rooted, manifesting multifarious social status, gender and performance contexts. The shifts in identity are seen over different periods of time and place, and the processes of feminization in *nanyin* practice since the beginning of the PRC regime in 1949 bring out interesting gender issues. Equally, to highlight the theme of ethnicity, I will present a case study to examine *nanyin*'s role in reconstructing Muslim ethnicity in Chendai.

### 3.1 HISTORICAL ROOTS OF *NANYIN*

The indigenous inhabitants of Jinjiang were the aboriginal Min tribes. Being a remote coastal area, Fujian was less susceptible to military invasion and thus became a political shelter in the early centuries of the first millennium. After the unification of China under Emperor Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 in 221BC, Han immigrants from central China started settling down in this southeastern coastal region (Wang Renzhi 2001:24). The inflow of immigrants to Jinjiang greatly increased due to different periods of political turmoil, internal warfare and natural disasters inland.<sup>50</sup> The major historical upheavals spurring immigration into Jinjiang were: the Yongjia chaos 永嘉之乱 (AD304), the Houjing revolt 侯景之乱 (AD547), the Min peasants' revolt 闽獠啸乱 (AD669), and the Huangchao peasants' revolt 黄巢之乱 (AD878-84). Since the Jin dynasty 晋朝 (AD265-420), the people from central China who had migrated to southern Fujian lived in lineage groups along the Nan'an River; the area was thus renamed Jinjiang 晋江, 'Jin [dynasty] River' during the Tang dynasty. The prefecture of Jinjiang was established in the year 718 with Quanzhou as the administrative centre.

The influx of people from central China during these immigration waves brought the culture, life-style and working skills of the more developed northern civilizations and paved the way for the germination of *nanyin*.

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<sup>50</sup> For more detailed studies on early history, culture and immigration in Fujian, see Wang Mingming 1993; Hook 1996:2-19; Chen Yanting 2008:19; Lü Liangbi and Chen Kui 2008: Introduction, pp.2-5.

### 3.1.1 *Nanyin's relation to earlier musical forms*

The Tang dynasty (618-907) marked an era of dynamic power militarily, economically and culturally. Based on musical similarities and archaeological discoveries, many musicologists consider different regional genres including *nanyin* to be remnants of Tang dynasty court music (Zhongguo quyizhi 2006:74; Chapters 2.4).

Though some *nanyin* song titles may seem similar to those recorded from the Tang era, this does not establish clear and solid links. Organological links have also been examined: the horizontally held position of the crooked-necked lute *nanyin pipa*, the correspondence in length of the *nanyin dongxiao* end-blown flute (*chiba* 尺八) made according to the Tang dynasty measuring system, and the five-slab wooden clapper *paiban*, which has apparent relatives in Tang times (Zhongguo quyizhi 2006:74).

Wang Shenzhi 王審之, governor of Quanzhou in 907, was a music connoisseur who placed strong emphasis on ceremonial rites with music. It has been argued that Governor Wang initiated the seating arrangement of the *nanyin* ensemble which is still seen today (Liu Honggou 1981:39). However, the germination of *nanyin* is likely a result of a hybridization process under different socio-cultural circumstances in different historical periods.

The musical interactions between Quanzhou court musicians and local musicians most likely resulted in the dissemination of music to the wider Minnan society and the cross-influences between the court and local genres; the music was transformed, acquiring strong local characteristics (Fujiansheng, Quanzhoushi and Xiamenshi 1962:1). Such co-influences could happen in different temporal and spatial musical encounters. Therefore it is not surprising that remnants of *daqu* are found in *nanyin*, but this does not mean that they were interpreted in the same way (Chapter 2.4).

#### ***Impacts of classical poetic forms and opera in nanyin***

The Song dynasty (960-1279) is generally referred to by historians and sinologists as a period of Chinese renaissance.<sup>51</sup> Alongside developments in science and printing, it was a period of conservatism in culture, which is reflected in the revival of Confucian

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<sup>51</sup> For more about Song civilization, see Gernet 1999:330-7; Wang Mingming 2009:99-100.

tradition led by the prominent philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200).<sup>52</sup> In literature, Song *ci* 宋词, a new genre of poem parallel in significance with *shi* 詩, the classical poetic form of the Tang dynasty, became dominant. Many of these new Song poems were adapted to fit into the existing melodies of operas and songs; with active input by intellectuals, such adaptation became the norm during the Song dynasty, and its influences were found in *nanyin* (Chapter 2.5).

Under the Mongol regime in the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), southern Chinese intellectuals felt themselves sidelined and discriminated against. They formed *shuhui* 读书会 [reading societies] and wrote libretti for theatrical and musical genres such as *nanyin* to express their disaffection and emotions.<sup>53</sup> As southern opera had been popular since the Song dynasty, these literary influences greatly revitalized both genres by integrating labelled melodies from northern music. Thus *nanyin* continued to be greatly influenced by both southern and northern musical genres.

### ***Hypothetical period of maturity***

*Nanyin* probably matured during the mid-Ming dynasty; developments which point to this include the discovery of compilations of *nanyin* scores completed in the years 1522-66 by a *nanyin* musician in Hui'an (Zhongguo quyizhi 2006:75) and the discovery of three volumes of Ming operatic anthologies printed in 1604 (Chapter 2.5), without musical notation except for *paiban* markings for some pieces. As libretti of operas and the lyrics of songs were closely associated with the intellectuals, the genres were well documented during Ming.

During the later part of the Ming Dynasty, *nanyin* activities were most likely widespread in rural Jinjiang as several *nanyin* societies were known to have been established in this period. The first *nanyin* society, Shenhu Yubinshe 深沪御宾社 in the town of Shenhu, was formed in 1632 and remains active today.

### ***Performance climax in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911)***

From the discovery of various *nanyin* manuscripts written in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Chapter 1.2.5), it can be assumed that many of these manuscripts were circulated among

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<sup>52</sup> Wang Mingming 2009:99; Lü Liangbi and Chen Kui 2008: Introduction; Hook 1996:5.

<sup>53</sup> Wang Renzhi 2001:5; Yang Yinliu 2008(2):459-60; Gernet 1999:368-9.

the music societies in Minnan and abroad and that *nanyin* practice was at its historical climax in the mid-Qing dynasty.

The music is said to have achieved prominence after a legendary performance in the imperial palace in Beijing by five Jinjiang musicians for Emperor Kangxi's 60<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1713, which greatly elevated the prestige of *nanyin* and further popularized the genre all over Minnan. This legend however is not supported by any documented evidence. Even today, on every *nanyin* stage and in street parades, a symbolic colourful royal parasol and a palace lantern representing a kind of imperial insignia are considered to be compulsory displays; such items were said to have been awarded by the Qing Emperor after the performance. Four wood-crafted lion foot-rests painted in gold, of a type also believed to have been provided for the *nanyin* instrumentalists by the Emperor, are often seen in the stage set-up for formal performances (Fig. 2.6).

Retracing the metrical marking in an early score disseminated to Japan, Chinese musicologist He Changlin believed that the metrical marking system in *nanyin* has been evolving since the 7<sup>th</sup> century (quoted by Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989: 400). He also surmised that this system matured during Qing, as in 1746 the metrical system took shape in major musical scores compiled by order of Emperor Qian Long (ibid:400-1).

In terms of instrumentation, Lü Chuikuan claims that more instruments were included in *nanyin* probably during and before the 19<sup>th</sup> century; in an old manuscript *Xingping Zouzhi puji* 昇平奏指谱集, an illustration mapping seventeen pitch locations on a *sheng* 笙 [free-reed mouth-organ] provides proof of the use of this instrument (Lü Chuikuan 1986b (1):30). Lü believes that the *zheng* 箏 zither, *tong-zhong* 銅鐘 [a bronze bell-like piece], and *yunluo* 雲鑼 [a set of ten or more small tuned gongs in a frame] were also included in the *nanyin* ensemble. By the Republican period (1911-49), the *zheng* and *sheng* were no longer part of *nanyin*, and the *tong-zhong* and *yunluo* were eliminated during the 1970s (ibid:30). According to *nanyin* musicians in Minnan, some of these are not used currently, apparently because the *sheng*'s pitch is unstable and changes with the weather, while *yunluo* is difficult to carry and its timbre can be replaced by *xiangzhan* and the small gong of *jiaoluo*.

In late Qing, *nanyin* playing was not restricted to the elite: even a few people in a village could form a group and hire a teacher. In the Jinjiang countryside, *nanyin*

activities were documented, albeit scantily. *Nanyin* groups converged in venues called *guan* 馆 [hall] or *ge* 阁 [pavilion] where people gathered regularly to enjoy music-making (Zheng Guoquan 2009:406). This *guan'ge* phenomenon pervaded most villages and towns. Many large *nanyin* societies arose in southern Fujian at this time. In 1762, Yulexuan Qufang 御乐轩曲坊 was established in Zhangzhou region, and in 1858 three major societies appeared in Quanzhou: Lingchangge 灵裳阁, Huifengge 回风阁 and Shengpingzou 升平奏.

### 3.1.2 Historical outward migration tides

Jinjiang, where it is said that “eight out of ten families are Chinese overseas sojourners” [*shihurenjia bahuqiao* 十户人家八户侨], is a typical *qiaoxiang* 侨乡<sup>54</sup>, with a large number of families with overseas emigrant ties (Wang Renzhi 2001:269; L. Pan 2006). Topographical features, natural disasters and political reasons have led to historical outward emigration from southern Fujian and *nanyin*'s consequent dispersion to Southeast Asia. Records of famines from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries show that, due to natural disasters and lack of arable land, people in Minnan suffered desperately from starvation. Other political and historical reasons for out-migration are summarised below.

As documented in the Jinjiang gazette and the Museum of Quanzhou Overseas Chinese History, the outflow of traders and missionaries from Jinjiang to Southeast Asia occurred sporadically from as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> century and grew gradually thereafter.<sup>55</sup> According to anthropological studies, the movement of emigrants diverged in two directions: towards the northern hinterland, and southbound to Southeast Asia. Genealogical records show that those who moved north within the Chinese continent were mostly in family units, and their descendants have seldom returned and hence have fewer ties to Minnan (Wang Gungwu 2000:3). My discussion in this section refers to southbound emigrants who formed transnational *nanyin* networks linking back to their hometowns along the southeast coastal line, mainly in the Jinjiang region (Map 3.1).

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<sup>54</sup> Defined as “sojourner’s home village” (L. Pan 2006:16).

<sup>55</sup> Wu Tai 1994:2; Wang Renzhi 2001:269; Wang Gungwu 2000:3.



Map 3.1 *Nanyin* distribution

Political and social instability after the establishment of the Yuan dynasty in 1271 initiated the earliest recorded emigration tide from southern Fujian: a large number of Jinjiang people migrated mainly to what is now Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines (Wu Tai 1994:2). Douw (1999:27) suggests that in history, emigration is conditioned by unequal economic development levels between two nations. Geographically Jinjiang provides easy maritime access for its coastal inhabitants. Seafaring is a major aspect of livelihood in Jinjiang, and its people have long traded with countries in Southeast Asia. The late Ming era saw a very active and mobile population commuting between China and Southeast Asia, where profitable trade activities attracted more maritime commuters to venture out seasonally or periodically. These traders, mainly male, would leave their family behind and stay abroad for short periods. Initially, the main purpose was to *chuwai mousheng* 出外谋生 [seek better livelihood abroad], and when the Southeast Asian ports

became increasingly busy after the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the number of migrants increased (Wang Lianmao 2000:5).

After the Manchus established the Qing dynasty in 1644, the Qing government adopted the stringent *qianjie* 迁界 [boundary-removal] policy in 1656 for over two decades to prevent local people from getting involved in the anti-Qing movement led by the Jinjiang-born Zheng Chenggong 郑成功, who had taken Taiwan from the hands of the Dutch government in 1646 (Wang Mingming 2009:212). Under an enforced evacuation policy, all inhabitants along the coastline of southern Fujian were moved to the hinterlands within three days. Livelihoods were devastated, so a sizeable number of coastal families moved to Southeast Asian countries, mainly Taiwan and the Philippines.

The later Republican era developed into another politically and socially unstable period in China, with wars against foreign invaders and continuous internal bloodshed and turbulence. Three rival powers emerged within China: the Kuomintang (KMT), the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and provincial warlords. In addition to the internal war, the anti-Japanese War broke out in 1937 and lasted until 1945. China became an arena of many battles as the three rival powers fought for political and military dominance, and the country plunged further into political turbulence and disintegration for several decades. Consequently, forced conscription was implemented throughout China; this led to a substantial portion of the male populace escaping by finding ways to emigrate. The emigrants were discouraged from returning and thus became permanent settlers in the recipient countries (Wang Gungwu 2000:5).

Another reason could be traced back to the slave trade known as “selling piglets”, a time after the Opium War in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when many Minnanese were sold as ‘piglets’ and were impelled to end up in their respective destinations in East Malaysia and Indonesia.<sup>56</sup> Maritime trade activities, which flourished due to the port of Quanzhou on the Maritime Silk Road to the Middle East, prepared the way for people to emigrate especially to Southeast Asia.<sup>57</sup> Inevitably culture, religion and customs of southern Fujian took root in Southeast Asian countries where emigrants settled. The dissemination of

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<sup>56</sup> Information according to the exhibition in the Museum of Quanzhou Overseas Chinese History 泉州华侨历史博物馆, which I visited in 2009. The Museum was completed in 1995 with funds raised from overseas Chinese of Quanzhou origin. It exhibits and documents the migration pattern of Quanzhou emigrants since the 16th century, their adaptation, development and the role they played in the host societies abroad.

<sup>57</sup> Vermeer 1990; Wang Mingming 1993, 2009; L. Pan 2006.

native musical genres, mainly *nanyin* among the Minnanese emigrants, became part and parcel of the flows of migration.

The early dissemination of *nanyin* to Southeast Asia sowed the seed for important transnational cultural links to southern Fujian. In more recent times, the flourishing exchange activities between the *nanyin* societies in Southeast Asia and Minnan have contributed significantly to economic development in southern Fujian and also served diplomatic purposes, as well as contributing to the revival of the genre in southern Fujian. I will return to discussing diasporic *nanyin* activities in Chapter 7.

### 3.1.3 *Nanyin* in geographical context

The province of Fujian is situated in southeastern China; its name, an abbreviation of Fuzhou 福州 and Jianzhou 建州 (nowadays Nanping 南平), was first used during the Tang dynasty.<sup>58</sup> Fujian shares borders with the provinces of Zhejiang 浙江 to the northeast, Jiangxi 江西 to the northwest and Guangdong 廣東 to the southwest. The northern part is mostly highland, with roughly 80% of the terrain being mountainous. This geographical position resulted in significant cultural and linguistic diversity in Fujian. As villages were separated by mountains, access between them was difficult in the past. Each village had its own dialect which was not easily understood by others, hence communication was difficult. Such topographical conditions help us understand the limitations on the dissemination of *nanyin* within the region. Within the southern Min [Minnan] regions of Xiamen, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and Jinjiang, the dialect chiefly spoken is Minnanese, but each region has a local accent; as one moves northward to Putian and to the capital Fuzhou, the differences in dialect becomes greater. Since *nanyin* songs are sung in the Minnan dialect, dissemination outside of the Minnanese dialectal region is difficult.

In the Qing Dynasty, Jinjiang prefecture comprised two major regions, north and south, divided by the Jinjiang River (Map 3.2). In the north, the old Jinjiang prefecture included the city of Quanzhou and the counties presently called Dehua 德化, Anxi 安溪 and Yongchun 永春 (Map 3.3).

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<sup>58</sup> For a detailed history of Fujian and the hierarchical system of the government, see Fujian Ribao 1980:1-24; Hook 1996:2-8.



Map 3.2 Qing dynasty district map of Jinjiang Prefecture.<sup>59</sup>

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Quanzhou underwent several rounds of major urban planning and geographic re-mapping. In 1951, Quanzhou was designated as a municipality (*shi* 市) separated from the prefecture of Jinjiang and the administrative centre of Jinjiang was relocated to the town of Qingyang 青阳, about 16km south of Quanzhou. Henceforth *nanyin* activities within Quanzhou and Jinjiang were split into two individual regions under separate hierarchical levels of governmental control: the *wenhuaaju* 文化局 [City Bureau of Culture] in Quanzhou and the *wenhuaquan* 文化馆 [Regional Bureau of Culture] in Qingyang, Jinjiang respectively (Wang Renzhi 2001:11; Map 3.4).

<sup>59</sup> Hu Zhiwu and Zhou Xuezheng (compilers and editors). 1990 [1830]. *Jinjiang xianzhi* [Jinjiang county gazette], vol. 1. Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe.



Map 3.3 Quanzhou City and the neighbouring counties<sup>60</sup> (2010)

In 1992, Jinjiang was officially named as a county-level City. Transportation between Quanzhou and Jinjiang was facilitated via a network of bridges spanning the river. The *nanyin* activities in Jinjiang discussed in this study are based on field investigations in the three fieldsites circled in Map 3.4, namely Shenhu, Chendai and Dongshi.

<sup>60</sup> Source: Google map with addition of location names (2010).



Map 3.4 Jinjiang County City (2010)<sup>61</sup>

### 3.2 IDENTITY AND ETHNICITY

In ethnomusicology, issues of identity based on gender, race and ethnicity became common themes in the late 1970s (Nettl 2005, Rice 2007). The relationships between music and such issues have been approached from various perspectives. Thomas Turino's study on the urban-mestizo charango tradition in Peru reflects the sociocultural, economic ideological and political construction of a musical group's identity through performance (1984:253). Christ Waterman's article (1982) analyses how the individual identity of a

<sup>61</sup> Source: Google map with addition of field location names in circles (2010).

Yoruba *jùjú* band leader negotiates dual social statuses: a beneficiary of an upper-class patron and a boss of the lower-class band boys. Timothy Rice's approaches to music and identity as discussed in his article (2007:17-19) appear to be systematic and most relevant to the case of contemporary *nanyin*. In this article, Rice categorises the theme of identity into individual self-identity, group identity and social identity.

*Nanyin*'s musical features and performance contexts lead to the formation of complex identities. The uniqueness of its notation system recognizes the antiquity of the genre, and the songs sung in Minnan dialect characterize its regional ethnic identity. The Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society 陈埭民族南音社 in the town of Chendai (discussed further in Chapter 3.2.3 below) is one of the most important *nanyin* music-making societies in Jinjiang. Its musicians are mostly of Muslim ancestry, and their contributions to *nanyin* playing and continuation represent part of their assimilation processes. After over twenty generations of assimilation, this Muslim ancestry became reconstructed as an ethnic identity within contemporary Chinese culture, and its impact is reflected in the restriction of music activities in certain local ritual spheres.

The conditions that *nanyin* has been subjected to in Minnan and in its diaspora certainly lend themselves well to the investigation of issues such as collective versus individual identity along with ethnic identity.

### **3.2.1 Social identity from the perspective of ritual performance**

As ritual plays a crucial part in *nanyin* performance, *nanyin* ritual musical activities act as one way to realize collective identity. Analysing ritual music in Chinese contexts, Bell Yung asserts that ritual music, as “a medium for heaven-earth communication, a kind of aural corridor linking the past to the present” (Yung, Raswki and Watson 1996:5), has the power to express emotion, memory and other complex sentiments. This is seen in the biannual ritual of *si Langjun* and *si xianxian*, whose bipartite name signifies worship of both the *nanyin* deity Langjun and the late masters of the *nanyin* societies. Within the Chinese ritual framework, DeWoskin claims, “the music of the sacrifice linked grateful descendants to the spirits of their ancestors” (1982:30). The ritual is intended to refresh the musicians' memory of their musical ancestry and at the same time raise their awareness of the genre's musical heritage. In this section, I examine how the *nanyin* ritual of *si Langjun* creates a group identity through performativity and symbolization.

In the sphere of *nanyin* tradition, the biannual ritual of *nanyin* deity worship, *si Langjun* 祀郎君 or *Langjunji* 郎君祭 [to offer sacrificial worship to Langjun] is of paramount importance. Through reflections and the philosophical concepts embedded in the ritual, social collective identity and solidarity are realised and represented through the participation of several groups of *nanyin* musicians. Musical worship of this *nanyin* deity can be emblematic of virtual integrity and hierarchical implications.

### ***Collective identity in worship: Si Langjun*** 祀郎君

In southern Fujian, each performing art in the region worships its own patron deity; for example, Tian Duyuanshuai 田都元帅 is the patron saint of *muouxi* [string puppets] (Ruizendaal 2006). The original name of the *nanyin* patron saint is Mengchang 孟昶, ruler of a small kingdom, Houshu 后蜀, located in present-day Sichuan, central China. Langjun 郎君 was a court title conferred upon him by the Emperor of Song to whom Mengchang surrendered after being defeated.<sup>62</sup> Mengchang and his wife were known for their musical and poetic talent and were well loved by their people. It is commonly said that Mengchang was made patron deity for *nanyin* by nostalgic musicians from Houshu who wanted to retain a connection to their home culture after emigrating to the southeast.

Before the 1950s, worship of a patron deity was practised as an admission ceremony in the *nanyin* master/disciple learning system. This kind of deity worship in musical contexts is not unique to China. For a neophyte of the Zimbabwean mbira, for example, a ritual initiation is necessary as a gesture of respect and gratitude to the music ancestral deity or spirits: the Shona people believe that the divinity “would pave the way and guide [the teacher] in teaching ... the spirits can encourage both the student and the teacher in the learning process” (Berliner 1993:137-8). Many *nanyin* societies in southern Fujian today still commonly offer incense sticks to Langjun in their weekly gatherings. Faith grows out of such regular and repetitive rituals, and *nanyin* aficionados feel that Langjun is always there to protect and look after them.

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<sup>62</sup> *Langjun* was originally a court title for high officials during Tang and Song dynasty. The metropolitan scholars, *jinshi* 进士, who had passed the court examination, were also conferred upon as an honour with this title by the imperial court (Sun Xinqun 1996:7). The legend of *nanyin* deity can be found in Yeh 1985; Wang Ying-fen 1986; Chou Chiener 2001; Chen Yanting 2008; Zheng Guoquan 2009.

The *nanyin* music offering marks the climax of the *si Langjun* ritual. The celebrations are traditionally held at the spring and autumnal equinoxes. *Chunji* 春祭 [the spring ritual] is celebrated on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the second lunar month, which is also believed to be Langjun's birthday, and the *qiuji* 秋祭 [autumn ritual] held on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the eighth lunar month is to commemorate his death anniversary. *Si Langjun* is immediately followed by the ritual of *si xianxian* 祀先贤 [worshipping the ancestral masters of the Society] in the premises of an individual *nanyin* society and attended by the society members and their guests.

The *nanyin* musicians please their deity through praise-reading and music. The reading is in rhymed verses read out by two ritualists whilst background music is played. The ritualists are expected to be respected educated individuals who are familiar with the rites. Then a vocalist backed by the standard *shangsiguan* ensemble sings *nanyin* lyrics extolling the deity's virtue and musical attainments. The songs commonly chosen are: *Huatung caijie* 畫堂彩结 [colourful gallery] in F mode (Score 8) for the spring ritual, and *Jinlu baozhuan* 金炉宝篆 [gold and precious incense burner] in G (Score 9) for the autumn ritual. Both sets of lyrics are intended for auspicious occasions and express the ideal of longevity and happiness through the delineation of jubilation in birthday celebrations; these are therefore also popular songs for birthday celebrations of the elderly. Music for this celebratory event follows the performance structure *pu-qu-pu* (instrumental-vocal-instrument); the *zhi* suite is not included. Since a virtuoso performance is a tribute to please the patron deity, highly skilled musicians are chosen to play.

### ***Social interactions***

In *Why Suyá Sing*, Anthony Seeger asserts that “music is part of the very construction and interpretation of social and conceptual relationships and processes.... The Suyá lend themselves to a musical anthropology because central parts of their social life are constituted through ceremonies and musical performances” (2004: xiv). As a musical ritual, *si Langjun* represents a symbolic social life of music; it emphasizes the ritual process and performativity while providing an arena for *nanyin* music-making and its role in creating cultural and social life in several aspects.

*Si Langjun* is considered an auspicious event. Thus, in addition to the biannual rituals, *nanyin* practitioners may combine it with other celebrations such as the anniversary of a *nanyin* society. On 30 September 2009, Anhai Yasong Nanyin Society in Jinjiang (established in 1907) celebrated the inauguration of their new Society building and the reunion of their locally formed *wushe lianyi* 五社联谊 [Five Affiliated *Nanyin* Societies] with the performance of *si Langjun* (DVD-2).

*Nanyin* musicians call each other *xianyou* 弦友 [friends of the strings]. The close relationship between them that grew over the years is generally well sustained and passed on through generations. Many of the Minnan *nanyin* societies are affiliated with local and overseas *nanyin* societies; they form a large transnational force in which members develop bonds of respect, duty and friendship. They call each other *jiemeishe* 姐妹社 [sister societies] and exchange visits annually on occasions such as *si Langjun*. These interactions forge the exchange and interflow of performance skill by creating learning channels for Minnanese musicians to broaden their view as to how *nanyin* is being modernized and practised in the diaspora; likewise, the overseas *nanyin* musicians are exposed to various interpretive styles in Minnan, which they might not have learnt from their teachers in their countries of residence.

In the past, sacrificial rituals with dishes of cooked pork and poultry held in spring and autumn were followed by lunch feasts for the attending musicians and guests. Nowadays with the economy booming and the wealth of the people, such celebrations also have functional objectives: the lunch/dinner banquet serves as a means of reciprocity to the benefactors of the Society, helping also to strengthen relationships with local authorities. It further aims to reinforce kinship ties within the community and to provide a platform for gathering, socialising, exchanging of performance techniques and updating of news in the *nanyin* world.

### ***Ethical and hierarchical implications***

A philosophical foundation which *nanyin* societies uphold is the Confucian virtue of *zunshi zhongdao* 尊师重道 [respecting teachers and revering saints]. This is exemplified by their *Langjun* deity worship. *Langjun* is deified as the highest genealogical forebear of masters, and the biannual ritual of *si Langjun* and *si xianxian* is held to remind musicians

of the sense of community stretching back in time, and to commemorate the late masters with gratitude just as filial duty is upheld in a familial system.

The centrality of worship in *si Langjun* is an interaction through music between *nanyin* practitioners and their deity in the realm of spatial and temporal organisation. The ritual contributes to the social identity of a group through performativity. The *nanyin* circle advocates the teaching of Confucian ethics, and the dynamics of musical production as epitomised by *si Langjun* interprets and constructs the social relations among the *nanyin* societies reflected through the exchange visits.

The symbolism in *si Langjun* is another aspect of manifestation of group identity. *Si Langjun* is emblematic of and articulates the unity of an imaginary community. The musical performances create harmony, cohesion and solidarity, as proudly agreed by all *nanyin* musicians.

### **3.2.2 Self-defined identity of amateur musicians**

Timothy Rice defines individual self-identity in two forms: self-definition or self-understanding, and the psychology of belonging to, identification with, and “suturing” to social groups (2007:21). Music identity relating to individual self-identity is seen in *Jiangnan sizhu*, in which the “music club environment is one that minimizes demarcations based on education, status, or wealth. A club member is judged by his or her expertise in the music and the ability to interact equally with other musicians” (Witzleben 1995:30). The performance context of *nanyin* is very similar to that of *Jiangnan sizhu* except that *nanyin* is performed in many ritual contexts and *sizhu* is largely secular: there is no particular determinant for membership other than common interest in *nanyin* music, and music-making is open to musicians of all ages and from different walks of life. Performance opportunities avail for both genders except for certain ritual performances in which only male musicians are involved, e.g. *si Langjun* and ancestral worship.

Individual identity could be psychologically self-defined as a sense of pride and self-worth (Rice 2007:21). Witzleben’s study (1995) shows that *sizhu* music-playing provides the musicians with more psychological self-worth in contrast to their lowly-paying jobs. From what I perceived during my field trip in Dongshi, *nanyin* contributes to the self-identity and sense of self-worth of some female musicians by providing an elevation of

their degree of literacy, or for illiterate women an increase in the level of their personal artistic achievement; these factors can counter, to some degree, the inferiority complex due to low education or illiteracy, for example.

In contemporary Jinjiang, privately owned small businesses and industries have surged and prospered in every town with active participation from women in recent years. Among the Dongshizhen female musicians, Cai Chunxiang 蔡纯香 (b.1969) and Cai Baixue 蔡白雪 (b.1968) represent illiterate but financially independent, fashionable and successful businesswomen in this contemporary rural community. They were born in poor families at the time of the Cultural Revolution when all schools were closed and education was halted. They worked hard, and when they had saved enough money, they started their own business and have since been doing well. In a field conversation, they shared with me their *nanyin* musical journey and their inferiority complex due to their illiteracy. Denied a normal school education, they took the opportunity to learn Chinese characters from *nanyin* song texts. Through *nanyin* learning, they felt self-enriched with literature and musical knowledge, and their musician status has earned them a sense of achievement and self-worth which money could not buy. They participate in *nanyin* activities and have taken part in *nanyin* competitions while feeling proud of being identified as *nanyin* musicians of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society.

### 3.2.3 Assimilation and reconstruction of ethnicity

#### **Case study:** *Nanyin* tradition in the Chendai Muslim community

The town of Chendai is distinct from other parts of Minnan in having a large number of Muslim (Hui 回<sup>63</sup>) inhabitants. Over time, the Muslim community adopted the genre of *nanyin* and the practice burgeoned here among this ethnic minority community. This section will examine the influence of the re-enactment of ethnicity on *nanyin* tradition and the role of *nanyin* practice in the Muslim community. Before further discussion, let me first outline the historical origin and assimilation of this community.

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<sup>63</sup> The term Hui (Muslim Chinese) is today used to refer to the ‘Hui nationality’ (*huizu*) 回族. The Hui are identified as culturally very similar to Han Chinese; they speak Chinese and have no distinctive form of dress. Due to a long period of assimilation, they live a lifestyle similar to Han Chinese, with the crucial difference that they follow the Islamic religion (Gladney 1991: xv).

### *Muslim ancestry in Chendai*

The earliest Muslims who settled along the southeastern coast of China from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries were mainly merchants, soldiers and government officials (and possibly, rarely, their families) from the Arab countries, Central Asia and Mongolia (Gladney 1996:37). Historical records show that Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din Umar 赛典赤·瞻思丁 (1211-79), a maritime Muslim merchant of Middle Eastern origin who held a high official rank, was the earliest ancestor of the wealthy and prominent Ding clan in Quanzhou. The name Sayyid 'Ajall is recorded as one of the five significant Muslim individuals who contributed to China's development and interaction with the West (Gladney 1996:266). In the first half of the 14th century, racial conflicts in Quanzhou led to political instability, and Ding Shuode 丁硕德, a third-generation descendant of Shams al-Din, fled to the outskirts of Jinjiang and settled in Chendai in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>64</sup>. In order to conceal their background, they changed their last name, al-Din, to the sinicised Ding (丁) as their family name. The clan assimilated well by cooperating with the wider society through a process of cultural and social adaptation.

Chendai is known as a town of 'ten thousand Ding inhabitants' (*wanrending* 万人丁), given the predominance of that family name. The Ding clan has expanded and multiplied over the centuries. The vast majority of the clan constitutes the main populace of seven natural villages<sup>65</sup>: Jiangtou 江头, Andou 岸兜, Pengtou 鹏头, Sijing 四境, Huatingkou 花厅口, Siban 西坂, and Xibian 溪边 (Map 3.5). The total Muslim population of these seven villages is estimated at around 21,000 out of the total population of 226,700 in Chendai's 25 villages (Wang Renzhi 2001:20).<sup>66</sup> Up until Liberation, Chendai inhabitants depended on crop harvests and sea products for their livelihood.

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<sup>64</sup> Quanzhou Net 泉州网. *Chendai Dingshi huizu de hanhua* 陈埭丁氏会族的汉化 [Sinicisation of Chendai Muslim]. <http://qzhnet.dnscn.cn/qzh175.htm> quoted in *Zhongguo Dalu Yanjiu jiaoxue tongxing*, vol.48. 2002 (1), Political Science Dept., Taiwan National University. *Zhongguo Islamic History documented draft* 中国伊斯兰史存稿 pp.218-219 displayed in the Ding ancestral hall. Zhuang Jinghui 2003:1. Accessed 18 July, 2011.

<sup>65</sup> At present, the villages in China are divided into two administrative groups: administrative village (*xingzhengcun* 行政村) and natural village (*zirancun* 自然村). The inhabitants of a natural village usually come from the same lineage; it is a residential area of one or more clans. Compared with administrative village which is managed under a hierarchical structure of the CCP government, a natural village which is generally smaller in size is under the mass management of the rural committee led by the state authority.

<sup>66</sup> <http://qzhnet.dnscn.cn/qzh175.htm> and <http://baike.baidu.com/view/982724.htm#7>. Accessed 17 July 2011.



Map 3.5 The town of Chendai, enclosed in red (2008)<sup>67</sup>

### *Adaptation and assimilation*

During my research, I visited the Museum of Chendai Muslim History 陈埭回族史馆 (Chendai Huizu Shiguan) within the Ding ancestral hall (*citang*) in Andou village. This is the main source of historical records traced and examined by scholars of the Muslims in the region. The earliest Ding ancestors who migrated to Chendai rapidly merged into the agrarian society. Their ample financial status enabled them to invest and to develop agriculture in Chendai, paving the way for their preliminary adaptation to their surroundings. Historically, Fujian and its neighbouring regions are known to have produced the largest number of high-ranking officers and intellectuals under the old imperial examination system in China (Wang Mingming 2009; Gernet 1999; Fan Ke 2006). In the Ding Muslim clan history in Chendai, from the 8<sup>th</sup> generation onwards there

<sup>67</sup> Jinjiang Shi Chendai Zhen Shangmao Jiaotong Tu, 2008. Fujian: Fujiansheng Ditu Chubanshe. (Simplified)

were many court officials and intellectuals. The achievements of these Ding elites were regarded as markers of pride and glory to their ancestors and helped consolidate their leadership in the lineage.

Historical records show that all the males of Al-Din descent married Chinese wives. The sinicisation of the family is attributed to such inter-racial marriages; the bringing up of the offspring was much under the influence of the Chinese mothers. In Chinese society, familism is fundamental in the continuation of clan and lineage (Harrell 1982). Chinese familism sustains the genealogical tie through the practice of worshipping the ancestors in the mutually-owned ancestral hall. Ancestral worship functions to express filial devotion and strengthen kin-group solidarity (Harrell 1982:195). This impelled the ensuing generations of Chendai Muslims to accept Chinese moral and traditional concepts as well as aspects of Chinese religious practice alongside their Islamic faith, notably the adoption of ancestral worship.<sup>68</sup> In contrast to Chinese polytheism, Muslim belief is based on monotheism, so worshipping ancestors by burning incense sticks and food offerings is considered to be against one of the tenets of Islam. The Ding lineage ancestral hall in Chendai 陈埭丁氏宗祠 was assumed to have been built between 1403 and 1424 by order of Ding Shuode, who died in 1379. (Fig. 3.1; Zhuan Jinghui 2003:4).



Fig. 3.1 Ding lineage ancestral hall in Chendai (photo courtesy of Zeng Jiayang 2011)

<sup>68</sup> For more studies on Chendai Muslim sinicization, see Gladney 1996; Zhuan Jinghui 2003; Fan Ke 2006.

### ***Ding clan and lineage ties***

In the rural areas of southern Fujian, the lineage system was highly developed historically, and the ancestral hall was the nucleus of the local elite right up to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. It generated strong political power and communal ties which linked the rural communities together. The ancestral hall was managed by a board of influential elders led by a highly esteemed lineage head. They interceded with the authorities on behalf of their clan; they administered all kinds of affairs for the lineage, such as compilation of genealogies, restoration of the ancestral hall and reparation of ancestors' tombs. They also arbitrated civil disputes between lineages. Thus the lineage system was a metaphorical symbol for power. The lineage also owned land and accrued income for the benefit of the clan. The ancestral hall houses the name tablets of the ancestors for whom biannual collective sacrificial rites are offered by the descendants. The biannual ancestral worship ritual is the most significant whole-day event in the town. On that day, the board of elders meet and discuss lineage affairs, and *nanyin* is played the whole day to entertain guests. This tradition is still observed nowadays, but under the PRC social welfare system, the board of elders is replaced by members of the *Larenhui* 老人会 [Old People's Association] (Pan Hongli 2006).

The establishment of the Ding ancestral hall was a key factor in reifying the Ding clan's assimilation into Chinese society, introducing Chinese ancestor worship despite its inappropriateness from an Islamic perspective (Gladney 1996: xvii; Fan Ke 2006:39-40).

### ***PRC minority policies and reconstruction of Muslim ethnicity***

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the issue of non-Han people in China was always taken cautiously and seriously in the formulation of State policies, because many local minority areas were hard to control by the national government (Rees 2000:14). In 1949, the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference guaranteed non-Han people equality and regional autonomy together with extensive benefits and assistance in political, economic, cultural and educational developments. In 1979, 55 ethnic groups were officially recognised as "nationalities" (the Chinese term *minzu* 民族).<sup>69</sup> Greater measures and provisions were allowed after the 1982 constitution for

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<sup>69</sup> The term "nationalities" is usually given in English-language government publications though it normally actually signifies ethnic groups (Rees 2000:15).

autonomy in administering economic and cultural affairs and religious beliefs; the PRC policy does not demand cultural assimilation but instead acknowledges diverse cultural identities (Rees 2000:15-16). This of course does not guarantee true autonomy, as shown by the case of Tibet among others.

The effectiveness of PRC policies on national minorities differs from area to area as it depends on how they are applied. In modern-day China, there are many self-professed Muslims who do not follow Muslim cultural criteria nor believe in Islam. Dru Gladney (1996:284) noted that ignorance or disregard of Islamic dietary restrictions is also seen in many young urban Hui in Shanghai and Beijing, yet they insist on claiming their Muslim ethnicity.

In Chendai, after more than 700 years of assimilation to the present 27<sup>th</sup> generation, forms of Islamic practice have diminished to a great extent: the Chendai Muslims speak Minnanese, place ancestral tablets and ritual articles in the ancestral hall, practise sacrificial offerings on festive days, light incense sticks, and above all they ignore the Islamic religious prescriptions of maintaining a *qing* 清 and *zhen* 真 [pure and true] lifestyle.

The mosque Chendai Qingzhen Si 陈埭清真寺 (Fig. 3.2), adjacent to Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society 陈埭民族南音社, is the only religious symbol and public space within the village where Islamic religious observances are currently practised.<sup>70</sup> The *nanyin* musicians of Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society and most local villagers of Muslim origin do not follow Islam and do not attend the mosque service; instead they celebrate all kinds of local Chinese calendrical festivities. The *nanyin* musicians' Muslim ethnicity is reflected only through sustaining the Islamic ritual observance of not including pork in the sacrificial offerings to their ancestors (Ding Shibin, interview, 9 November 2009).

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<sup>70</sup> Including the term *minzu* in the Society name suggests that the members see themselves as exclusively a minority, but I have not yet discussed this with members.



Fig. 3.2 The mosque - Chendai Qingzhen Si 陈埭清真寺 (field photo 2010)

After years of dialogue to reclaim their Muslim ancestry, Chendai Hui people's nationality was finally accepted by the Chinese State Commission for Nationality Affairs in 1979 due to socio-political conditions rather than according to cultural criteria (Gladney 1996:261-4; Zhuan Jinghui 2003:32). Ding Shibin (interview, 9 November 2009) disclosed that with the recognition of minority status, they enjoyed the favouritism granted by the State: despite the one-child birth-control policy, he had two grandsons as his son was eligible to have one more child than the Han Chinese. In Chinese history, Hui people were known as prominent tradesmen and labour specialists. After the 1978 Economic Reform Policy, private entrepreneurship resumed and the Hui engaged actively in private business. By using the advantages obtained by their ethnic identity, the Hui Muslims of the Chendai Ding clan have benefited in their commercial and industrial niche and prospered remarkably with government subsidies (Gladney 1996:277-8).

At present, the Ding ancestral hall is under the administration of the Commission for Hui Affairs (Huizu weiyuanhui 回族委员会), formed in the year 1984 to handle all the general affairs of the local Muslims (Gladney 1996: 285; Zhuan Jinghui 2003:32). They organise cultural and religious exchanges linking the Chendai Muslims with other Hui

communities outside the region and with the wider Muslim world (Ding Shibin, interview, 15 August 2011).

### *The impact of Muslim ethnicity on nanyin performance*

In the past, *nanyin* was the core everyday entertainment in the village, especially during the lull in the agricultural cycle. There is no documented record as to when *nanyin* was introduced in Chendai; only some old instruments and undated handwritten manuscripts passed down by several generations of masters testify to the tradition's antiquity. In the 1950s, there were nine amateur *nanyin* groups in the seven villages, each with its own *nanyin* teacher. The Andou village group was the largest, with more than 30 members. During that time, people went to Chendai for *nanyin* learning, and now it has become the world-renowned base of shoe manufacturing in Jinjiang.

After the Cultural Revolution, the government adopted an open policy on performing arts, and *nanyin* could be freely performed. However, many of the *nanyin* groups in Minnan were facing the fate of being closed down by the musicians because of dwindling practitioners. Life was difficult after the Revolution, and many young people sought to leave for overseas if they had connections. Since *nanyin* as a genre was being seriously undermined by the government, some *nanyin* masters and enthusiasts in Chendai called for the amalgamation of all Chendai groups and established the Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society with over 70 members in Andou village in 1979. The present Society building in Andou was completed in 1990 with financial support and contributions from local and overseas entrepreneurs (Fig. 3.3).

Even before the official establishment of this collective Society, Andou musicians were generally recognized as the most powerful *nanyin* group in the Jinjiang region. Therefore, after the amalgamation of the groups, Chendai served as the hub grooming all the essentially significant *nanyin* masters in the post-Liberation period. *Nanyin* activities resumed and accelerated swiftly after this amalgamation: at the peak of the *nanyin* craze in the late 1980s, there were over two hundred musicians in Chendai (Ding 2009:57).

In the 1990s some Chendai masters were recruited to teach in the Philippines and Taiwan. They contributed greatly to the promotion and transmission of *nanyin* culture in the diaspora. In Jinjiang, the Chendai masters' contributions have also been significant: they have focused on cultivating young learners, and helped to edit, compile and publish

*nanyin* scores, the first such compilation appearing in 2005. They also attempted to revive the obsolete *guozhiqu* repertoire (Chapter 7.3.2). However, *nanyin* activities have declined in recent years as a result of booming industry, for reasons discussed in Chapter 7.3.1 (Case study 7.1).



Fig. 3.3 Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society (field photo 2011)

Chendai *nanyin* musicians display few Hui cultural markers of identity: they exhibit Chinese cultural traits such as wearing Chinese dress and speaking Minnanese. They are essentially “Han who may share a vestigial belief in Islam” (Gladney 1996:xv). The assimilation of local culture and the reconstructed Muslim ethnicity have led to a paradox: they worship at and perform for the Langjun ritual but not for other *nanyin*-linked ritual events. The Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society is adjacent to the mosque on one side and a Buddhist temple venerating Guanyin (Goddess of Mercy) on the other. Because of their Hui status and Islamic origins, member musicians generally do not play for other temple fairs venerating local gods, but they do play for the temple fair of this Guanyin temple as a gesture of politeness to their neighbours. Muslim *nanyin* players also worship their patron deity Langjun twice a year with *nanyin* music and sacrificial offerings.

Other secular activities include the interactive musical events between the Society and the overseas and local affiliates such as the *wushe lianyi* 五社联谊 [Five Affiliated Nanyin Societies] (DVD-2), and provide *nanyin* to fulfill government duties and as entertainment for official holidays and celebrative events (Ding Shibin, interview, 11 June 2010).

### ***Minority performance in the PRC***

In order to achieve an ideal unified multi-national socialist country, the State government promulgates unity between the recognised minority nationalities and the Han with publications of literature and theatre. Government-owned Soviet-style troupes of different regional levels and troupe sizes were set up in the 1950s with performances featuring a great diversity of ethnic minority traditions. These promotional activities were mostly halted during the Cultural Revolution but then revived in the late 1970s. Performers were trained to learn Soviet-influenced mainstream musical styles, with Western influences underscoring the revolutionary content and the ideology for unification (Rees 2000:21-3).

Annual festivals offer performance opportunities for a variety of ethnic minority musics in China. The organisers select a representative form of art from each recognised minority group to showcase their ethnic characteristics. As Stevan Harrell describes, they choose items

that foster ethnic pride, but do not impede progress. This is why the Communist state has placed so much emphasis on festivals, costumes, and the inevitable dancing in a circle, which is close to universal among China's minority *minzu*. (Harrell 1996 [1994]:27)

As the performers are trained by State institutions, their performances are in a standardized style showing a wide disparity between the mainstream and the actual ethnic practice. The appropriation of shamanic ritual music in Xinjiang well exemplifies such differences. In the 1980s, the performance of shamanic ritual dance, which had been banned due to 'feudal superstition', was revived and was reconstructed for the purposes of creating new cultural emblems for the Sibe nationality (Xibozu). The performance style of the dance resembled song-and-dance troupes, and instrumentation was innovative (Harris 2004:177-8).

In the recent climate of the Chinese government's promotion of protecting intangible cultural heritage, Chendai Muslims' ethnicity became a pawn for a renewed emblem of identity whilst participating in a festival featuring multi-ethnic musics in 2010. The festival was organised by the local government of Guizhou, one of the provinces to participate in the promulgation of protecting folk culture (Rees 2012:33). It was mandatory for all performers to wear costumes evoking the ethnicity that their troupe represented. Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society's performance was taken to be a representation of Minnanese Muslims; the musicians decided to perform *nanyin* because Muslim music was not in practice locally (Ding Shibin, interview, 11 June 2010). The ensemble performed a new *nanyin* piece composed by their master Ding Shibin who adapted a *nanyin* traditional labelled melody and used it in a short stage play. The play's content was about a cheerful visit by an overseas Chinese to his hometown. Ding admitted that there was no hint of Muslim ethnicity in the music or the performance, apart from the Muslim-style hats and pseudo-Muslim costumes (a stereotypical ethnic minority costume for professional performers) (Fig. 3.4). However, the Chendai musicians considered it an honour to have been offered the opportunity to perform. In the case of Chendai, I argue that the government intervention requiring ethnic characteristics (even if only in the form of hats) is intended to demonstrate specifically the success of assimilation: music and dance in such festivals are strategically aimed to emphasize the harmony of multiculturalism.



Fig. 3.4 Chendai Muslims performing in Guizhou, 2010  
(photograph courtesy of Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society)

### ***The role of nanyin tradition in the Muslim community in Chendai***

From the cultural and performing arts perspective, Chendai Muslim identity exists only in form but not in practice. *Nanyin* tradition is a significant sociocultural phenomenon integrally related to the lifestyle of Chendai people. Being the core of musical entertainment in the old days, *nanyin* music-making was undoubtedly one of the cultural factors helping to shape the assimilation of the Muslims to Han society.

The Ding ancestral hall has been the core formal performance arena for major *nanyin* recitals in Chendai since the establishment of Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society in 1979. Nowadays *nanyin* is still performed by the Society in many of the communal events in Chendai as entertainment, and thus also plays an important role in maintaining clan and lineage ties.

### **3.3 PRESTIGE AND GENDER**

The issues of social status and gender in relation to musicians have become major topics of concern among ethnomusicologists over the past few decades, beginning with Ellen Koskoff's classic (1987) study. Let us consider these themes with reference to *nanyin*.

#### **3.3.1 Social class and prestige**

Merriam (1964:123) states that "musicians may form a special class or caste, they may or may not be regarded as professionals, their role may be ascribed or achieved, their status may be high or low or a combination of both.... their behaviour is shaped both by their own self-image and by the expectations and stereotypes of the musicianly role as seen by society at large." The genre of *nanyin* has a legendary background associated with the Imperial Qing court; it therefore enjoyed prestige as music of the elite class, and the social status of musicians was hence greatly elevated (Performance climax in Qing dynasty in Chapter 3.1.1). From my field conversations with musicians, I could feel their explicit pride in the prestige of *nanyin*, which they consider as the legacy of elite culture.

To differentiate *nanyin* musicians from those of other less regarded performing arts and the overtly demeaned status of performing arts in general, *nanyin* societies abided by many unwritten conventions before 1949. People with lower social status such as barbers,

cobblers, gatekeepers and rickshaw bearers were prohibited from entering a *nanyin guan*. A barber's job required him to stand 'behind' people, indicating a lowly status. In order to learn *nanyin*, a barber had to change his job (Zheng Guoquan 2009:406). Cobblers always had to bow their head whilst working and serviced the lowest and lowliest part of the body, thus positioning them in a humiliating way, whilst gatekeepers and rickshaw bearers rendered services through manual labor and in a servant-like way. In addition to these lowly professions, the blind were not allowed to play *nanyin* music as they performed for money and were considered undesirable.

Nonetheless, the core members of the major *nanyin* societies in Minnan in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century came from many different social classes. Most were workers in the industrial and commercial fields. In Xiamen, *nanyin* had become a well enjoyed entertainment for wharf workers and seamen; the most significant Xiamen *nanyin* master/composer, Ji Jingmu, was a wharf worker in the 1920s (Niu Yuetian and Chen Jingzhi 2000:29). Workers in many of these fields lacked high social status, but the nature of their jobs was considered to be decent and not humiliating, unlike those of the barber or cobbler above. Thus a coolie working at wharf sites, but not a barber 'standing behind' people, could be accepted into the *nanyin* world without threatening the traditionally high-status image of the genre.

The high esteem attached to *nanyin* tradition had a great impact on the musicians' musical behaviour. *Nanyin* society members valued *nanyin* above other genres, considering it a lowering of status for an instrumentalist to play in ceremonial troupes such as *guchui*. In southern Fujian, *guchui* 鼓吹 [drumming and blowing], a shawm and percussion genre, is a funeral music, and to participate in its playing is considered equivalent to being 'chased by the ghost', which implied that the player was not deserving of respect (Su Tongmou, interview, 7 March 2011). The social status of a *chuishou* 吹手 (shawm player) was much lower than that of an ordinary peasant; in northern Shanxi, families were unwilling to let their daughters marry them due to social stigma (Jones 2009:98). The social status of *guchui* in southern Fujian was also low, but not to the extent that marriage was affected. Their involvement in the funeral realm was what people considered repugnant, and *guchui* musicians were also frequently opium smokers. However, their performance was indispensable for the rites of the dead, so their

status was similar to the pattern of low social status and high importance noted by Merriam (1964:140).

Before 1949, *guchui* band members were mostly those in the barber profession, whom *nanyin* teachers refused to teach. Unlike *nanyin* societies with their formal membership system, the formation of a *guchui* band was *ad hoc*: whenever there was funeral to attend to, the musicians would assemble to form a band, sharing the income among them.

Nowadays *nanyin* musicians who perform *guchui* at funerals for money are still disdained by *nanyin* society members. Chendai master Ding Shibin noted with scorn: “I was offered triple wages to play in a *guchui* ensemble in the 1970s, but I turned it down; I would rather die of hunger than give up my integrity as a devoted traditional *nanyin* musician.” Nevertheless, his thinking has changed nowadays: although he still refuses to play for funerals, he is not against others who do so to earn extra income (Ding Shibin 2009:107).

*Nanyin* musicians would also not stoop so low as to become accompanists for local *xiban* 戏班 [operatic troupes], since this would associate them with a less esteemed musical culture. Up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the social status of *xizi* 戏子 [actors] was the lowest in the old Chinese caste system. The lower esteem of opera, however, could be due to the fact that many troupes were commercial in nature. This avoidance continued until the early 1950s, at which point many well-known Jinjiang *nanyin* masters were compelled to join operatic troupes because they were unemployed and life was miserable in general (Su Tongmou, interview, 7 March 2011). Since then, musicians no longer see participation in opera as demeaning.

From the point of view of the male-centred elite associations, *nanyin* should not be practised to earn income. However, *nanyin* songs were sung as part of earning a living by *geji* 歌妓 [song girls] and *jinü* 妓女 [prostitutes] (Chapter 3.3.2 below). Teaching song girls or prostitutes was strictly forbidden in the *nanyin* tradition at that time. These women had to learn from impoverished male *nanyin* musicians who lacked the skills to earn a basic living other than through *nanyin* teaching; acknowledging that their violation of this *nanyin* regulation would not be forgiven, these teachers had to voluntarily sever

their connections with the male *nanyin* circle (Zheng Guoquan 2009:406-7; various field conversations with musicians).

*Nanyin* musicians were highly esteemed in society. In rural areas during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a *nanyin* ensemble invited to a banquet did not perform as background entertainment during the meal: they performed *before* the banquet and then were always seated among other respected guests. It was not the norm to give the musicians money in ‘red packets’ for their performance, as this would be treating them like mere employees rather than honoured guests. On ‘white occasions’ (funerals), the host would give the musicians some cakes and food such as stewed pig’s leg. In Jinjiang, pork is one of the main dishes for ancestral sacrificial offerings, and a pig’s leg is only given to important guests or close relatives (Xu Runshen 许润身, interview, 14 March 2010).

Some of these cultural expectations still exist. A government ensemble was once invited to perform at an official event in Hong Kong. The ensemble leader did not inform the host organisation of the customs of *nanyin* tradition. As a result, the musicians were requested to perform as entertainment during the banquet and were served with sandwiches backstage. One of the performers complained to me that they felt disrespected.

### **3.3.2 Feminization of *nanyin***

Academic studies of women and gender in music have surged in recent decades, and prominent results have contributed to exploring the role of women in different aspects of musical traditions. The volume edited by Herndon & Ziegler (1990) contributes to the discussions about gender-specific music in diverse cultures, showing how women involved in music-making must adapt to cultural conditions. For example, Nora Yeh (1990:160) assumes that the songs of Chinese classical music were mostly sung by men of the elite class and by courtesans. She describes the Chinese women’s involvement in music with reference to the cultural adaptation and socio-historical development of *nanyin*: Confucian ethics abound in *nanyin* lyrics, but conflict arose when women found themselves in dilemma between submission and obedience in actual human relationships. Ellen Koskoff (1989:15) explores the social values of music in relationship to how it is gendered in different contexts; for example, often “music is devalued by association with sexually active women.” Women’s exclusion from *nanyin* ritual performance is a case in point. Stephen Jones (2013) attributes the ongoing exclusion from power of women from

the countryside to the persistence of male power and the uneven scope of modern progress in the poorer regions.

The association of women musicians/entertainers to prostitution in many cultures has been widely discussed (see for example Sakata (1976:2) with regard to Afghanistan). Korean professional female entertainers (*kisaeng*) were traditionally graded in three hierarchical classes of which the lowest was the prostitute (Lee Byong Won 1979:79-80). Historical scholarship on gender issues in Chinese music explores women's early musical achievements and submission throughout centuries of imperial rule during which women's music-making was generally linked to the courtesan tradition.<sup>71</sup> Female musicians and entertainers in imperial courts were referred to as *yueji* 乐妓; their positive contributions have been largely ignored in Chinese patriarchal society since their musical activities were considered a disruptive influence on social morals contradicting Confucian ideology, and their social status was thus relegated.

It was particularly during Qing that women and men were separated into different social spheres. The Qing court's enforcement of Confucian teachings excluded all women from the public performance sphere. Female role types in operas were taken over by cross-dressing boy-actors; presumably *nanyin* performance became male-centred by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; and women singer-entertainers were denigrated as prostitutes under such social circumstances (Su Zheng 2001: 407-8). The photo (Fig. 3.5) of *nanyin* musicians taken in 1909 in one of the Dongshi villages in Jinjiang shows that the genre was a male-centred tradition.

Under communist ideology, aspects of gender discrimination were criticized and reformed after 1949. This led to a significant reversal in the role of women in *nanyin*, including the predominance of girls among children *nanyin* students since the 1980s (Fig. 6.2; Chapter 6.2.1). A series of social and cultural transformations under the PRC mean that women now learn *nanyin* and perform in public with little resistance – indeed, since the resurgence of *nanyin* practice in the 1980s, women musicians have significantly outnumbered men. Institutional *nanyin* education and the state policy of including the genre in the curriculum have broadened the sphere of learning while revitalizing the genre and drawing in many more female learners.

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<sup>71</sup> Cynthia Wong 2001; Su Zheng 2001; Xiu Jun and Jian Jin 1993; Wang Xiaoxia 2010.



Fig. 3.5 Dongshi *nanyin* musicians in 1909 (Photograph courtesy of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society)

The female dominance of the current *nanyin* world is paralleled in traditional music genres across China, as noted by Harris & Pease (2013). Reasons for these gender shifts are discussed below.

### ***Breaking the taboos***

In the past, women of good social standing in southern Fujian were prohibited to learn *nanyin* because the contents of *nanyin* songs were mostly associated with love, loneliness, desolation or parting, and it was considered inappropriate for women to express these feelings publicly. Women were not even allowed to enter *nanyin* music venues, i.e. *guan* and *ge*. The imposition of a gender equality policy by the new PRC state government led to a historic breakthrough when the first female *nanyin* student, Chen Yuxiu 陈玉秀 (Fig. 3.6), was accepted to learn *nanyin* singing at the newly organised Quanzhoushi Nanyin Yanjiushe in the early 1950s and was allowed to perform in public (Chen Yuxiu, interview, 21 March 2010).



Fig. 3.6 Chen Yuxiu (1936-2013) - the first known female student in the history of *nanyin* (field photo, 2010)

### ***Resurgence and commercialization***

As with other musical genres mentioned at the beginning of this section, *nanyin* singing during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was associated with prostitution. There were venues (*gefang* 歌坊) in Xiamen and Quanzhou where singing girls and prostitutes converged. Some of them were housed in private residences where clients would go to *kaichapan* 开茶盘 [open the tea-tray] while being served tea. A female resident musician would entertain the clients by singing *nanyin* to her own *pipa* accompaniment (Chen Yuxiu, interview, 21 March 2010).

At the same time, *nanyin* activities in Xiamen started to change their performing context, turning to commercial public entertainment in order to survive financially. Along the river bank near the ferry terminus in Xiamen to the island of Gulangyu 古浪屿, there were privately-owned *nanyin* groups with singing women (*geji*) entertaining clients. As Xiamen was a metropolis much under Western influence, some groups used Western names such as Nanyue Kafei Zuo 南乐咖啡座 [southern music café troupe], so called as they served coffee rather than the traditional tea, whilst some ran their business in the tea-

house style. Zhuling 竹林, Jiangbing 江滨, Jinfeng 金风 etc, were pioneering groups which offered nightly public *nanyin* performances in the 1950s.<sup>72</sup>

The group owners hired singers on a salary basis; when the currency value fluctuated during times of uncertainty, they paid the salaries with rice instead. The audience might request songs by paying a small fee per song; the singers therefore ideally needed a large repertoire. Customers might also give *hongbao* (red envelopes containing money) to specific singers, and the money would be split with the owner on a ratio agreed between the singer and the owner; popular singers often had regular clients to support them<sup>73</sup>. However, at this turning point of social and cultural transformation, gender discrimination was still obvious. In a traditional Chinese patriarchal society, a female *nanyin* performer was still considered a social outcast.

With state promotion and overseas patronage, *nanyin* performances proliferated in the 1980s. Many commercial and amateur groups were formed, and female performers are now seen in all kinds of social and cultural activities. Every evening, staged performances by privately-owned groups can be seen in many public parks, such as the Wenhua Gong 文化宫 [Cultural Hall] and Wenmiao 文庙 [Confucius Temple] situated in Quanzhou City centre (Fig 3.7).



Fig. 3.7 Nightly *nanyin* concert outside Wenmiao, Quanzhou City (field photo 2010)

<sup>72</sup> Niu Yuetian and Chen Jingzhi 2000:3; Zhou Xiaofang 2006:10; Zheng Changling and Wang Shan 2005:62; Zhang Yingying 2004:5.

<sup>73</sup> Dongshizhen musicians, interview, 12 March 2010; Wong Leina, interview in Hong Kong, 17 March 2011.

However, doubts remain within *nanyin* societies concerning the decency of commercial performance, as observed during my fieldwork in Jinjiang. Commercial *nanyin* performances are uncommon in Jinjiang as compared with those in every Quanzhou public park. Jinjiangshi Guyun Nanyin Yishutuan 晋江市古韵南音艺术团 (Fig. 3.8) was Jinjiang's first troupe of this kind, established in 2009 with eight female and five male performers. The players were mostly students of Ding Shibin from different rural villages.

One evening in September 2009, I attended the performance of this commercial troupe in Qingyang City. The venue was an underground shopping arcade. The group rented a shop space to store their equipment during the day, and at night when there were no shoppers, they set up their stage. In front of the stage were rows of chairs, plus some tables with tea servings reserved for VIP guests. The performance began according to the



Fig. 3.8 Jinjiangshi Guyun Nanyin Yishutuan (field photo 2009)

traditional recital structure of *zhi*, *qu* and *pu*. The audience, mostly Ding's friends, started dedicating their favourite pieces when the singing section began. They paid between 100 and 300 RMB per request, and some who were themselves musicians would participate in the performance on stage. During the recital, some young female singers sat beside and served tea to some generous audience members who seemed to be their regular clients. This scene was similar to those in the public parks in Quanzhou, and it seemed to be

similar to the commercialized *nanyin* context in Xiamen in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century just mentioned. The behaviour of Jinjiangshi Guyun Nanyin Yishutuan engendered controversy and discussion in the *nanyin* world. The musicians questioned whether this business style would harm the genre's prestige.

The tradition of *nanyin* culture was dignified as an elite form of music, and today amateur musicians are antipathetic to any hint that *nanyin* performers might be involved in anything seedy. Nevertheless, commercialization helps to popularise the genre; if *nanyin* performance is restricted to domestic life-cycle events and mutual visits between *nanyin* societies only, this will accelerate the decline of the genre. Perhaps some consideration should be given to coming up with new and fresh strategies to present *nanyin* commercially while retaining the important core values and culture.

### ***The impact of social and cultural transformations since the 1960s***

During the political instability period (1966-76), traditional *nanyin* became one of the targets for anti-feudalism attacks. New *nanyin* revolutionary operas and music were written for political propaganda, and women *nanyin* performers participated actively in all kinds of political campaigns and movements (Cultural and musical scenario in Jinjiang, Chapter 4.3.1).

The era of the 1980s, generally referred to as the Post-Maoist Economic Reform period, saw the revival of traditional arts in China and the rise of institutional educations for *nanyin* and other folk performing arts (Chapter 6). All of these have offered the same right for females as in *nanyin* learning. The enrolment in *nanyin* classes in the last decade has been female-dominated. The palpable shift of gender in *nanyin* learning is reflected in the enrolment statistics of Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan 泉州师范学院 [Quanzhou Normal University] in recent years (Table 3.1):

Year	Male	Female	Total
2007	2	15	17
2008	3	17	20
2009	8	11	19
2010	2	17	19

Table 3.1 Gender ratio of *nanyin* enrolment in Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan

In 1990, *nanyin* music became part of the elementary and secondary school curriculum in Minnan. Although boy students outnumbered girls on the whole, *nanyin* classes were attended by girls only. In addition to schools, folk *nanyin* societies also now offer free teaching. In one *nanyin* society I visited, only two of the 15 children of various ages attending sessions were boys. I would argue that this results from parental expectation: parents count on their sons to earn more money rather than indulging in music-making. Therefore, there are very few young males in the *nanyin* world nowadays.

### ***Male supremacy in nanyin rituals***

In China, the patriarchal principle is still dominant and co-exists with modernization; Chinese ritual celebrants are predominantly male, and it is usually considered inappropriate for a woman to officiate a ceremony (cf Jones 2013). This is still the case in *nanyin* rituals in Jinjiang despite the predominance of women *nanyin* musicians today. In a ritual ceremony in Dongshi to welcome a visit by the high-ranking deity Guandi from his hometown, women musicians were excluded from participation (Fig. 3.9), and in the significant *si Langjun* ritual, the female director, He Xiubi, of Shenhu Yubinshe does not participate in the ceremony. However, in metropolitan cities such as Xiamen, *nanyin* Societies would adopt a more liberal approach; when Xiamen Jinhua'ge 厦门锦华阁 celebrated *si Langjun* in 2003, a woman was one of the instrumentalists (Zheng Changling and Wang Shan 2005:123-6).



Fig. 3.9 A ritual event celebrated by male musicians of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society

Female vocalists form the majority in professional *nanyin* troupes, with most of them coming from the younger generation. Male members are mostly older amateur musicians from rural *nanyin* societies, or from Laonian Daxue 老年大学 [Elder People's Universities] and Laorenhui 老人会 [Old People's Association]. Many of the men are involved in the society's administrative work, coordination and programming of events, and (due to their social network) fund-raising. The elder musicians are given priority to participate in major *nanyin* activities as instrumentalists.

Although the contemporary *nanyin* field sees young female members outnumbering males, I think it unlikely that they will be able to play larger roles in rituals as the older men depart. *Nanyin* is generally acknowledged as the best pastime for the elderly, with many males starting to learn *nanyin* when they retire; Laonian Daxue and Laorenhui are important sources of replacements for departing male musicians.

### ***Gender distinction between vocalists and instrumentalists***

In light of Magrini's theoretical twin concepts in relation to gender and music, in which tradition is gendered as feminine and modernity as masculine, Harris, Pease and Tan trace the 20<sup>th</sup>-century development of Chinese traditional music performance in relation to the shift in gender profile (2013:8). They argue that in the 1950s the masters of traditional Chinese music were almost exclusively male, but a shift of gender soon became obvious. In the conservatories, for example, the "less prestigious and less dynamic" traditional genres [*minyue*] have become strongly feminized, particularly the learning of string instruments such as *pipa*, *qin* and *zheng*. In contrast, Western classical music, which is regarded as a highly valued, progressive and international tradition, is still mostly the domain of males (ibid).

Examining *nanyin* performance reveals a parallel to these conclusions by Harris, Pease and Tan. Whereas *nanyin* singing was soon taken over by women after the establishment of Quanzhou Minjian Yuetuan [Quanzhou Folk Music Ensemble] in the early 1960s, male instrumentalists at first continued to play a major role, with women only gradually beginning to participate in instrumental performance. As recently as a few decades ago, among the Chinese instruments, only strings and percussion were played by women. Wind instruments – *dongxiao*, *pinxiao* and *aizi* (*nanyin shawm*) – were rarely chosen by women performers as they metaphorically referred to human organs and thus

were not considered decent for female players. It was not until the 1980s that Xie Xiaoxue 谢晓雪, one of the first batch of graduates from Fujian Quanzhou Yishu Xuexiao 福建泉州艺术学校 [Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School], became the first female *nanyin aizi* player; a female *dongxiao* learner soon followed. During the *nanyin* revival period in the 1980s, females learning instruments gradually became more popular (Xie Xiaoxue, interview in Quanzhou, 21 March 2010).

In addition to the above analysis, I argue that socio-economic upsurges have had a great impact on the changing role of women in *nanyin* tradition. With the effects of a constantly growing and booming industry along with commercialization in recent decades, the general attitude towards *nanyin* music-making has changed: males value economic above artistic pursuits. This has resulted in a lack of young males joining the *nanyin* circle nowadays.

### 3.4 CONCLUSION

Music-related identity is a broad topic which, according to Rice, can include several themes under group identity and individual self-identity:

One way that music contributes to identity in the sense of self-definition or self-understanding is in situations where people work in unrewarding hum-drum jobs but musical competence provides them with a sense of pride and self-worth.... Identity in most of these cases [group identity] seems to be about collective self-understanding as represented by various characteristics, activities, and customs, including music. (Rice 2007:21-4)

Rice's statement is particularly relevant to *nanyin* because in *nanyin*, the expressions of music and identity can be manifold. *Nanyin* is a part of the people's life; it plays an important role in social cohesion and builds community through ritual contexts; the *si Langjun nanyin* activities provide a group identity and a representation through music which contributes to the coherence of social solidarity. In *nanyin* learning environments, there are no social or educational demarcations drawn on members. Still today, a substantial number of musicians are illiterate, with some having menial jobs. The modernization of society allows people to look for cultural enrichment and personal fulfilment, and some find their cultural accomplishments in their *nanyin* journey. In terms of ethnicity, music functions to support clan and lineage ties. *Nanyin* provides a means by which the Chendai Muslim communities become assimilated within Han society, but in

the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it has also developed into a symbol of reconstructed ethnic identity signifying social harmony amongst the Han population and the Muslim minority.

*Nanyin* was a prestigious genre mainly enjoyed by amateur elite groups before the 1950s. Due to its prestige, the musical field was administered by many strict and unequal conventions which illustrated the existence of discrimination between different musical genres and made virtual social outcasts of the performers.

Stephen Jones provides important observations on the issue of gender and class:

In China, as in most societies, gender images are dominated by men: even “femininity” in music has largely been dictated by men. Men dominate women, but some classes of men dominate some other classes of men and women. Gender is hard to disentangle from class, and the ethos of any genre will further combine regional and historical factors. (S. Jones 2013:27)

A shift of gender in *nanyin* performance was obvious after the 1950s. *Nanyin* was previously predominantly male-centred, excluding women from active participation; those women who did perform were labelled prostitutes. Following social and cultural transformations after the founding of the PRC, gender discrimination was (officially) eliminated, as was the stigma of prostitution being attached to women *nanyin* singers. However, the ongoing low social status of women entertainers still limits female *nanyin* music-making in public, and instrumental performers are still predominantly male, although this is finally beginning to change. On the other hand, the predominance of males in *nanyin* rituals has been perpetuated over time and space, as ritual performance by female celebrants is still considered profane to the deity.

The socio-economic situation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has influenced the attitude of many people. Men prioritize money-making over spending time on folk music practice, placing economy in the forefront above artistic pursuits. The shift in gender in *nanyin* performance reflects changes in Chinese folk music across the country.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS ON *NANYIN* PRACTICE (20<sup>TH</sup> TO 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURIES)

Following Alan Merriam's discussion (1964:226) on the functions of music and their contributions to the integration of society, several significant Western ethnomusicological studies have contributed further to this discourse. John Blacking (1995) demonstrated that the Venda children's songs in South Africa have an integrative social function by bringing people together and promoting social solidarity. Anthony Seeger's (2004) musical anthropological study of the Suyá Indians in Amazonia reveals that singing has multiple functions in society: it is a means of characterizing society, restoring a certain kind of order and re-establishing the clarity of time, space and some human relationship in their world. Rachel Harris (2004) examines the musical culture of the Sibe in Northern Xinjiang, and observes that singing with lyrics of appropriate contents plays an important role in hospitality practices and social etiquette. She traces the journeys of one song across time and space, and uses it to highlight aspects of social change in 20<sup>th</sup> century China. Originally used in shamanic rituals, the song was transformed into a mass song in the 1960s, and sung as karaoke in the 1990s. Tim Rice's (1994) study of Bulgaria traces the changing contexts and functions of folk music under the Soviet and post-Soviet context, using a primary focus on individual musicians.

As an integral part of the folk musical culture in southern Fujian, *nanyin* forms the underlying cultural tie that binds together people from different social spheres. Based on accounts gathered during fieldwork and on Chinese published sources, I start this section with discussions of the role of *nanyin* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Noting that many of these contexts for performance continue today, I will examine how *nanyin* and its related activities functioned in the society at large. I then consider the social and cultural transformations in recent decades and analyse their impacts on changes in the music repertoire.

#### 4.1 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF *NANYIN* TRADITION IN THE EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

Up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, *nanyin* was the mainstream of musical traditions in southern Fujian, a predominant form of daily leisure and self-cultivating activity before the introduction of radio and television. The music was also an important part of communal life-cycle events and temple fairs.

*Nanyin* musicians gathered habitually after the siesta hours or in the evening for daily music-making in a designated venue, which could be a room in someone's residence or a communal hall. These randomly formed amateur groups called such venues *guan* [halls] or *ge* [pavilions]. Some of these *guan* or *ge* were not given further names as the musicians were usually groups of friends. They enjoyed the ritual of tea-making<sup>74</sup> and indulged in *nanyin* playing, smoking and chatting, a trend sustained across the ensuing decades. As Zhou Yidian (b.1941) recalled of his childhood, his father and brother were *nanyin* musicians and their family courtyard was a popular gathering place for daily *nanyin* music-making by the villagers. In rural areas, both performers and audience found great joy in an evening of *nanyin* in the courtyard after a hard day's work (interview, 28 April 2010; Fig. 4.1). This habit continues to today, forging a close rapport within a neighbourhood.



Fig. 4.1 Zhou's family courtyard in Baisha, Dongshi - a *nanyin* music-making venue<sup>75</sup> (field photo 2010)

<sup>74</sup> Southern Fujian is a well-known tea-producing region, and tea-making is a daily habit of the people. The ritual here refers to the regular and unchanging way of tea-making, and its social importance. This is not, however, an art form like the formalized tea ceremonies of Japan.

<sup>75</sup> Ancestral home of Zhou Yidian's family, it was a popular daily *nanyin* rehearsal venue in Baisha Village until the 1960s. On the left was the room for indoor music-making, where musical instruments were kept.

### 4.1.1 Life cycle activities

*Nanyin* marked every important phase in the life journey of the Minnanese in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; it was said that when a baby boy was born, *nanyin* was his first lullaby. In Chinese patriarchal society, only the birth of a baby boy was celebrated; rituals would mark *miyue* 弥月 [one month after his birth] and his *zhousui* 周岁 [first birth anniversary]. A boy's 16<sup>th</sup> birthday, his entry to adulthood, was also cherished; celebrations with *nanyin* were indispensable on these occasions for well-off families, who would treat the whole village to a feast to show off their wealth and generosity.

Celebrations of elderly people's birthdays would be an occasion to bring together relatives who lived far apart, with music creating a euphoric mood on such occasions. Special *nanyin* songs with auspicious lyrics, such as *Qingshouyan* 庆寿筵 [Birthday celebration feast] and *Jinchao qingshou* 今朝庆寿 [Birthday celebration today], would be performed before and after the feast to applaud the happiness of the celebrant (Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:419).

Chinese ritual has been an interesting topic for different disciplines, and many scholars argue that rituals performed for marriage and death “were central to definitions of Chinese cultural identity” because they affect people of all social levels (Watson and Rawski 1988: ix). *Nanyin* performance is essential in nearly all kinds of ‘red’ (*hong* 红) and ‘white’ (*bai* 白) life-cycle rituals and events. According to field conversations with Su Tongmou, the colloquial terms *zuodeng* 坐灯 [seated by the lantern] is for red events such as weddings and birthdays, and *zuoling* 坐灵 [seated by the catafalque] indicates performance for funeral. Such *nanyin* performance formalities are sustained up to the present. These two specific terms are seldom mentioned in *nanyin* scholarly writings, which mostly focus on the act of funeral ritual and the prescribed repertoire *sandianjiu* 三奠酒 [ritual of triple wine offerings] (see paragraphs below).

During the *zuodeng* on the wedding day, musicians performed in the house of the host to create a joyous atmosphere and to entertain the guests. For auspicious events like this, the host family would always give the musicians gifts of red envelopes (*hongbao*) containing money which would then be used for running their *nanyin* hall. *Nanyin* practice could be seen mediating to strengthen social relationships.

‘White’ ritual events refer to funeral rites. James Watson asserts that “In all studies of the subject [funeral rites] it is generally assumed that ritual is about transformation - in particular it relates to the transformation of one being or state into another, changed being or state” (Watson and Rawski 1988:4) and that much of a ritual is “aimed specifically at settling the volatile and disoriented spirit of the recently dead” (ibid: 9). Traditionally, *nanyin* groups did not perform at all funerals; because of the high status of their ancestral masters who were once ‘virtuous guests’ of the imperial court according to legend (Chapter 3.1.1), they only performed for funerals of *nanyin* musicians. The term *zuoling* referred to keeping vigil with music playing for the death of an ordinary *nanyin* musician (*xianyou* 弦友), but it may not include the *sandianjiu nanyin* ritual. *Zuoling* is one of the main *nanyin* activities nowadays, and the performance is like a recital in terms of musical programmes, with the joint participation of other *nanyin* societies and the attendance of the non-member audiences of the societies.

In *nanyin* funerals, *xianguanji* 弦管祭 [string and pipe offering] in the form of *sandianjiu* is the only prestigious rite to be commemorated. Up to the present, the ritual has been reserved only for a *nanyin* master, a well-respected *nanyin* teacher or someone who made remarkable contributions to the *nanyin* field; it was performed at Mayor Wang Jinsheng’s funeral to show reverence and gratitude for his contributions to *nanyin* (Chapter 4.3.1). *Sandianjiu* may be offered during the wake and/or on the burial day. At the funeral of *nanyin* master Gong Wenpeng, his students performed *sandianjiu* during the wake, then the *nanyin* society of which Gong had been deputy director offered another *sandianjiu* ritual on the burial day (Chapter 5.3.1).

For funeral or burial rituals held at the cemetery, which was often far from the village, the ceremonial process was more complicated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the funeral procession had to walk a long way. Because a procession with *nanyin* playing all the way was tiring for the musicians, a pair of *nanyin* instrument cabinets called *chadan* 茶担 (Fig. 4.2) always accompanied them, serving tea and snacks during periods of rest. It was an expected courtesy for the host to provide a *chadan* for each of the guest *nanyin* groups.



Fig. 4.2 *Chadan*<sup>76</sup> (field photo 2008)

#### 4.1.2 Calendrical events and temple fairs

*Nanyin caijie* 踩街 [street parades] were mostly for celebratory events such as anniversaries of *nanyin* societies, pilgrimages, temple fairs, and calendrical events. A large-scale *nanyin* society would invite other groups to join in a street parade as part of their anniversary celebration programme, and *nanyin* was played while parading. Before the 1950s, participating *nanyin* masters wore *changgua* 长褂 [a long formal outfit] in the processions to underscore their high social status (Cai Changrong, interview, 11mar2010).

Since the late Qing period, setting up a stage for a formal *nanyin* recital was equally as important as for an operatic performance. For a formal *guozhi lianchang* 过枝联唱 [literally continuous *nanyin* singing with transitional songs] (Chapter 7.3.2), such as ones held at big temple fairs, festivals and *nanyin* open competitions, the organizer or sponsor

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<sup>76</sup> *Chadan* of Rumeixuan Nanyin Society 儒美轩, Zhanglin Village, Jinjiang 晋江张林村.

would put up a *jinpeng* 锦棚, a colourful, elaborately decorated square outdoor stage, to emphasize the seriousness and importance of the recital (Fig. 4.3).



Fig. 4.3 *Jinpeng* in the Republican era (photo courtesy of Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble)

#### 4.1.3 Secular *nanyin* activities

Aside from life cycle activities and ritual performances, other secular activities commonly enjoyed during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century include mutual visits and open competitions.

##### ***Baiguan* 拜馆 - an interactive visitation between societies**

*Baiguan* [courtesy visits to the *nanyin* hall] between societies have long been a regular activity. The *shangsiguan* instrumentalists and vocalists of a *nanyin* society would form a visiting ensemble and bring their own instruments to the host society (though nowadays they mostly use the host's instruments, as I have observed in the field). Performers of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were mostly amateurs who could play various *nanyin* instruments but would specialize in a particular one. *Baiguan* activities within Minnan were usually ad hoc and informal. Members exchanged performing skills as one way to

maintain good relations between musicians as well as allowing them to size up the performance standard of other groups. Upon arriving at the host venue, the visitors would offer incense at the altar of the deity and get ready to perform (Chen Shilian and Lin Zhongrong 2009:35). Tea, preserved fruits and snacks were the basic greeting treats for them. After the performance, both groups chatted and socialised over a meal offered by the host group. This tradition continues to the present.

### ***Nanqu leitai* 南曲擂台 [*southern song competition platform*]**

During the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, *nanyin* competitions were popular in Jinjiang, and a *jinpeng* stage served as a *leitai* [platform] for these competitions (Quanzhoushi Wenhuaaju 1988:119). Once a *jinpeng* stage was set up for such purposes, it implied that *nanyin* musicians from all over the region were welcome to participate. The performers wore long formal outfits and followed prescribed stage etiquette during the change of performers (Chen Yanting 2008:244; DVD-3).

The competitions were usually hosted by an individual *nanyin* society with the tacit aim of inciting competitive spirit among participating musicians. The competition usually lasted for several days before the winning party is confirmed. Such open competitions uplifted the masses' *nanyin* playing spirit and helped improve performance technique. *Nanyin* scholars believed that these early competitions set the standard to measure the prowess and skill of *nanyin* masters (Wang Ying-fen 2006:108).

## **4.2 ADVENT OF MODERNIZATION**

The year 1911 marked a watershed in Chinese history when the Qing dynasty collapsed after the Xinhai Revolution 辛亥革命 led by Sun Zhongshan 孙中山. It was the most significant revolution in Chinese history, dismantling imperialism and transforming China from feudalism to modernity. A quest for *chongxin qijiu* 崇新棄旧 [advocating the new and abolishing the old] was widely accepted as an ideal goal. As it was believed that cultural reforms were required to implement modernization, reformist thinker Lu Xun 鲁迅 advocated the synthesis of traditional form with new ideas in literature, which established the classic formulation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) on cultural policy (Holm 1984:8-9). Writing in modern vernacular language replaced classical

Chinese, which had been dominant since Confucius' time. Many new schools were built, and people were given the freedom to express their thoughts through the medium of press and publications.<sup>77</sup>

The emergence of the subsequent intellectual and socio-political reform, the May Fourth Movement 五四运动 (1919), as Andrew Jones argues, was the “very moment that Chinese music became an object of study, classification, and rationalization along Western lines, and it also came to signify Chineseness” (A. Jones 2001:40); it laid the foundations for New Music [*xinyinyue* 新音乐]<sup>78</sup> and the surfacing of the Chinese art song (Liu Ching-chih 2010:186). This was the dawn of musical modernization in China: many luminaries of literature and culture of the time were actively promoting New Music. Its development leapt forward with the founding of the Peking University Music Research Society in the 1920s (ibid:184). Musicians trained in the European idiom turned their attention to new metropolitan music such as sinified jazz in the 1920s and 1930s (A. Jones 2001:28). In tandem with this was a technological advance, the emergence of the gramophone and recording, which broadened the dynamics of performance effects and essentially shaped the musical field of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (ibid: 30).

Initially, the Chinese Communist regime was heavily influenced by the Soviet Union; the PRC adhered to the practice of Soviet Marxism-Leninism by following its model of promoting patriotism through ‘revolutionary songs’ (*geming gequ* 革命歌曲), also called ‘mass songs’ (*dazhong gequ* 大众歌曲 or *qunzhong yinyue* 群众音乐).<sup>79</sup> Tracing the origin of mass songs, Isabel Wong points out that religious hymns of the Taiping Tianguo 太平天国 era (1850-64) provide an early precedent for the mass songs in that they were “a modern political and didactic tool, whether or not conscious imitation can be documented” (Isabel Wong 1984:114). Soviet influences were not only seen in China: Soviet Communist propaganda moved into and affected all aspects of the life of many European countries in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Timothy Rice (1994:174, quoting Krustev

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<sup>77</sup> Lecture by Professor Xin Haonian 辛灏年, “Who said that the Xinhai Revolution failed?”, 31oct2010, School of Oriental and African Studies.

<sup>78</sup> New Music was created and produced in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by a group of European- and American-trained Chinese composers who applied 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century European compositional techniques and styles to Chinese musical material. Some of the songs became political tools to serve the Communist Party, the workers, peasants and soldiers (Liu Ching-chih 2010:186). It initially consisted of vocal music, but instrumental and orchestral compositions were included later.

<sup>79</sup> For the use, origin and development of mass songs, see Isabel Wong 1984: Chapter 5; Harris 2004:156-68.

1978:183) cites a 1947 decree by the first Bulgarian Communist Party leader Georgi Dimitrov, who urged composers to follow the Soviet model and to incorporate “both the heroic struggle of our people against fascism ... and also its all-round development in the present period.” The dynamics of Party control resulted in changes in stage and music aesthetics, retaining only certain important folk tradition elements as symbolic roots to Bulgarian nationality. This parallels the musical scene in China in the same period.

Under the influence of the earliest patriotic songs introduced to China from Europe and Russia in the early 1920s, *yangge* 秧歌 folk operas were transformed into propaganda plays by CCP cultural workers in the revolutionary base of Yan’an in the 1930s, and served as models for the transformation of folk arts across China (Harris 2004:162). CCP ideology suggested that literature and art should be used to familiarize the masses with various political functions (Holm 1984:4). A song handbook called *Geming geji* [Collection of songs for the revolution] was published in 1926 by the CCP, and Mao Zedong called for educating the masses with political songs. This foreshadows the revolutionary repertoire during the Maoist era, when all campaigns and movements were propagated in the same manner with protest songs and texts written to serve different political aims.

#### 4.2.1 Developments in the *nanyin* repertoire

No detailed historical records are traceable about the early evolution of *nanyin* repertoire. After the extensive research and studies on *nanyin* carried out in recent decades, thousands of *nanyin* songs have been compiled and published in Minnan and Taiwan. Through analytical examination of the relevant documents and manuscripts, Wang Ying-fen (2006) concluded that various *nanyin* works were probably composed in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. A Ming-dynasty Chinese opera anthology entitled *Jingxuan shishang xinjinqu zhaizhui* 精选时尚新锦曲摘坠 was discovered by Piet van der Loon, who translated the title as ‘A selection from the fashionable new operatic arias and choice acts’ (Van der Loon 1992:10). Wang Ying-fen (2006:98) presumed that the term *shishang* [fashionable] might suggest that some of the *nanyin* pieces were newly written at that time. During the Qing dynasty, many manuscripts were circulated in Minnan and abroad (Chapter 3.1.1), but there was no firm evidence that new *nanyin* pieces were created.

Traditionally the notion of composition in *nanyin* does not mean the creation of a musical work by an individual composer. Parallel to other countries in Asia such as Korea and Japan, music creativity “before the advent of Western music ... had generally taken the form of either improvisation or the gradual re-working of existing material whose ultimate origins were unknown” (Killick 2013:2). The notion of a “composer” (*zuoqujia* 作曲家) in *nanyin* was introduced in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, but it generally refers to a traditional practice where a person who borrows the fundamental material of *gunmen* and *qupai* [pre-existing labelled melodies], appropriates suitable lyrics, then makes rhythmic and melodic changes to evoke the desired mood. This principal *nanyin* compositional technique is common in many different Chinese genres such as Cantonese opera and *Kunqu*, and is still closely followed in contemporary *nanyin* compositions; the composers’ prerequisite knowledge of the pre-existing melodies is thus of major importance.

The use of pre-existing labelled melodies is fundamental in *nanyin* compositions; parallels can be found in other traditions, e.g. Syrian Jewish sacred *pizmon* song. But in comparison to the borrowing of tunes from a song as in *pizmon* (Shelemay 1998), the adoption of labelled melodies in *nanyin* is applied in a different way: rather than the borrowing of a whole tune as in *pizmon*, only the melodic themes are borrowed and then adapted rhythmically and melodically to suit the lyrics. This allows room for the musical creativity of the composer; thus, it is more than the adoption of a tune which has the function of constructing memory, as in the case of *pizmon*.

Veteran Jinjiang *nanyin* musician Wu Yanzao 吴彦造 (b.1926) has been a prolific award-winning *nanyin* composer for Jinjiang Gaojia operatic troupes since 1952 and a well-respected national-level *nanyin* heritage bearer. His works feature new *nanyin* of short and popular tunes. He described his compositional process as:

To compose a good and acceptable *nanyin* piece, one must first choose a *qupai* of an appropriate mood: happy, sad, or yearning. Specify the *qupai* in the composition and apply at least part of its main melody in the song so that the characteristic tune of the *qupai* will be identified and the essence be retained. It is not necessary to copy the whole theme, just to make adaptations appropriate to the lyrics. (Wu, interview, 7 March 2009)

Wu is undoubtedly advocating the compositional technique passed down by previous *nanyin* musicians. His works are well within the parameters of traditional adaptation and accepted as such by the *nanyin* circle, with emphasis being placed on retaining the ‘essence’ of the *qupai* adopted.

Change in musical traditions is often embedded in sociocultural changes (Rice 1994:169; Stock 2003:157). In China, this phenomenon was inevitable in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Based on his interpretation of musical change in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Bruno Nettl considers it a “strategy for survival, changing aspects of the old system in order to save its essence... in ways dictated by the power relations with the colonialists, the functions and values of music in society, musical compatibilities, and more” (2005:437).

Musical changes in *nanyin* can be viewed from both internal and external vantage points as adaptation to socio-cultural changes throughout different historical periods. In order to cope with the reformist notions of art to promote social change and modernization, new *nanyin* compositions espoused exterminating old feudalism and establishing modern ideology. The subject matter of the compositions was not confined to romance and historical legends based on Confucian virtues but were widened to reflect contemporary social problems. Thus the early 20<sup>th</sup> century new works of master Chen Wuding 陈武定 included song skits which criticized the retrogressive society and condemned deprivation under the feudal system, in addition to humorous songs with lively tunes in colloquial vernacular, which immediately spread and became popular and are still well remembered today (Zhou Xiaofang 2006:6; Zhongguo minzu minjian qiyuequ jicheng (2001 (2):2702).

#### **4.2.2 *Nanyin* musical changes in the late 1950s**

Shortly after the establishment of the PRC in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party introduced overall cultural reforms based on Marxist and Leninist doctrines in order to shape the social and political formation and to construct a new culture characterizing a modernized socialist state. The ideology with which the composers were asked to conform was to put forward the workers, peasants and soldiers for whom the music should serve (McDougall 1984:272; Lau 1995/1996:135). In 1957, Mao Zedong openly encouraged the people in a speech to unleash their thinking through all kinds of arts and creative writing in order to ‘let a hundred flowers bloom’ (*Baihua qifang* 百花齐放).<sup>80</sup> In response to this cultural policy, scholars and musicians responded enthusiastically, and a plethora of new *nanyin* compositions with lyrics praising socialism appeared. Both

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<sup>80</sup> The aim of this policy is usually regarded as Mao’s political ploy to draw out critics of the regime in order to expose and attack them (Harris 2004:166). An anti-rightist struggle was seen in 1957 to erase Mao’s opponents. For subsequent reform of operatic genres, see Yung 1984: Chapter 6.

Xiamen and Minnan composers participated actively, using texts and titles reflecting modernity and characteristics of the new decade. The *nanyin* song repertory was enriched with such additions as *Hongjun guo caoyuan* 红军过草原 [The red army crosses the plain], *Zhulu guangrong* 筑路光荣 [The glory of road construction] and *Qiaoxiang xinqixiang* 侨乡新气象 [New atmosphere in the homeland] (Zhongguo quyizhi 2006: 78). These new songs, written with the strategic motive of praising socialism within a unified political content, were based on *nanyin* labelled melodies.

In Xiamen, among a large number of *nanyin* works which master Ji Jingmu 纪经亩 (1900-86) composed and rearranged in the 1950s, many were politically conceived and seemingly supportive of the Mao regime. Ji boldly used the lyrics of several of Mao Zedong's poems in his new *nanyin* songs, e.g. *Qinyuanchun: Xue* 沁园春: 雪<sup>81</sup> [Snow in spring in Qin Garden]. In this work, Ji's composition technique marked an innovative breakthrough in *nanyin* with an introduction, interludes and postlude mixed with fragments of borrowed melodies (Score 11). In some of his vocal pieces, Ji added small *nanyin* percussion instruments to create musical interest and diversity while also incorporating a backing chorus (*bangqiang*) to enhance expression, an idea most likely borrowed from Chinese operas (Niu Yuetian and Chen Jingzhi 2000:8-10).

Two new instrumental works were added to the *pu* repertory after the late 1950s: the first programmatic instrumental work, *Minhai yu'ge* 闽海渔歌 [Fisherman's hymn to the Minnan sea] (Score 4), was written in Xiamen, and another instrumental piece entitled *Baihua qifang* 百花齐放 [Blooming of a hundred flowers] (Score 5) was written in Quanzhou. These works were composed collaboratively through the concerted efforts of a team of *nanyin* masters in their respective regions, and similarities are found in their fast metre (2/4 and 1/4) and compositional technique; their contents are composites of core melodies from various traditional *pu* suites.

The wider currents of modernization marked the development of the *nanyin* genre. From the transformation of social environment to a hybrid of interpretation and the introduction of new political elements, changes in this period in many aspects foreshadowed *nanyin* developments in the ensuing decades. These politically-inclined

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<sup>81</sup> *Qinyuanchun* was a documented Tang dynasty *cipai* 词牌 [labelled melody for poems]; based on its formulation, Mao Zedong wrote a poem titled 'Snow'.

new compositions have survived, but not all are performed today, as discussed in section 4.3.2 below.

### 4.2.3 Urbanization and commercialization of *nanyin* in Xiamen

Under strong influence from colonialism and modernism, several significant economic, social and cultural developments took place during the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century in major cities such as Shanghai and Xiamen. Shanghai was the largest and wealthiest city in China at that time, and the population grew rapidly due to the influx of refugees and migrant workers from neighbouring regions. Urbanization and socio-economic modernization are important factors that gave rise to and shaped the popular culture. The all-female theatre *nǚzi Yueju* [Women's Yue opera] represents a good model in this respect. The opera originated in Zhejiang province, spread from there and became the most popular performance culture in Shanghai from the 1930s to the 1980s (Jiang Jin 2009:3). Traditional tea and pleasure gardens remained significant, and Western-style operatic theatres proliferated. The traditional music and operatic genres were not replaced but rather enriched with Western ideas and instrumentation compatible to the growth of a commercialized entertainment industry (Stock 2003:133).

In Xiamen, the history of *nanyin* practice is much younger compared to Quanzhou and Jinjiang, but Xiamen still played a very significant role in the development and dissemination of *nanyin* culture. It is a metropolis located 90 kilometres from Quanzhou and belongs to the same dialect group but is distinguished by a different accent. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century when the Qing authorities opened Xiamen for foreign trade, many people from Quanzhou and Jinjiang moved to work there. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Xiamen replaced and surpassed Quanzhou as a regional trade centre while *nanyin* activities continued and benefitted from the new economic boom in the ensuing decade. The shift from Quanzhou acting as an economic centre to Xiamen after the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century attracted many Jinjiang *nanyin* masters to work in Xiamen and created sociocultural changes while nurturing the sprouting of a regional *nanyin* interpretive style (see Chapter 4.2.4 below).

With the aid of the recording and broadcasting industries, the performing arts were disseminated in a new dimension and audiences received a wider choice of entertainment forms and genres. 78rpm recordings of *nanyin* were produced starting from 1912 in the

Zhangzhou region, situated between Xiamen and Quanzhou, while more recordings were produced in Xiamen for distribution to Southeast Asian countries (Zhongguo quyizhi 2006:77). Quanzhou musicians also had their recordings produced in Xiamen in the 1930s; some of the 1950s recordings are said to be kept in the Quanzhou government archive for preservation but are not accessible to scholars, not to mention to the local *nanyin* musicians, for obscure bureaucratic reasons.<sup>82</sup>

*Nanyin* was completely banned due to the social turbulence of the anti-Japanese wartime years (1937-45), but a rapid postwar revival of *nanyin* activities took place in Xiamen. In 1950, the leading *nanyin* composer and master Ji Jingmu amalgamated several major *nanyin* societies and established the Xiamenshi Nanyue Yanjiuhui 厦门市南乐研究会 [Xiamen City Southern Music Research Association]. Ji enthusiastically led all kinds of *nanyin* promotional activities, mainly through broadcasting media. Meanwhile in 1954, the Xiamen government established the first government-administered *nanyin* troupe, the Xiamenshi Jinfeng Nanyuetuan 厦门市金凤南乐团 [Xiamen City Golden Phoenix Southern Music Troupe]; this was later renamed Xiamen City Nanyue Troupe 厦门市南乐团 (Niu Yuetian and Chen Jingzhi 2000:3).

With the burgeoning economy and entertainment needs of the 1950s, *nanyin* performers in Xiamen started to go down the commercial route, entertaining the public at nightly performances in order to achieve self-sufficiency (Resurgence and commercialization in Chapter 3.3.2). *Nanyin* musicians were in great demand in Xiamen, where *gaojia* operas had been popular over the decades (Cai Yixiang, interview, 11 March 2010). The creativity of the many new operatic works that proliferated after 1949 is often attributed to a career shift where many prominent Minnan *nanyin* masters were recruited as composers, music arrangers, instrumentalists and teachers to train the performers in the *gaojia* troupes (Su Tongmou, interview, 7 March 2011). Due to stable income and increased free time, Xiamen *nanyin* masters were able to concentrate on the pursuit of their art and focus on performing and embellishing techniques (Zhang Yingying 2004). This led to an increase in regional interpretive differences of *nanyin* from the traditional Quanzhou style.

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<sup>82</sup> According to Su Tongmou, he has also sourced some cassette recordings recorded in Xiamen in the 1950s. None of the musicians I talked to, and none of the *nanyin* researchers, have referred to any recordings from before 1912.

#### 4.2.4 Regional interpretive differences between Quanzhou and Xiamen

Time is required for new folk music styles to develop and take shape, as political, historical and geographical factors all have great impacts on the process. Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu (1989:142–3) argue that the criterion for the establishment of a new style specific to a region is its recognition and advocacy by representative artists. There should also be a sufficient audience to support the divergent style and an adequate archive to facilitate its study and continuation. Since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, *nanyin* has been identified as having two schools (*pai* 派): Quanzhou *pai* 泉州派 and Xiamen *pai* 厦门派. There is however no official recognition of these regional styles; initially most of the *nanyin* teachers in Xiamen were recruited from Jinjiang, whose teaching was based on Quanzhou style. The stylistic differences are identified only among the musicians in the *nanyin* societies and practised at the preference of the musicians in their own *nanyin* societies. The following is a brief overview of these differences (for more details, see Zhang Zhaoying 2003; Zhang Yingying 2004).

In the rigid musical framework of *nanyin*, each labelled melody features a particular mode, metre, and melodic phrases. A change of labelled melody involves an overall difference in musical content. Therefore, stylistic change seldom involves altering the features of labelled melody; usually it is a matter of interpretative differences in terms of embellishment and performance skill. However, a few exceptional pieces are found in *nanbeijiao* 南北交 labelled melodies (Zhang Yingying 2004:25). The frequently sung vocal piece *Gao daren* 告大人 [Informing the court official] is a good example as in the Quanzhou version its labelled melody is *Jinban* in G mode, 4/4 but in the Xiamen version, the labelled melody is *guabei* in C, 4/4. The change of labelled melody leads to differences in mode, metre and *pipa* fingering, which are all inter-related (Chapter 2.1.2 *Gunmen* and *qupai*). *Nanbeijiao* melodies feature a hybrid of northern and southern musical influences. In *nanyin*, many of the songs with *nanbeijiao* labelled melodies are sung in both Mandarin and Minnanese to match different role types of the background story (Appendix 3); Mandarin is usually sung by role types which represent people from the north, for example court officials, generals and soldiers.

Regional interpretive differences can be strongly influenced by an individual master's practice, e.g. by Xiamen master Lin Jiqu's 林霁秋 controversial compilation *Quannan zhipu chongbian* 泉南指谱重编 (1912), in which he apparently revised many

earlier works. He changed many traditional tune titles and gave their provenance without the support of real evidence (Van der Loon 1992:47; Zheng Guoquan 2009:188-9). Because Lin was a very influential *nanyin* figure of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, his publication was disseminated across the *nanyin* diaspora and widely followed despite doubts about its authenticity. Many of Lin's revised works were thus identified and practised as 'Xiamen style'.

Another example of Xiamen master/composers' influence is manifested in the execution of tempo in the vocal piece *Emaoxue* 鹅毛雪. The Quanzhou version starts in free metre, but the Xiamen composer Ji Jingmu changed it to 4/4 and rearranged it (Exx. 4.1-4.2). Other Xiamen musicians followed Ji's revised version, and now it is widely practised in Xiamen.

Title: Snowflakes (*Emaoxue* 鹅毛雪) (excerpts from Zhang Yingying 2004: 26)



Ex. 4.1 Quanzhou version – Excerpt of *Emaoxue*, C mode, free tempo (*Sanban*) 4/4 – 1/4



Ex. 4.2 Xiamen version – Excerpt of *Emaoxue*, C mode, *Jinsanliao* 4/4

The embellishments used in both Quanzhou and Xiamen are always within the conventional framework. Ornamentation is usually within a major 2<sup>nd</sup> or a minor 3<sup>rd</sup> above or below the main note. The popular vocal piece *Yuanxiao shiwu* from the opera *Lijingji* (Case study 2.5.4) interpreted respectively by a Quanzhou and a Xiamen singer is transnotated below for comparison. Its lyrics, translated by me below, voice the feelings of Wuniang who was separated from Chensan by the ill intent of her unwelcomed admirer.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Quanzhou *nanyin* jichu jiaocheng bianweihui. 2009. *Quanzhou nanyin jichu jiaocheng* [Basic teaching material for Quanzhou *nanyin*], pp.75-77.

元宵十五 阮共君亲相见	During the Lantern Festival on the full moon of the New Year, we had our first encounter (Ex. 2.10)
见君标致(不女)看君障标致 恰似天仙无二	You are so handsome, handsome like a god, second to none (Exx 4.7-4.8)
返来阮厝 恹恹成病 幸逢六月	Returning home, I became sickly (Exx. 4.4-4.5) It was in June
(不女) 幸然楼前投落手帕荔枝	I gladly threw my handkerchief and a stalk of lychee from the upper floor
伊来阮厝為奴三年	You willingly served in our household for three years
忍心不过(不女) 心忍那障不过 即会共君私结連理	I felt for you, so strongly I felt for you that we secretly became betrothed
恨煞林(於)大毒心行止	How despicable is the vicious and ruthless Lin Da (Ex. 2.11)
买囑知州	Who bribed the government official
(不女) 买囑知州掠伊发配崖州	bribed the government official to banish you to Yazhou
你掠阮双人 拆散那障分开做二边 你掠阮双人 拆散那障分开做二边	Torn apart were the two of us, torn apart in two different places [repeat]

The dialects of Quanzhou and Xiamen are nearly the same except for regional accents. The different speech inflections and the singing resulting from these differences are seen in the prevalence of slides. The interpretative differences could be due to personal preference, but arguably local stylistic differences can be detected as well (Exx. 4.4, 4.7 for Quanzhou style and Exx. 4.5, 4.8 for Xiamen style). The excerpts of the *pipa* skeletal melody are based on Quanzhou *nanyin* teaching material,<sup>84</sup> with the vocal parts transcribed by me from audio recordings and corrected by my teacher Zeng Jiayang.

Title: *Yuanxiao shiwu* 元宵十五 (Qupai: *Fuma* 福马, in G mode, 4/4). See Score 7 and CD-3-4 for all the musical examples below.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup>Quanzhou *nanyin* jichu jiaocheng bianweihui. 2009. *Quanzhou nanyin jichu jiaocheng* [Basic teaching material for Quanzhou *nanyin*], p.75.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid:75-7. Yang Shuangyin's interpretation is a field recording and Qiu Yumin's is from a special memorabilia CD recorded for the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary (1925-2005) celebration of Hong Kong Fukien Athletic Club.

Qupai: Fumalang  
bb.12-15  
♩ = 84

Pipa

Ex. 4.3 Excerpt of *pipa* skeletal melody, bb.12-15

Qupai: Fumalang  
bb.12-15  
♩ = 84

Quanzhou

返 来 阮 厝

悵 悵 成 病

Ex. 4.4 Excerpt of Quanzhou style interpreted by Yang Shuangying 杨双英 (CD-3, 1:14-38)

Qupai: Fumalang  
bb.12-15  
♩ = 70

Xiamen

返 来 阮 厝

悵 悵 成 病

Ex. 4.5 Excerpt of Xiamen style interpreted by Qiu Yumin 邱毓敏 (CD-4, 1:31-57)

Comparing the interpretation of the song as a whole, the Quanzhou vocal tends to utilize more downward passing notes and impromptu applications of slides and rests, whilst the melodic contour in the Xiamen style is smoother and more melismatic, less fragmented with a lot of upward embellishment. As a result of speech inflection, slides are found in both versions but the methods of execution differ. Much depends on the oral tradition passed down by the teacher and also on personal preferences in embellishment. The late master Zhang Yikun 張貽坤 (1922-2010) of Rumeixuan Nanyin Society in Zhanglin Village, Jinjiang told me that during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century there was little dynamic variation in Quanzhou performance style. Xiamen style was identified as having more *jiahua* 加花 [adding flowers = embellishment] in the melody, and thus was more expressive than Quanzhou style. In Zhang's opinion, the traditional interpretation should not be too decorative (interview, 22 July 2009). On the other hand, Wu Yancao, an influential *nanyin* composer, emphasized the importance of embellishment and flexibility

in performance practice in a *nanyin* piece even down to minor details such as the use of rising or falling grace notes (interview, 7 December 2009).

### **Rests (*Tousheng* 偷声)**

*Tousheng*, which literally means ‘stolen sound’, in practice indicates rests (*xieqi* 歇气), and is a device for the singer to take a short breath preceded by a short abrupt embellishment to the main melodic note (Ex. 4.7 below; CD-3). In Quanzhou, such stylistic rests in *nanyin* singing are emphasized, but *tousheng* is not found in the Xiamen style (Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989: 144; Ex. 4.8; CD-4). Xiamen *dongxiao* player and composer Wu Shi’an 吴世安 is opposed to using rests as he considers their random use to contradict the conventional notation of the beats, and argues that implementation of rests is due to unskilled vocal technique (Zhang Yingying 2004:43).

Qupai: Fumalang  
bb.6-11  
♩ = 66

Ex. 4.6 Excerpt of *pipa* skeletal melody, bb.6-11

Qupai: Fumalang  
bb.6-11  
♩ = 66

Ex. 4.7 Excerpt of Quanzhou stylistic rests interpreted by Yang Shuangyin (CD-3, 0:36-1:12)

Qupai: Fumalang  
bb.6-11  
♩ = 66

Ex. 4.8 Excerpt of Xiamen style interpreted by Qiu Yumin (CD-4, 0:48-1:29)

Another significant stylistic vocal feature in Quanzhou, according to field conversations with various musicians, is called *tingsheng daipai* 停声待拍 [stop the voice and wait for the *pai*]. It refers to the singers' practice of entering just after the clap of the *paiban* and not on the beat. This usually occurs when the *pipa* fingering is notated as , followed by ˊ ( ˊ or ˊ ˊ). The *tingsheng daipai* style has been widely practised in Quanzhou especially since the 1960s when the late renowned female vocalist, Ma Xiangduan 马香缎, adopted it in her singing to a degree that it became identified as her personal and signature style. Quanzhou *nanyin* musicians consider it a unique musical behaviour, whilst Xiamen musicians insist on the traditional convention of *daoliao daopai* 到撩到拍 [producing full note value according to the notation], which does not allow the shortening of the note value deliberately in singing.

In comparison with Xiamen, the Quanzhou singing style is not as smooth and gentle with the use of these characteristic rests. Xiamen ornamentation is more lively and bright. In addition, slight differences are found in the tempo and lyrics, as some are amended by Xiamen masters according to their personal practice. Regardless of these differences, ornamentation within the established framework is essentially followed in *nanyin* performance practice in both regions.

Various instrumental interpretive differences can be found as well. For example, in *erxian* playing, musicians in Xiamen initiated the practice of *sugongfa* 速弓法 [literally an accelerating bowing], which later influenced the Quanzhou players who found the accelerating effect more interesting. According to Zeng Jiayang, deputy director of Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble, *sugongfa* is an *erxian* instrumental technique usually applied to the ending phrase with accented *accelerando*. In terms of discrepancies found in scores, according to Chendai *nanyin* master Ding Shibin, it is usually seen in the adoption of short or long note value within a measure. For example, Xiamen musicians might interpret a crotchet value with two quavers of the same note, which does not affect the time value of the whole phrase but the rhythm. In a field conversation, Ding Shibin argued that the Quanzhou and Xiamen stylistic differences are not contained in the embellishment but rather in the skeletal notes which result in busier *pipa* fingering for the Xiamen style; i.e. embellishing a note involves using another decorative note, but to make differentiation on a skeletal note is to diminish or augment the value of the same note

(Ding Shibin, interview, 4 May 2011). This is probably one of the many *nanyin* instrumental interpretive differences.

The Xiamen style is favoured and performed in Jinjiang by some amateur *nanyin* groups who find the revised Xiamen version to be more appealing. To a certain extent, it is impossible to reconcile the two styles in the performance of an instrumental piece, particularly when a score with a lot of discrepancies is used. According to various field conversations with *nanyin* musicians, to play an instrumental piece under such circumstances, it is the *pipa* player who decides the style as the *pipa* fingerings imply the type of embellishment for the other instrumentalists to follow. For accompanying a vocal piece, all the four *shangsi guan* instruments including *pipa* have to follow the vocalist's choice of style. There are many *nanyin* songs available in Xiamen style, and it is a personal decision of the vocalist to choose a piece based on his/her own preferences.

The development of *nanyin* interpretation is quite different between Quanzhou and Xiamen; this is rather due to aesthetic choices than to any specific political influences on music. I argue that these subtle musical changes were the end result of social change, urbanization and modernity since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The aftermath of the catastrophic anti-Japanese war resulted in poverty and suffering, so when the jobless musicians were in demand for performing what they considered the lesser regarded street opera (*gaojiaxi*), they had no choice but to loosen some traditional discriminatory measures in *nanyin* practice (Chapter 3.3.1). According to conversations with various *nanyin* musicians, the new social ideology also helped to dismantle the barriers of social prestige and status and allowed the *nanyin* musicians a higher degree of autonomy in their career decision-making. The commercialization of *nanyin* in Xiamen obviously contributed to the prosperity of *nanyin* activities and directly encouraged *nanyin* music composition and exploration. The prolific new *nanyin* works of Ji Jingmu in the 1950s reflected a great demand for new repertoire, and it is no surprise that many other *nanyin* masters also participated and enriched the genre with modern compositions.

Through cross-fertilization and distribution by the Minnan masters, the Xiamen style was accepted and performed in some *nanyin* societies in Jinjiang; hybrid interpretation still exists in the performances in Jinjiang nowadays.

### 4.3 MAOIST PERIOD SUPPRESSION AND SURVIVAL

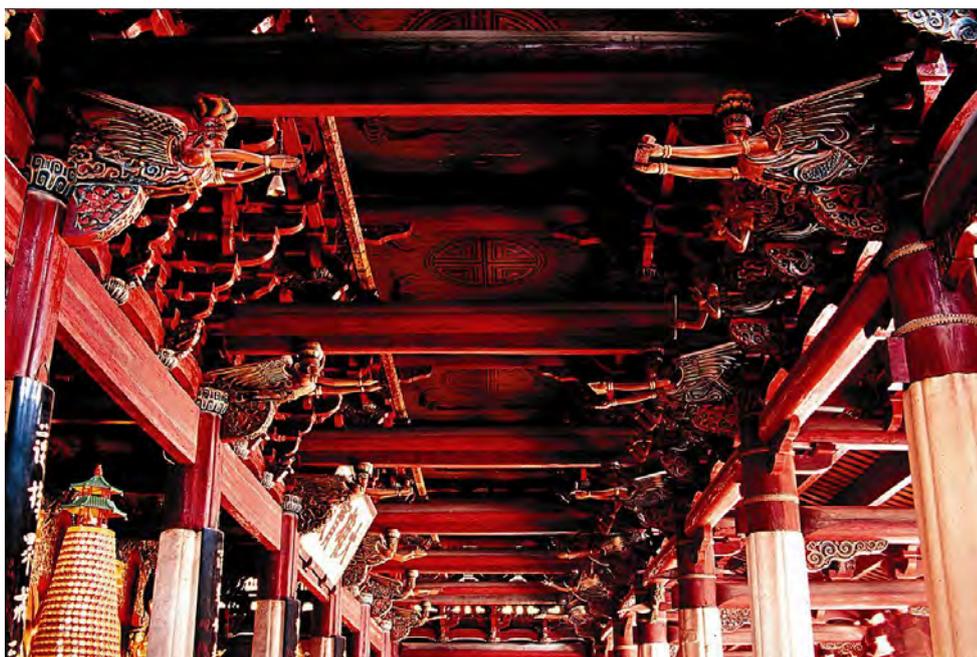


Fig. 4.4 *Nanyin* organological relics in Kaiyuan Temple, Quanzhou<sup>86</sup>

(Photograph courtesy of Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble)

**“If you want to annihilate the temple, you step over me first.”**

So shouted Wang Jinsheng 王今生 (1915-2009) to the approaching mob of Red Guards in the heat of the Cultural Revolution in 1966; he was ready to sacrifice his life. (Guo Xueqin 2009)

This is a legendary account frequently mentioned by Quanzhou residents of how Quanzhou’s Kaiyuansi 开元寺 [Kaiyuan Temple] (Fig. 4.4) was saved from the hands of the Red Guards by Wang Jinsheng, who was the first mayor of Quanzhou in 1961-2 and vice-secretary of the city’s Communist Party from 1962. He was deprived of power during the Cultural Revolution but resumed office from 1982 until his retirement in 1987. Wang was a *nanyin* aficionado and an advocate of preserving China’s traditional heritage. One day in 1966, he was informed that the Red Guards were on their way to destroy this historic temple built way back in the Tang Dynasty. Wang rushed to the temple before the

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<sup>86</sup> Kaiyuan temple is a historical relic; the temple was built in 686AD, and when it was renovated during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), 24 wooden flying Apsaras were fixed to the wall of the ceiling as an architectural structure. These Apsaras were holding all the *nanyin* instruments. These carvings provide evidence that five pieces of wood were used for the *paiban* clappers as early as the Ming dynasty. The temple is always introduced to contemporary tourists as historically related to the organology of *nanyin*.

Red Guards arrived and lay on the ground in front of the main shrine to stop the guards from entering.

The watching masses were astounded and remained silent. He then demanded that the Guards stop their destruction by pointing out the historical value and cultural legacy of the temple. Wang was a veteran revolutionist who had won the trust of the Communist Party and was an influential figure highly respected in Quanzhou. His powerful elucidation and conviction touched the hearts of the masses along with the Red Guards at the scene. Thus Kaiyuan temple was spared from destruction.

Wang was born into a *nanyin* family: his father was an outstanding singer of *guozhiqu*, an old, nearly extinct *nanyin* recital tradition (Chapter 7.3.2). During his years in office as mayor, Wang contributed greatly to the *nanyin* tradition. Grieving over the decline of *nanyin* and anxious about the continuation and preservation of the folk tradition, Wang made a proposal to the City Bureau of Culture (*wenhuaaju*) and successfully established the first state-owned *nanyin* troupe, Quanzhou Minjian Yuetuan 泉州民间乐团 [Quanzhou Folk Music Ensemble], in 1960 (Zheng Guoquan 2009:313).<sup>87</sup> Initially this local group was formed for the revival and rejuvenation of traditional *nanyin*. Adapting to social changes, other local folk genres such as *longchui* 笼吹 [casket-winds] and *quyi* 曲艺 (a kind of stage performance combined with narrative singing) were added to the ensemble's performance repertoire in 1963. This ensemble's founding was a milestone in the development of *nanyin*, as many of the present musicians were trained and nurtured during that period.

In 1962, Wang Jinsheng initiated the canonization of *nanyin gongche* scores by calling for the compilation of the influential *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* 泉州指谱大全, which became the first teaching material for *nanyin* institutional learning. Canonization and institutional learning are discussed further in Chapter 6.6.

During the Cultural Revolution, Wang himself was also labelled as a target for criticism and was eventually removed from power. After resuming office in 1982, he played a significant role in the revival and organization of the *nanyin* tradition. He vigorously promoted transnational activities with overseas Chinese, often inviting them to *nanyin* festivals he had organized, and helped establish the Zhongguo Nanyin Xuehui 中

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<sup>87</sup> The ensemble was renamed Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble 泉州南音乐团 when it was re-formed in 1986.

国南音学会 [China Nanyin Research Committee] in 1985 with the aim of rejuvenating and developing the genre further (Chapter 7.1.2).

Due to his contributions to the preservation and continuation of *nanyin* culture, Wang Jinsheng remains greatly revered within the *nanyin* circle.

#### 4.3.1 The Cultural Revolution 文化大革命 (1966-76)

Campaigns and political movements within China seemed to be endless after the establishment of the PRC in 1949. As part of the Socialist Education Movement, numerous movements and campaigns were launched one after another in the ensuing years. These movements pointed to social transformation through purifying ‘ideology, economics, organization, and behaviour’ (Dean and Zheng 2010:145). The situation worsened and culminated in the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 as the purges spread quickly and intensively from rural areas to cities and threw the whole country into political turmoil and chaos. People lived in fear and were deeply frustrated under such a situation. Naturally, *nanyin* activities were greatly diminished under such disorder.

The Cultural Revolution broke out in May 1966 with the slogan of attacking *fengzixiu* 封资修 [namely feudalism 封建主义, capitalism 资本主义 and revisionism 修正主义]. Coupled with this slogan was the campaign launched for *po sijiu* 破四旧 [smashing the Old Fours: old ideology, old culture, old customs and old habits] and *lisixin* 立四新 [instituting the Four News] on which the new socialism was based.<sup>88</sup> The campaign called for the destruction of cultural and traditional artifacts which were considered ideologically feudal, and *nanyin* thus became one of the targets of attack. The Red Guards began to rampage through schools, ransacking temples and destroying as many heritage-related objects as they could find. The Cultural Revolution turned into a ten-year-long factional struggle, finally ending in 1976.

Ritual tradition has historically been an important part of daily life in China. In Minnan, there are temples in most of the villages for venerating their own local gods; folk religious cults play a more important role than the institutional religions of Buddhism and Daoism. Ritual is equally important in northern China. For instance, in Yanggao County,

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<sup>88</sup> For the destructions to ritual organisations, see Dean and Zheng 2010:143-50. For more information regarding turmoil in northern China, see S. Jones 2004:153-5.

Shanxi, only villages with a ‘great temple’ could be called *cun* (village) on the basis that it is usually in the temple that old ritual manuals, instruments and music repertory are kept (S. Jones 2004:32-3). At the time of the Cultural Revolution, described by the people as *fengkuang niandai* 疯狂年代 [mad years] (Wang Mingming 2006), the destruction of temples was widespread, and all ritual activities were prohibited. Consequently, all life-cycle celebrations, temple fair and public ceremonial activities came to a complete stop in the tense milieu. The role of *nanyin* in such performing contexts also vanished.

### ***Cultural and musical scenario in Jinjiang***

During the Cultural Revolution period, all traditional performing arts were denigrated as one of the Four Olds to be smashed; regular practice of traditional repertoire in *nanyin* and other performing arts was stopped, and most of the performing groups were disbanded.

Having a long historical and ritual background, *nanyin* tradition was considered as ‘black music’, and arrests of musicians were made at will. Yet *nanyin* playing was so deeply entrenched in daily life that government interference had limited effect. Despite the fact that many musicians and performing artists were sent to political sessions and placed under custody; the government still needed music and performance for entertainment at official events. An account by a Jinjiang national-level *nanyin* heritage bearer, Wu Yanzao 吴彦造, reveals the life of a cultural leader in this period along with the communicative gap between local authorities and the provincial government:

I was labelled a ‘black element’ (*heibang* 黑帮) because I was a representative figure in the *nanyin* tradition. Even though I had composed new *nanyin*, I was arrested and sent to learning sessions in a school supervised by the Red Guards for several months. Our families were not allowed to visit us, nor were we allowed to receive phone calls: the so-called learning session was actually imprisonment. Together with myself were many prominent people in the field of cultural and performing arts. We had to reflect on our actions every day and write down and confess what we had done wrong. One day I was playing chess with the well-known librettist Wang Dongqing, who was accused of previously writing a farce titled *Liansheng sanji* 连陞三级.<sup>89</sup> A Red Guard came to me and asked me to report to the *jiaojichu* 交際处, a government department responsible for organising social events. When I was there, they handed to me a red badge and said, “Put this on and do not say anything or move around.” I found out that I was to perform in an annual event that the government had organised to entertain the soldiers during the Chinese New Year. They needed musicians, and the Red Guard was asked to “pick up

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<sup>89</sup> The play was a farce about a muddle-headed court official, who was promoted consecutively three times to higher positions. It once won a national award, but during the Cultural Revolution it was denounced as an anti-government satire.

Wu Yanzao from the cow shed (*niupeng* 牛棚)<sup>90</sup>. I became a member of the people's entertaining troupe (*renmin weiwentuan* 人民慰问团), and our group received an overwhelming welcome at the military Commander's headquarters in the provincial capital in Fuzhou. I accompanied a performance of the Quanzhou marionette theatre. As I was the oldest and nobody knew about my 'black' status, they offered me a seat at the host table with the general. The Red Guards dared not disclose that they had sent a 'black element' with the troupe. (Wu Yanzao, interview, 7 December 2009)

Whilst the Red Guards carried out attacks and destruction, they propagandized and paraded by singing *nanyin* songs with texts of revolutionary sentiments. These new *nanyin* songs reached the society through the tentacles of mass media and could be heard in every corner of the streets through radio broadcast. For the purposes of political promulgation, *nanyin* was performed on stage with amplification to avoid its relatively quiet dynamics being overcome by slogan shouting (Wang Lizhen 王丽珍, interview, Hong Kong, 19 September 2009). The Quanzhou *wenhuaguan* 文化馆 [Regional Cultural Bureau] provided training and a rehearsal venue, and made arrangements to send performers regularly to villages to perform new dramas with different revolutionary themes. *Nanyin* singing during this time mostly served to promote patriotism, and the song text was written according to the theme being propagandized. My informant Wang Lizhen (interview, Hong Kong, 26 September 2009) admitted that she and the others who joined the campaigns did not understand what they were promoting, and did not know why they were asked to do so; there were simply too many questions in their minds, but under the tense political oppression nobody dared to raise any questions, so they just blindly followed to avoid accusation and public humiliation.

Public performances of traditional *nanyin* and other performing arts came to a complete stop. *Nanyin* societies and the musicians' households were ravaged by the Red Guards, and many of their manuscripts, musical instruments, society records and valuable artefacts were confiscated, destroyed and burnt (Shenhu zhenzhi 2007:222). Many musicians were forced to capitulate, whilst some dug holes under their beds and hid the manuscripts. Ding Shibin secretly kept a third of his collection, passed down by his father's teacher, safely hidden in his family granary; these documents became his teaching material and references in later days. Gong Wenpeng salvaged some of his

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<sup>90</sup> During the Cultural Revolution, the leaders in the cultural and arts field were referred to as 'cows', a member of the 'cow, demon and snake spirits' 牛鬼蛇神 group; they were sent to political learning sessions and they called these custodial sites cow sheds 牛棚. In Xiamen, *nanyin* master Ji Jingmu was also sent to a cow shed during that time. See Niu Yuetian and Chen Jingzhi (2000:32).

teacher's old handwritten manuscripts from the burner while they were being destroyed by the Red Guards (Fig. 4.5 below). These are some of the reasons that many handwritten manuscripts from private collections were discovered in the recent decades of cultural relaxation; extensive compilations of *nanyin* repertoire based on manuscripts that have come to light have been published in recent years.

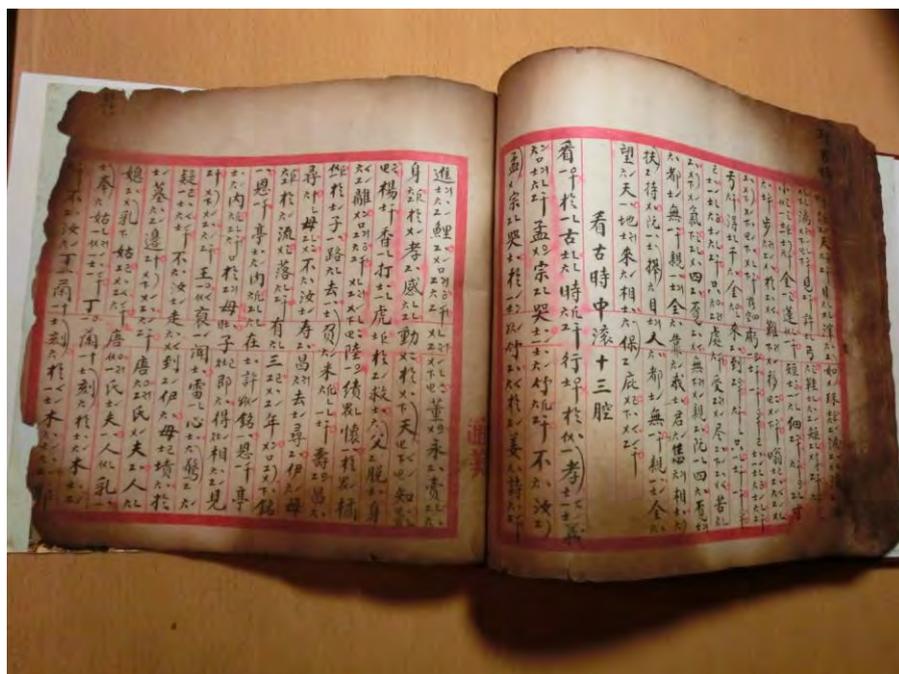


Fig. 4.5 A manuscript salvaged from fire by Gong Wempeng (field photo 2009)

During the Cultural Revolution, the entire Chinese society was devastated with the communist government being embroiled with internal factionalism and bickering between the red and the white parties, which created ceaseless fighting and resulted in a period of anarchy. People lived in fear, and turned to *nanyin* music-making – necessarily in secret – as an outlet for their emotions and a way to relax tension. Seeking every opportunity to learn and play *nanyin* secretly was a widespread phenomenon in society at that time (Ding Shibin, interview, 9 November 2009). *Nanyin* practice did not discontinue, because teaching never ceased. During the daytime, Ding Shibin taught new *nanyin* revolutionary or propagandising songs in different villages, which was approved by the authorities; but in the late evenings, he would secretly teach traditional *nanyin*. In the house of Dongshi master Chen Sichuan 陈四川, there were 20-30 children who brought their own chairs and gathered daily to learn *nanyin* with him (Cai Changrong, interview, 5 December 2009).

Meanwhile, fervent musicians in Jinjiang dared to challenge the government by looking for every viable way to learn the music secretly. They hired teachers via the financial support of well-off individuals, and gathered together secretly to learn at home, in a similar way to the traditional *kaiguan* [class opening]. One time when the famous *nanyin* master Huang Shouwan 黄守万 (1907-94) was teaching a group of students at a residence in the town of Anhai, the Red Guards came to seize all their instruments (Chen Yanting 2008:60). However, this did not stop the *nanyin* enthusiasts from playing their music: they merely moved from place to place in a nomadic fashion. Rather than playing in cities and towns, which would naturally attract official censure, the musicians would travel to rural areas where even the cadres were *nanyin* lovers. The cadres adopted a tolerant attitude and allowed the villagers to play *nanyin* for self-entertainment. The Red Guards dared not interfere because of the cadres (Chen Yanting 2008:60). During field conversations, *nanyin* musicians often extolled the understanding and consent of their neighbours during these difficult times that allowed them to secretly enjoy music in the evenings.

Right after the fall of Deng Xiaoping in April 1976, “the situation turned chaotic again,” said Cai Weibiao 蔡維鏢, a virtuosic *nanyin* master of Dongshi origin whose wedding in the same year to a prominent *nanyin* vocalist ended in chaos. The couple were renowned musicians, most of their friends were from *nanyin* circles, and the majority of *nanyin* musicians in the region were their guests at the banquet. It was customary for wedding guests to play the traditional game *naodongfang*<sup>91</sup> 闹洞房 [literally teasing the newlyweds in their bedroom on the wedding night], which involved *nanyin* singing. A ‘work-team’ together with some soldiers from the Liberation Army 解放军 showed up, and all the guests at the wedding banquet were arrested on suspicion of participating in *nanyin* singing. The banquet ended very unhappily. After difficult attempts to solicit a pardon, the harassed host managed to obtain the release of the arrested with the help of some sympathetic cadres (Cai Weibiao, interview, 5 December 2009).

Thus we see that *nanyin* activities disappeared from the public scene when all ritual performances were prohibited during the Cultural Revolution, but music-making was still going on ceaselessly and secretly throughout Minnan, especially in rural areas.

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<sup>91</sup> It is a popular Chinese marriage custom practised in various ways to create a euphoric atmosphere according to the traditions of individual provinces. Chinese people believe that it helps the bride and groom to avoid evil spirits and brings luck and prosperity to their marriage.

### *Emergence of Heixiban 黑戏班 [Black opera troupe] in rural Jinjiang*

At the peak of the Cultural Revolution when the policy to revolutionize theatrical stage plays was carried out, only eight *yangbanxi* 样板戏 [model revolutionary plays] with revolutionary themes could be performed in China, to propagandize and to educate people politically (Isabel Wong 1984:147; McDougall 1984:viii). Therefore, librettists and performers were placed under serious scrutiny by the cultural authorities.

These model operas were performed in different regions, adopting the local colloquial characteristics. The most popular revolutionary pieces were song cycles from three operas: *Shajiabing* 沙家浜 (name of a town in Jiangsu province), whose content was anti-Japanese, *Jiangjie* 江姐 [Sister Jiang] and *Hongdengji* 红灯记 [The Tale of the red lantern]. These were among the model operas created in Beijing opera style to meet with Jiang Qing's urge to revolutionize theatrical performance. Many problems were created as performers found that the substitution of texts and oral delivery in different vernaculars did not fit well into the musical pattern of these operas. For example, in adapting the long arias of Beijing opera lyrics of *Shajiabang* to the Cantonese opera style (with the title now being pronounced *Shagabong*), some musical features characteristic of Cantonese opera needed to be discarded (Bell Yung 1984:144-64). The same difficulty was encountered when adapting the revolutionary repertoire into Sibe operas with a different orchestration (Harris 2004:170-1).

Jinjiang was known to be a *xiqu zhixiang* 戏曲之乡 [home for operatic arts], and watching traditional opera (mainly *liyuan* opera) had been one of the main entertainments in rural villages. With all performing troupes being dispersed during the Cultural Revolution, performers were dismissed and packed their bags home to their villages. The villagers soon grew tired of the propagandist operas, and due to the continuing great preference for traditional operas, especially in rural areas, small troupes known as *heixiban* 黑戏班 [black opera troupe] emerged in the early 1970s. Just as religion was suppressed and many religious leaders were persecuted (Dean and Zheng 2010:145), so were the leaders in traditional performing arts, who were thought to be spreading feudalism. Of all the incidents, the *heixiban* incident was considered by locals as the most miserable case in history.

At the request of the villagers, the opera performers would perform inside a house with the main door closed. They did not wear costumes nor use drums and gongs. Later the small village troupes in rural Jinjiang grew from one to four, and there was demand for larger-scale performances (Fang Qingjing and Huang Yanyi 2007:353).<sup>92</sup> As the troupes became more and more popular and rapidly expanded, they performed more openly and frequently. At that time, each performance would cost around 100-200 RMB to stage (around £7-14 at 2006 rate), and each performer would take a share of 5-7 RMB. It was with this bare minimal income that the performers maintained their families.

The practice came to the attention of the local rural authorities, and they considered these black operas as *heixi yaofeng* 黑戏妖风 [licentious, deliberately defiant and demonic provocations] which were against the cultural ideology of the revolution. The titles and content of the operas were used as pretexts to accuse the troupes of anti-government plots (Fang Qingjing and Huang Yanyi 2007:337-8). The *geweihui* 革委会 [Revolutionary Committee] ordered heavily armed police to arrest the troupe leaders and performers. The villagers thought the opera performances helped sustain the local culture and provided entertainment, so they protected the performers in every possible way and thus resulted in frequent confrontation with the local authority.

The government, faced with strong resistance from the villagers, arrested the head of the most popular troupe, Wang Jinlong 王金龙. Wang was later executed in 1975 at the age of 41 (Fang Qingjing and Huang Yanyi 2007:345). People in the city were afraid to discuss the incident openly at that time, but in the rural areas, e.g. in Jinjiang, the villagers explicitly expressed their anger. On the day of Wang's execution, both sides of the street in Jinjiang were packed with crowds of supporters to send him off. The victim was widely regarded as a decent and straightforward opera fanatic without any political connection. The day after the execution, another *heixiban* continued their performance as a means of protesting and confronting the authorities.

The frenzied situation continued until almost the end of the Cultural Revolution, a time when even private practice was strictly prohibited. All these incidents aroused great anger, fear and anxiety across society.

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<sup>92</sup> This is from one of the edited chapters in Fan Qingjing and Huang Yanyi (2007), *Jinjiang mingling waizhuan* 晋江名伶外传 [Unofficial biography of renowned performers in Jinjiang] 范清靖, 黄延艺主编. The publication is the fourth volume of *Jinjiang Wenhua Congshu* 晋江文化丛书 published by Xiamen University Press. The biographic writing revealed a loosened censorship less constraining than in the previous decade.

### 4.3.2 Revolutionalization of repertoire

During the Cultural Revolution, all traditional art forms were denounced as feudalistic and traditional *nanyin* tunes were given lyrics containing revolutionary ideas to convey and promulgate the political and social messages for the PRC. This situation became intensified when Mao Zedong's political theory was carried out to the extreme. Professional composers were sent periodically to labour among the workers and peasants so that they would understand the latter's practical needs and so that their collectively composed works would represent "a democratic pool of mass opinion" (Isabel Wong 1984:130-1). Music creation thus became a collective process not attributable to individuals. In a discourse on individual creativity and politicized sociocultural environment for instrumental solo *dizi* compositions, Frederick Lau commented that the post-1949 musical ethos was politically conceived with nationalist rhetoric, and slogans were used as titles to raise the masses' political consciousness and solidarity; the composers' creativity was thus restricted (1995/6:133-52). This section examines with illustrative musical examples how the contemporary *nanyin* composers attempted to innovate beyond the conventional *nanyin* musical framework.

In southern Fujian, many of the *nanyin* melodies were appropriated to be set with revolutionary texts and became song cycles of the model operas. The song *Wang Beijing gengshi wozengtian liliang* 望北京更使我增添力量 [Looking to Beijing gives me greater strength] (Score 6)<sup>93</sup> is a typical example: it was composed by a Jinjiang composer, Yao Jiayan 姚加衍 for a revolutionary opera entitled *Longjiang song* 龙江颂 [Praising the River Dragon]. This was one of the model works created in Beijing opera style and then developed into a regional version with its lyrics adapted to *nanyin* melodies. The expressive revolutionary mood permeating the whole song is noticeably manifested in the lyrics, and the most striking musical feature was the idea of using contrasting tempi and dynamics to evoke revolutionary emotion. Ex. 4.9 below is an excerpt from the song *Wang Beijing* mentioned above, in which the composer adopts the pre-existing melody *zhonggun* while adding expression marks and tempo changes to enhance the emotion in the interpretation.

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<sup>93</sup> This transnotation of *Wang Beijing* is based on a handwritten score provided by an anonymous Jinjiang *nanyin* vocalist who used to perform this piece.

Excerpt from *Wang Beijing* 望北京  
bb.55 - 64

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

神 往 恨 不 能 (啊) 恨 不 能 (啊) 九 万 亩

Ex. 4.9 Excerpt from *Wang Beijing*, bb.55-64

The above example illustrates the typical melodic contour of the *zhonggun* tune family in different registers. The expressiveness of the lyrics is articulated by the use of tempo contractions. The original tempo as it appears in a similar *zhonggun* melody in the traditional *nanyin* song entitled *Chuhuatang* is slow 4/4, and the whole piece is to be played in an overall slow tempo with little change in expressiveness (Ex. 4.10).

Excerpt from *Chuhuatang* 出画堂  
Gumen: *Zhonggun*

杜 鹃 鸟 杜 鹃 鸟

Ex. 4.10 Excerpt from *Chuhuatang*<sup>94</sup>

Although most of the revolutionary repertoire was discarded promptly and the playing of the traditional repertoire was resumed after the Cultural Revolution (S. Jones 1999:53), few of these revolutionary works remained popular and continued to be performed.<sup>95</sup> The song *Wang Beijing* but not the opera was performed in Minnan in 2010 at a public performance in the Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble theatre. The audience enjoyed the dramatic melody and the patriotic fervour despite its Cultural Revolution associations. To articulate the musical effect of the revolutionary spirit, the performance of this piece was modified and accompanied by a folk ensemble with expanded instrumentation. *Yangqing* dulcimer, *erhu* fiddle, *da ruan* lute, *zhonghu* fiddle and *dizi* flute were all added together with the background chorus of 5-6 vocalists (field conversation with Zeng

<sup>94</sup> The transnotation of this excerpt is based on the undated *Nanyin Teaching Material* vol. 2, published by Fujian Yixiao Jinjiang diqu xiquban 福建艺校晋江地区戏曲班南音教材第二集.

<sup>95</sup> Various conference papers presented at the International Symposium on Culture and Music of China's Cultural Revolution, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, attended by the author, 12-13 April 2013.

Jiayang). It is the musical effects rather than the political meaning that seem to appeal to the present-day public.

### 4.3.3 Amateur composers in Jinjiang

The Western art music tradition's emphasis on the identity and creativity of the individual composer does not apply to traditional Chinese musical culture. In line with other Chinese indigenous musical compositions before the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, names of *nanyin* composers are never mentioned in the entire traceable *nanyin* repertory but rather, in each piece, details of mode, metre, and labelled melody (*gunmen* and/or *qupai*) are clearly specified. Since the introduction of New Chinese Music in the 1930s, with the rise of a Western-style "cult of the composer", composers like Li Jinhui 黎锦晖 (1891-1967), Xian Xinghai 冼星海 (1905-45) and Nie Er 聂耳 (1912-35) gained more exposure and wider recognition. A rare exception where an individual musician received major attention is the case of the blind street-singer Abing [Hua Yanjun 华彦钧] (1893-1950) of Wuxi, Jiangsu province, whose musical creativity was recognized by his own society and whose works were recorded and compiled by the Central Conservatory of Music, Beijing in the 1950s (Stock 1996).

Since the early Reform period in the 1980s, prohibitions on performing arts began to thaw, leading to a revival of many cultural traditions. Performance of traditional *nanyin* repertoire resumed, while new *nanyin* works by amateur composers contrasting with those New Chinese Music "composers" also emerged. In southern Fujian, regardless of the genre's prestige and popularity, *nanyin* composing is not a highly regarded form of art. Since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, *nanyin* composers are either amateur musicians or literate members of the *nanyin* societies who write either music or song texts, or both (Su Tongmou, interview, 25 March 2012). In other words, anyone who knows *nanyin* may compose.

Nowadays an amateur composer would habitually bring his work to the *nanyin* society he is acquainted with and have it performed while asking for comments. If the music is acceptable to the musicians, it will be spread by *word-of-mouth* and others will play the piece. This seems to be the only channel available for new compositions to gain recognition. Some well-off amateur lyricists in Jinjiang have developed the practice of paying for someone to compose music for the lyrics they wrote and for an ensemble to

perform it in public. They would produce a video recording of the rendition and circulate copies to their friends. This is mainly to satisfy the composer's vanity which does not result in any significant economic benefit.

Contemporary *nanyin* composers have, to a great extent, retained the role of music arrangers in the *nanyin* tradition by borrowing a labelled melody and re-arranging its musical ingredients to fit the lyrics. And yet the prominence given to a composition carrying the composer's name is more emphasized nowadays, probably due to 20<sup>th</sup>-century Western influence. However, this development is generally seen as increasing negative competitiveness within *nanyin* circles. An anonymous interviewee explained that although the *nanyin* ethos emphasises harmony, mutual respect and unity, these notions are not always respected in practice. He said that musicians generally condemn the *mingzheng andou* 明争暗斗 [secret competition] that exists, and noted that “traditional *nanyin* pieces are considered a precious heritage from ‘ancestors’ because they are all anonymous”. If the composer's name is given, he said, “why should I sing his song if he does not sing mine?” He gave the example of the Singaporean *nanyin* musician Teng Mahsheng, founder of Siong Leng Musical Association (Siong Leng n.d.), whose many compositions were never sung in southern Fujian and not even by other local *nanyin* societies in Singapore but only by his Association members. The Xiamen masters' instrumental piece *Minhai yu'ge* is seldom played in Quanzhou, and likewise Xiamen musicians do not play the Quanzhou composition *Baihua qifang*. The musicians whom I conversed with in Quanzhou admitted that not all innovations and new pieces are bad: a few were really good, but *nanyin* musicians would still not promote them. To the musicians, *nanyin* is prestigious because of its antiquity; new compositions are generally disliked and considered to lack authenticity. Minnanese people are generally competitive in character and particularly concerned with *mianzi* 面子 [face]. Traditionally, *nanyin* activities such as *baiguan*, *nanqu leitai* (Chapter 4.1.3), and the *guozhi lianchang* 過支聯唱 [continuous singing recital] (Chapter 7.3.2) all implied tacit competition. *Nanyin* musicians find no reason to promote someone whom they are not affiliated with. As a courtesy, the musicians will perform a foreign composer's work in the presence of the visiting group to which he belongs, but they are unlikely to include it in their usual repertoire.

As new works are not enthusiastically supported, the general attitude of *nanyin* musicians is to: “let them compose, see how long their works can survive. If a song is accepted, it will be passed down; if not, it will disappear. No need to reject and no need to promote” (anonymous, interview, 30 April 2011). The resistance to promoting an individual’s works, according to this interviewee, is perhaps attributable to a recognised attitude of *wenren xiangqing* 文人相轻 [mutual contempt between the intellectuals]. This concept discourages potential composers in the creation of *nanyin*.

#### 4.3.4 Current *nanyin* works

Political manipulation of music is not, of course, unique to China. As one example, in Indonesia, Balinese music and arts were controlled by the government for the purposes of globalization and Indonesianisation in the 1950s. The professional training provided for musicians by the conservatories and academies accelerated secularization and homogenised the country’s art forms. Composition for *gamelan gong kebyar* was standardized, and the modernization of Balinese composition and other musical innovations were seen (Harnish 2005:103-23). In southern Fujian, *nanyin* practice has also been under government control since 1950s. Despite the government’s urge for innovation, I argue that it does not make any effort to cultivate *nanyin* composers. There is a lack of an academic training platform because composition is not included in the curriculum of institutional *nanyin* teaching and private teachers only teach performance (Chapter 6). As a result, the introduction of new *nanyin* pieces by amateur composers has not come to fruition. Two representative recent works are discussed below to give a brief view of the current situation: one by an institutionally trained student composer with no *nanyin* background, and another by an amateur Jinjiang composer with *nanyin* knowledge and New Music education background.

In recent years, under the pressure of the government of Quanzhou, the government-owned Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble was forged to accelerate innovation, leading to a dynamic stylistic change in recent *nanyin* works. Among the new works, a frequently performed piece in the QNE theatre nowadays is *Qianjia luoqi guanxianming* 千家罗绮管弦鸣 [The sound of *xianguan* in the thousand formally dressed households] with lyrics from a Tang dynasty poem. It was composed in 2008 by doctoral student Wang Danhong 王丹红 of the Beijing Central Conservatory of Music, who was invited by QNE to write

an innovative *nanyin* works. As the composer is not a Minnanese and has no *nanyin* cultural background, her work manifests bold changes which, according to various old masters who attended the concert, rendered it hard to identify as *nanyin*. Initially Wang notated it as an orchestral piece in staff notation with separate parts for different instruments, which the professional *nanyin* performers found difficult to read. This is a song sung by male and female vocalists accompanied by background instruments; both the structure and instrumentation are alien to traditional *nanyin* works (Score 12; DVD-4). The composer attempts to link the piece with the tradition by imitating the slow introduction in *nanyin* music with an opening recitative in free tempo. She also borrows the popular refrain *luolilian* from the *nanyin* labelled melody *Wengyige* 翁姨歌 and uses it in bars 65-75 of Score 12. The following example illustrates the use of the same refrain in the popular children's song *Zhiru huayuan* (Ex. 4.11 below; last 13 measures of Score 13). This refrain is sung by a chorus in the recording (DVD-4, 5:21-5:51).

Excerpt from *Zhiru huayuan* 直入花园  
 Gumen: *Wengyidie*  
 bb. 59-68  
 ♩ = 100

Excerpt from Quanzhou Nanyin Jichu Jiaocheng p.

Ex. 4.11 Excerpt from *Zhiru huayuan* (*Luolilian*)

There are numerous differences in its performance from traditional *nanyin*, such as: opening the melody with *dongxiao* instead of the conventional *pipa* tremolo; use of a recitative; presence of a chorus; inclusion of the *daruan* plucked lute; and the ensemble setting with four percussions in one row at the centre rear.

*Qianjia luoqi* received controversial resonance and response. To the local *nanyin* musicians, such contemporary works, written for and performed by the government-owned ensemble whose members are mostly graduates of Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School in 1987 (Chapter 6.2.1), represent reconstructed *nanyin* and act as a stepping-stone towards the commercialisation of the genre; hence the locals are generally very resistant to such innovation.

In one of his recent compositions, a setting of the Tang dynasty poem *Jiangjinjiu* 将进酒 [Proposing a toast], the prolific post-Mao Jinjiang Gaojia opera composer Chen Huazhi 陈华智 specified the use of *nanyin* labelled melody *Jinban* 锦板 (G mode).

Attempting to enhance his own melodic ideas, Chen modified the labelled melody and varied it to the extent that its characteristics became difficult to identify. Inevitably, the song *Jiangjinjiu* was severely criticized by many *nanyin* musicians who questioned the use of the original labelled melody. The assessment was made without giving consideration at all to the other aspects of Chen's musical creativity. The song *Jiangjinjiu* was later chosen by a contestant to perform in a *nanyin* competition accompanied by the traditional Upper Four ensemble together with Quanzhou Minjian Yuetuan [Quanzhou Folk Music Ensemble]; additional traditional instruments such as *erhu* and *yangqing* were included to enrich the musical texture in the contest. The contestant won the competition; this piece thus gained some television exposure and became a regular piece in public concerts by QNE.

Although *Jiangjinjiu* is generally recognised as a good composition, it has not gained enthusiastic support among Jinjiang amateur musicians. From the outset, *nanyin* musicians always expect to hear the distinctive melodic elements of the designated labelled melody in the piece, feeling that "it's tasteless if it's insufficiently manifested" (Shi Xinyi 施信义, interview, 30 April 2011). This demonstrates the ongoing debates on the acceptable limits of innovation within contemporary *nanyin* composition. The weighting of the pre-existing melody from the designated tune family in the newly composed work is crucial and decisive in its acceptance.

The examples given in this Chapter are only a few of many that would reflect *nanyin* musicians' perennial use of the labelled melodies as a core compositional material based on the conservatism and loyalty strongly inherent in the genre. In fact, the same conservatism is apparent in many other genres. For example, conservative literati struggle to preserve the classical instrumental music and performance traditions of *kunqu* (A. Jones 2001), the irreplaceable operatic theatre of Huju in Shanghai (Stock 2003), and Uyghur model opera drew directly on material from the classical repertoire of the Twelve Muqam (Harris 2004:171). As discussed earlier in this Chapter, I argue that the synthesis of conservatism and the oppositional attitude of the *nanyin* musicians have led to the discouragement of *nanyin* creativity, despite the government's call for innovative compositions.

#### 4.4 CONCLUSION

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, *nanyin* activities continued to proliferate with the establishment of a large number of temporary and permanent *nanyin* societies. *Nanyin* is not just a mere leisure entertainment: its performance was indispensable in most folkloric activities in Minnan, marking every important and memorable life event. As a cultural norm, villagers in southern Fujian would take every opportunity to organise a celebration with entertainment; this is still a common practice nowadays.

In the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was a global phenomenon that the practice of non-Western traditional music generally faced the fate of Westernization. In response to this, musical change, adaptation and survival which manifested cultural synthesis and diversity created an interesting musical scene (Nettl 1985:xiv). In *nanyin*, adaptation of *nanyin* to social and political transformations was explored in different periods and impacted new compositions. The increased number of *nanyin* musicians recruited to work in Xiamen during the economic boom in the 1950s gave rise to regional interpretive differences between Xiamen and Quanzhou styles. In line with the regional interpretive differences and new *nanyin* compositions written in Xiamen, there have been extensive compilation work and publication in the characteristic Xiamen style. These wider currents of modernization marked one aspect of the development of the *nanyin* genre in the ensuing periods.

The use of music as a tool for educating the masses is not foreign to China: it is part of Confucian ideology reused in different historical periods (Isabel Wong 1984:112-3). From a different perspective, the devastating Cultural Revolution acted as the catalyst for dramatic cultural changes which led to the enforced imposition of state-sanctioned model operas (*yangbanxi*) and revolutionary repertoires, with music becoming a kind of singing activity for political purposes. Given that all art forms became an emblem of propaganda during the Cultural Revolution era, musical aesthetic as an artistic product reminiscent of revolutionary musical experience continues to impact the contemporary musical soundscape of China and some operatic songs and films have remained popular ever since.

The post-Mao Reform period in the 1980s saw the revival and rejuvenation of most of the traditional art forms in China. The practice of traditional *nanyin* was resumed and new compositions by individual amateur composers emerged. In contrast to the development of Balinese compositions which paralleled sociocultural changes,

modification in education and modernization of the country and lifestyle (Harnish 2005), learning of *nanyin* composition is not financially and strategically supported by the authorities. Whilst the conservatory-trained Balinese composers were inspired by music of the outside world and their scope was widened in the exploration of new musical forms beyond their artistic boundary, the conservative *nanyin* musicians in Minnan who are advocates of the traditional repertoire remain unwilling to see the music develop and are generally not very supportive of new works written for self-aggrandisement of individual amateurs. In the *nanyin* world there is still resistance to naming and recognizing individual composers: the traditional anonymity of *nanyin* composers prior to the Republican era is still the preferred norm.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS OF *NANYIN* ACTIVITIES

The inseparable relationship between music and society can be viewed as a generic topic due to music's role in being a representation of various aspects in social life. Making reference to several other scholars' discussions, Bruno Nettl collates certain beliefs and understandings in the study of ethnomusicology and suggests that the discipline should consider "all of the musical manifestations of a society" (2005:12-13). *Nanyin* performance is structured differently according to various performance contexts and musical functions, and from these contexts and functions we can see how society in Minnan defines itself partly with *nanyin* performance. Merriam asserts that "music sound is the result of human behavioural processes that are shaped by the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture" (1964:6). Indeed, through a study of *nanyin* practice and its aesthetic and cultural values, we can also learn about beliefs and affinities of the people within Minnanese society at large. Anthony Seeger's research within the Amazonian Suyá Indian community in Brazil reveals that social relationships in the community are "created and re-created through performance" (Seeger 2004:xiv).

In Chapter 4.1 above, I examined the *nanyin* tradition in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this chapter, based on my findings in the field, I look at contemporary *nanyin* practice in Jinjiang County from the perspectives of performance, the organization and management strategies of traditional and contemporary *nanyin* societies, and relationships between those societies. I investigate how *nanyin* is socially maintained by the communities in Jinjiang.

Since the Reform era in the late 1970s, major and extensive socio-economic changes began to exert tremendous influence all over China, which eventually led to transformations in different cultural elements. Numerous scholars have contributed important analytical studies of the revival of traditions during this period. Among these are the edited volume of Tan Chee-Beng (2006), dealing with revivalism in religion and social structure as well as the re-invention of traditions in Minnan; Adam Yuet Chau's study on Shaanbei religion (2006); Stephen Jones' work (2009) on ritual and musical life in north China; and Guo Yuhua's (2000) study of ceremonial rituals in different contexts.

All these studies bring to light the contemporary ritual scene in China and reveal how ritual practices are juxtaposed with current government policies. The surviving religious traditions were modified with the encroachment of secularization, and today's rituals are much simpler than in the past. In the Pearl River area of Guangdong, Helen Siu (1989) argues that the revival of old traditions was unfeasible. With the fragmentation of the ritual tradition, people reconstructed a contemporary culture, which resembled a re-emergence of the old tradition but carried different meanings. Similar phenomena are found in Lijiang County, Yunnan. Helen Rees (1996) traces the changes in social and political contexts of the organisation and rituals of Naxi ancient music (*Naxi guyue*), which was suppressed during the Maoist period and re-emerged in the post-Mao era in a secular version for enjoyment and tourist entertainment purposes. Ritual events provide a performing platform for *nanyin* and are thus a significant means of sustaining this musical tradition. The last part of this chapter endeavours to discern the dynamics of modernization in the ritual scenario in Jinjiang and how folk religious activities adapt to the present state policy.

## 5.1 *NANYIN* PERFORMANCE CONTEXTS AND STRUCTURE

*Nanyin* performance contexts are to some degree similar to other *sizhu* music traditions such as *Jiangnan sizhu* and Chaozhou *xianshi* ensemble music. *Nanyin* is played both indoors and outdoors, and for both secular and ritual functions; indoor performances take place in a *nanyin* society's premises, private residences, communal cultural centres, government units or schools; outdoor sites include temple sites and public parks.

### 5.1.1 Indoor performance

As seen in southern Fujian and in the *nanyin* diaspora nowadays, the indoor performance structure of traditional *nanyin* basically revolves around three parts (as discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.4). The tri-partite structure remains as follows:

1) *Hezhi* 和指 refers to the opening ensemble section for which an instrumental piece from the *zhi* suites is chosen. It is treated as a warm-up piece played by the four *shangsiguan* instruments or, for a more formal recital, by both *shangsiguan* and *xiasiguan*

ensembles (Chapter 2.2). *Dongxiao* is usually the main melodic instrument, and thus the performance is called *xiaozhi* 箫指 [playing a *zhi* suite led by [*dong*]/*xiao*]. When a *pinxiao* 品箫 [transverse flute] is used as the main melodic instrument, it is called *pinzhi* 品指. At regular gatherings, veteran musicians would often ask each other, “What are we going to *he* [literally ‘harmonize’ but here implying ‘collaborate’] today?” before they decide which mode and tune family of the first piece they are going to play.

2) *Changqu* 唱曲 [literally ‘sing songs’], refers to singing accompanied by *shangsiguan* instruments. This is the main body of the performance, and the number of songs selected from the *qu* repertoire determines the duration of the recital.

3) *Zoupu* 奏谱 [literally ‘to perform the score’], also known as *shapu* 煞谱 (*suapu* in Minnanese) [literally ‘ending score’]. One or more sections of an instrumental piece from the *pu* repertoire are performed by the *shangsiguan* ensemble to conclude a recital.

### 5.1.2 Outdoor performance

*Nanyin* outdoor performances for both secular and ritual purposes are mainly in two performance styles: *caijie* 踩街 [street parades] and staged recitals.

On special occasions such as temple fairs, society anniversaries, festive celebrations and large-scale government events such as cultural festivals, street parades may feature a configuration of processional *nanyin* ensembles (Fig. 2.8). A participating *nanyin* ensemble is called a parasol team (*liangsan zhen* 凉伞阵) and consists of varying numbers of musicians. This involves the participation of both *shangsiguan* and *xiasiguan* ensembles led by a *nanyin suona*. The three-part structure is not practised in this context: only sections in faster tempi from the *zhi* suites are played. Loud volume is the main priority in such a performance as members of each ensemble try to stand out amongst the teams.

The setting up of a recital on a temporary stage is commonly seen at temple fair sites. Such a performance is usually paid for by benefactors of a temple. Other staged recitals include private commercial troupes performing on designated stages in the parks in Quanzhou for public entertainment. During festive periods, e.g. the Spring festival (*chunjie* 春节), stage recitals are organised by local authorities for communal

entertainment (Chapter 7.2.2). Staged recitals follow the traditional three-part performance structure.

### 5.1.3 Ritual performance

In Minnan, there exists a proverb: *youshaoxiang jiuyou baoyou* 有烧香就有保佑 [wherever there is incense burning, there is blessing] (Chen Yanting 2008:21). Ritual practices are entrenched in everyday life, and ritual traditions form the main context for folkloric festivities. These traditions have evolved over time according to social and economic conditions. In addition to the outdoor temple fair processions, other ritual performances by *nanyin* ensembles include events linked to traditional religions and *nanyin* deity worship (Chapter 3.2.1).

#### *Nanyin in religious practice*

*Nanyin* plays a major role in religious practices, especially those related to Buddhism and Daoism. Important Buddhist calendrical events such as the birth, death and immortalisation anniversaries of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas usually include *nanyin* performance. *Nanyin* is not played during the process of ceremonial rites; music playing is mainly in honour of the Buddhist, Daoist and local deities. The repertoires do not have much ritual music; in the *zhi* repertory are two *nanyin* pieces of Buddhist nature, *Pu'an zhou* 普庵咒 and *Nanhai guanyin zan* 南海观音赞, and one Daoist ritual piece, *Dizi tanqian* 弟子坛前. *Pu'an zhou* is a mantra chant in which the repetitive syllables in the text do not have any lexical meaning. *Nanhai guanyin zan* is conventionally performed with text for chanting praise of the Bodhisattva Guanyin, in the sequence *pu-zhi-pu*, which is different from the traditional recital structure of *zhi-qu-pu*. They are performed three times a year on the 19<sup>th</sup> of the second, sixth and ninth lunar months which mark the birth date, death and immortalization anniversaries of the Bodhisattva. Temple organisations invite *nanyin* societies to perform during the celebrations, and the musicians bring their own offerings of incense sticks, flowers and food to the temple.

The birth dates of two Daoist deities, Lü Dongbin 吕洞宾 and Li Tiequai 李铁拐, are said to be on the same date, the 9<sup>th</sup> of the ninth lunar month. These two deities are favourites in Minnan due to their charitable and helpful image. The celebration mood is greatly enhanced as this is also the day of the Chong Yang festival 重阳节 when the

Chinese commemorate their ancestors. For the occasion of these deities' birthday (*xiangong shengri* 仙公生日), *nanyin* musicians offer songs with mythical themes in a different conventional performance structure; the music *Dizi Tanqian* 弟子坛前 is offered in the sequence of *zhi-zhi-pu* [*zhi* instrumental suite - *zhi* vocal pieces - *pu* instrumental suite]. The offering starts with the instrumental *zhi* suite *Kuiyi lishan* 亏伊历山, followed by a set of three vocal *zhi* suites: *Dizi tanqian* (entitled after the suite), *Qing yuegu* 请月姑 (a female divinity *Zhigu*; Chapter 6.4.2) and *Zhiru huayuan* 直入花园. In *Dizi Tanqian*, the first section is a deity-inviting spell (*qingshen zhou* 请神咒) and the number of repetitions depends on the number of deities to be invited to the ceremony. The concluding instrumental piece, *Kouhuangtian* 叩皇天 (or *Ku huangtian* 哭皇天), is a typical ritual piece (Zhou Xiaofang 2006:56-57).

### ***Life cycle rituals***

Life cycle celebrations are much simplified in more recent times. The birth of a male child and elder people's birthdays are celebrated, with *nanyin* performances, in restaurants only by affluent families of *nanyin* aficionados in Minnan. The celebration of the 16<sup>th</sup> birthday of a boy is still being practised in Jinjiang. During my fieldwork in 2009-10, I witnessed several big celebrations in Western-style hotels held by parents, but these were followed by karaoke entertainment instead of *nanyin*. (As far as I am aware, there are no *nanyin* singing facilities within the karaoke.)

## **5.2 NANYIN SOCIETIES AND THEIR OPERATIONS**

The establishment of the PRC in 1949 and the subsequent social and cultural transformations brought substantial changes in the formation of *nanyin* societies in Jinjiang. Whilst some *nanyin* societies with a long history managed to survive and continue on carrying their traditions as before, many were closed down due to diminished activities, whereas some other groups amalgamated and continued the music tradition in various ways.

This section attempts to examine and analyse the history, organisation and management strategies of two *nanyin* societies representing traditional and contemporary *nanyin* hubs respectively.

*Nanyin* playing is ubiquitous in Jinjiang at present day as there are *nanyin* societies everywhere in urban and rural areas. Many of the amateur *nanyin* societies previously called *guan* or *ge* were renamed as *nanyin she* [society] after 1949. Amateur folk music groups are not required to register as they play for non-commercial engagements and are not sponsored by the government. It is therefore rather difficult to obtain statistics of the exact number of *nanyin* amateur societies in the entire Minnan. In 2005, the Quanzhou City Bureau of Culture conducted a census (*pucha* 普查) in both Quanzhou and Jinjiang. The official statistics for the former reveals that there were 223 registered *nanyin* societies in Quanzhou, 48 of them in Jinjiang City. However, these did not include the non-registered *nanyin* societies. On such basis, it is estimated that the total number of *nanyin* societies, both registered and non-registered, in the whole municipality of Quanzhou is approximately 300-500, within the total population of 7.8 million (Zhuo Feng n.d.; Chen Risheng, interview in Quanzhou, 9 March 2010). The census aimed to create a detailed record of the history of *nanyin* societies, their key founders, specific performance styles and historical objects or relics such as old manuscripts and musical instruments passed down from previous generations. The *nanyin* societies which participated in the census were registered, and the personal details of the members and the persons in charge were also documented.

Amongst all these *nanyin* societies, there is only one professional government owned ensemble, Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble, in which members of the troupe are government paid artistes; all other ensembles are commercial and amateur groups. The former mainly performs for official events, entertaining overseas diplomats and visiting guests and carrying out local cultural and propaganda activities. The Ensemble is the only troupe to perform weekly in their theatre to the ticket-buying public.

The local *nanyin* troupes have different ways in managing their societies. In Quanzhou, commercialised performances by privately-owned *nanyin* troupes can be seen in both public areas such as parks and private establishments, members of such troupes earn a living by performing *nanyin* for public audiences (Fig. 3.7); they perform on monthly salary basis paid by private troupe owners. The audience are normally not asked to buy a ticket but they may dedicate songs to be sung by their favourite singer by paying a flexible amount. The majority of the amateur societies (or groups) are found in both urban and rural areas and are mostly sponsored by local business people and overseas

Chinese. The members of these *nanyin* societies play *nanyin* for leisure. These amateur societies have a great impact on cultivating and preserving the *nanyin* tradition.

The infrastructure of an amateur *nanyin* society generally consists of three types of personnel. The first is the director who is usually an individual with respected social status. They are responsible for the managerial work and the day-to-day running of the society. The second type consists of the members from different social strata, including *nanyin* musicians who help to organise activities and carry out internal society chores. The third type includes members of the social elite who act as the financial sponsors contributing to the sustenance of the society and its activities. There are members who do not play *nanyin*, for examples, the social elites and the members of the administrative levels.

Relics of instruments and manuscripts represent the heritage and tradition of a *nanyin* society. In most of the old and established *nanyin* societies, handwritten manuscripts passed down from their ancestral masters are considered to be possessions of pride. In each society I visited, the instruments kept on the society premises are the property of the society for collective use. Nearly all the amateur and professional *nanyin* societies display the altar of *nanyin* deity Langjun and photos of ancestral masters. A table with a tea set and snacks offers refreshments for members and visitors at any time.

### **5.2.1. The oldest *nanyin* society in southern Fujian**

Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society 深沪沪江御宾南音社 (hereafter Yubinshe, as it is commonly called), formed in the year 1632, is the oldest *nanyin* society in Jinjiang. My research purposes were to explore its historical background; to investigate how the Society managed to survive through centuries of political and social instability; to research its early practice of the now much neglected repertoire *guozhiqu*, which was frequently performed in Shenhu up to the early 1950s; to investigate the *nanyin* societies in its neighbouring villages; and to look at the recent activities of this oldest *nanyin* society in southern Fujian (Minnan). As the Society was known as a hub grooming many *nanyin* masters in the past, I have also researched the transmission of *nanyin* tradition (Chapter 6.4).

Yubinshe is situated in the village of Nanchun 南春村 in Shenhu, which lies on a peninsula on the southeastern coast of Jinjiang (Map 5.1):



Map 5.1 Shenhu and neighbouring towns (source: Shenhu zhenzhi 2007 (simplified))

In 1984, Shenhu became a *zhen* 镇 [town] consisting of 19 *cun* 村 [villages; formal term ‘administrative village’] and 150 *zirancun* 自然村 [natural villages].<sup>96</sup> The place was officially named Shenhu during the Yuan dynasty, when it became an important port during the heyday of maritime trade.<sup>97</sup> With the advantage of its natural deep harbour

<sup>96</sup>At present, the villages in China are divided into two administrative groups: administrative village (*xingzhengcun* 行政村) and natural village (*zirancun* 自然村). The inhabitants of a natural village usually come from the same lineage; it is a residential area of one or more clans. Compared with administrative villages, which are managed under a hierarchical structure of the CCP government, a natural village – generally smaller in size – is under the mass management of a rural committee led by the state authority.

<sup>97</sup>The meaning of the name 深沪 (Shenhu) is interesting. The first character *shen* 深 [deep] references the town’s natural deep harbour, while the second character *hu* 沪 refers to a traditional fishing technique

coupled with technological improvements, old Shenhu became famous for its shipbuilding industry dating back to early Qing. Its golden era as a prosperous shipping port was evidenced in a corpus of Qing poetry and numerous stone steles in local temples (Shenhu zhenzhi 2007:31-2). Seafaring was the principal local livelihood, and playing *nanyin* aboard ships was a norm for enlivening the long and boring journey of the fishermen and sailors. Frequent cross-strait *nanyin* music activities between the sailors and the people in Taiwan were a part of the communication of the emigrants of Shenhu origin with their relatives in their hometown (Chen Hanqing 陈汉清 [b.1926], interview, 5 October 2009).

Aside from Yubinshe, there were two other significant *nanyin* societies in Shenhu before the 1950s: Zouyatang 奏雅堂 and Yaqushe 雅趣社. Shenhu Yubinshe had over a hundred members, mostly government officers. The members of Zouyatang were mainly shipbuilders and businessmen, whilst the majority of Yaqushe members were from well-known families in the town. Such a membership constituency shows that *nanyin* music was a popular entertainment of the rich and powerful, and *xianguanjian* [literally ‘halls of strings and pipes’] were venues frequently visited by members of wealthy families (Su Tongmou, interview, 1 September 2009).

The society’s current name Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyinshe was officially adopted when it was registered in 1994 to facilitate the opening of a bank account. The present Society building was completed in 1996 with financial aid from *huaqiao* [overseas Chinese] and local entrepreneurs (Fig. 5.1). In September 2009 when I started my fieldwork in Shenhu, there were over 100 society members who were *nanyin* players, among which around 40 were active participants.

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adopted by the inhabitants, whereby an extended row of bamboo sticks tied together is inserted vertically into the sand along the bank, trapping fish as the tide ebbs (Shenhu zhenzhi 2007: Preface 2).



Fig. 5.1 Shenhu Huijiang Yubin Nanyin Society, Shenhu (field photo 2009)

### *Amateur nanyin groups in the vicinity*

There are several other amateur *nanyin* groups in the vicinity of Yubinshe. In the same Nanchun village is the Sizhu Nanyin Society 丝竹南音社, an offshoot of Yubinshe, created due to conflicts between some individual members. Of some 40 musician members, roughly 10 are active performers. Most members are elderly people for whom the Society's building functions as their daily gathering place. The members follow the routine of music-making once a week, and participate in communal activities and in *nanyin* competitions.

Tianshan Nanyin Society 天山南音社 is situated in the isolated village Keren 科任村, near the seashore at the south end of Shenhu. Villages along the coastline usually have a long history of emigration, and Keren is no exception, being known as a ‘*huaqiao* village’. Keren has been enjoying sustained financial support from villagers emigrated overseas. Tianshan Nanyin Society, the village’s only *nanyin* group, was founded in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and formally registered in 1952. In 2010, they had around 20 members, most of whom were elderly musicians. Participation in society activities was restricted to this small circle, and members do not like to be involved in public activities outside their community. Music-making is only a pastime; these old members do not have the willingness to pass the music down to the next generation as most young adults tend to leave the village, migrating to join their relatives overseas or to work in urban areas. These musicians’ daily lives and Society activities are isolated, just like the location of their village.

Longquan Nanyin Society 龙泉南音社 is situated in Yunhuo village 运伙村 west of Shenhu, near the border of the town of Jinjing zhen 金井镇. There were sporadic *nanyin* groups in the village in the past, and Longquan was previously a group of young men who gathered for *nanyin* music-making without using a group name. Around 1970, when they found out that they were the only *nanyin* group in the village, they decided to maintain the tradition by seeking financial support. The Society took shape when they received their earliest funding in the 1970s from a clan association in the Philippines to buy instruments and recruit teachers. The Society was not officially registered until 2000 when the local authority let them share the second level of a communal building as their Society venue. The Society serves the inhabitants of seven to eight villages in the vicinity by providing music for folk festivities. Among Shenhu’s amateur societies, Longquan Nanyinshe is the most enthusiastic group, actively involved in performance and transmission of *nanyin*. They have recruited resident teachers locally, and their daily practice is important in sustaining the *nanyin* tradition.

There is basically no formal interaction among these four societies in Shenhu. However, in the world of *nanyin* in which musicians know each other well, it is common that in open recitals, individual musicians would play for any society upon request. In the case of Yubinshe, they do not have enough instrumentalists to form a conventional ensemble, let alone a street parade (*caijie*) which is usually organised for a larger

celebration and requires a full ensemble with percussion instruments. When invited by other societies to perform on special occasions, they recruit individual musicians from other societies to play with them. These musicians are more than willing to join, so it is not surprising to see a Longquan musician playing in the Sizhu ensemble, or a Tianshan instrumentalist joining Yubinshe in a celebration recital organised by another group.

### *Nanyin activities of Hujian Yubin Nanyin Society*

In Shenhu Hujian Yubin Nanyin Society, the tradition of regular gatherings is well maintained: the musicians convene weekly upstairs in the Society building (Fig. 5.2). Due to the lack of a resident teacher, no adult *nanyin* teaching is offered and the general standard of practice has plunged. The woman director, He Xiubi 何秀碧, who focuses on *nanyin* education for children, contributes greatly to the continuation of the tradition. The *guozhiqu* tradition, which I originally intended to explore in Yubinshe, has been extinct since the 1950s, and there is no sign of it being revived in Shenhu.



Fig.5.2 Weekly gathering at Yubinshe (field photo 2009)

*Nanyin* playing in Shenhu is a practice developed over a wide historical span and featuring in almost all kinds of local folk activities and government functions. Table 5.1 represents the *nanyin* activities of Yubinshe in the first half of 2010:

Date	Event	Venue
30 December 2009	Ritual: Invocation for blessings	Fulin Temple, Chenlin Village, Longhuzhen 龙湖镇陈林村福林寺
14 January 2010	Funeral: Wake	Member's residence
4 February 2010	Exchange visit: Tiong Ho Sia Musical Association, Philippines	Performance hall, Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society
14 February 2010	Spring festival	Baoquan'an Temple, Shenhu 深沪宝泉庵
24 March 2010	<i>Nanyin</i> live show on TV: <i>Qiaoxiang Pindao</i> 侨乡频道	Jinjiang Broadcasting and Performing Department, Jinjiang 晋江演播厅
17 April 2010	Funeral: Wake	Member's residence
14 May 2010	Elementary school <i>nanyin</i> competition	Shenhu Zhongxin Xiaoxue 深沪中心小学
27 May 2010	Temple fair ( <i>miaohui</i> )	Shenhu Zhenhaigong Temple 深沪镇海宫
30 May 2010	Funeral: Wake	Member's residence
12 June 2010	Deity Dadaogong's birthday	Baoquan'an Temple, Shenhu 深沪宝泉庵
14 June 2010	Student <i>nanyin</i> final contest	Jinjiang Grand Theatre 晋江大剧院
24 June 2010	Deity Guandi's birthday	Shenhu Zhongyi Temple 深沪忠义庙
5 July 2010	Funeral: Wake	Member's residence

Table 5.1 Activities of Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society, Shenhu (December 2009–July 2010)

As a cultural symbol, *nanyin* performances have been included in the secular activities of Yubinshe for government-initiated and communal events. For example, Yubinshe collaborates with *wenhua zhan* 文化站 [the village level culture post] to organise ‘*Nanyin Evening*’ entertainment programmes at the town Cultural Centre. To promote *nanyin* tradition, Yubinshe gains public exposure through a weekly *nanyin* programme on Jinjiang Television.

### ***Remnants of tradition***

As the region's oldest *nanyin* society, Yubinshe is renowned for its long history, a single archaic instrument it possesses, and some manuscripts passed down by their previous masters. The old *pipa* lute *Lieshi* 裂石, said to have been possessed by Yubinshe for over 200 years, is said to be one of the oldest *nanyin* instruments in Minnan and

symbolises the Society's long and glorious history (Zhuo Feng Wenhua Wang n.d.). Due to wear and tear over time, the *pipa* has undergone numerous repairs.

Yubinshe owns many old manuscripts passed down by previous masters, but these have been 'on loan' to a government department in Quanzhou for research purposes over the last two decades and have not been returned despite repeated requests. Similar complaints from many other societies were heard during my research in Jinjiang.

From Table 5.1 above, we can see that ritual events form the core part of the Society's activities; on the occasion of a big temple fair at the main temple Baoquan'an in June 2010, a traditional *jinpeng* 锦棚 [formal square stage] (Fig. 5.3 below) was set up for the performances by visiting amateur *nanyin* groups, both from neighbouring villages and overseas pilgrims. Shenhu is one of the very rare villages which still set up the square stage for *nanyin* performance. Compared to the heavily decorated *jinpeng* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 4.3), this simplified contemporary setting indicates that the formality of *nanyin* performance has changed greatly; likewise, performance etiquette, mainly the details of the process of changing performers on stage (DVD-3), is generally no longer observed.



Fig. 5.3 Contemporary *jinpeng* at Shenhu temple fair (field photo 2010)

The process of industrialisation which resulted in socio-economic transformation within Shenhu has impacted many aspects of the people's daily lives and *nanyin* performance practice. Having to keep up with the fast pace of modern lifestyle, people naturally find it difficult or impractical to spend time learning and practising a

challenging traditional genre. The modern technology and Westernization of lifestyles has provided a wide pallet of options for entertainment; thus traditional *nanyin* has gradually lost its wide appeal.

### 5.2.2 Local organization of the *nanyin* hub

In the early 1980s, the ban on *nanyin* music-making was lifted. However, many of the amateur groups in Jinjiang faced the fate of being closed down: societies were still suffering from the devastated economy and social uncertainty in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution. In the face of the genre becoming seriously undermined, many *nanyin* masters and enthusiasts called for the amalgamation of amateur groups in order to restore and re-strengthen the tradition. In Jinjiang, for those villages with only a few *nanyin* groups, e.g. Chendai, small societies merged as one group; in bigger towns like Anhai and Dongshi, an umbrella organisation bringing together the amateur groups would be formed and act as a grassroots-level hub to centralize management. The government *nanyin* hub is represented by the Jinjiang City Nanyin Association (Jinjiangshi Nanyin Xiehui 晋江市南音协会), established in 1982,<sup>98</sup> which is the centre for organising all large-scale annual *nanyin* activities in Jinjiang County, compiling and publishing *nanyin* scores and literature.

Dongshizhen Nanyin Society, established in 1983, is one such grassroot umbrella organisation and has gained a reputable name for its efficient and successful management of nearly twenty member societies. I have therefore chosen it as a case study to investigate the historical and social background that helps sustain this culture, and how a hub such as Dongshizhen operates to manage its affairs and takes care of its member groups.

#### **Case study: Dongshizhen Nanyin Society 东石镇南音社**

Within the three *nanyin* field sites in Jinjiang where I conducted fieldwork, Dongshizhen Nanyin Society is the most proactive society in organising *nanyin*-related activities.

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<sup>98</sup> This Association, which claims to include about 70 *nanyin* groups with 4,000 members, is under the administration of the City Bureau of Culture and the Association of Writers and Artists [Wenxue Yishujia Xuehui 文学艺术家学会 or Wenlian in short] with Su Tongmou as the executive Vice Chairman (Su Tongmou, interview, 1 September 2009).

### *Historical and socio-cultural background*

Dongshizhen 东石镇 [Town of Eastern Stone] is situated on the southern coast of Jinjiang (Map 5.2). It was formerly known for its stone-cutting, fishing and sea salt industries and is now called a *sandu* 伞都 [umbrella capital] for its mass production of umbrellas (Wang Renzhi 2001: 20). Dongshi is a historical town which has cultivated many literati, poets and calligraphers.



Map 5.2 The town and villages of Dongshi (2007)<sup>99</sup>

Dongshizhen Nanyin Society is headquartered on the top of Dongshi stockade (Shizhai 石寨 or Dongshizhai 东石寨), the heritage monument and landmark of Dongshi in the village of Xiwei 西尾. This stockade was said to be the residence of Zheng Chenggong 郑成功 and his followers before they were defeated by the Qing imperial court and fled to Taiwan in 1662 (Cai Changrong, undated: 4-6). Since AD722 when

<sup>99</sup> Jinjiang Shi Dongshi Zhen Jingmao Lüyou Jiaotong Tu. 2007. Fujian: Fujian Sheng Ditu Chubanshe.

Quanzhou Bay was opened for maritime business, Dongshi has served as a transfer port for cargo from Quanzhou to be shipped abroad. This flourishing shipping business led to a burgeoning economy, and the whole Dongshi region enjoyed several periods of prosperity. In October 2010, the Society moved to a new building at the back of the previous two-storey building in Dongshi stockade (Fig. 5.4); the photo was taken when the new building was still under construction.



Fig. 5.4 Dongshizhen Nanyin Society (field photo 2010)

*Nanyin* is deeply rooted in Dongshi. Its earliest traceable history in the town is documented in the *Longjiang shihua* 龙江诗话 authored by the local scholar Cai Dehui 蔡德辉 (1833–91).<sup>100</sup> His writing captured the joy of a festive evening:

The lamps brightened up the villages of Zhuze 珠泽, Xixia 西霞 and Yujing 玉井 like sparkling precious stones scattered on the ground ... well-dressed women in heavy make-up carried lanterns, and the ten-mile winding road was illuminated like a golden serpent. Among the thousand kinds of sounds was the busy playing of *guanxian* 管絃 [pipe and string] music. (My translation from the original version in Fig. 5.5)

<sup>100</sup> A collection of essays on folk activities in Dongshi, which describes the euphoria of festivals with *nanyin* music performed everywhere in these villages. The photocopy of *Longjiang shihua*, *juan 3* [chapter 3]:21-2 was from a private collection provided by Cai Shujian 蔡书剑, Committee member of the Jinjiang Pudie Yanjiuhui 晋江谱牒研究会 and Jinjiang Fangzhi Xuehui 晋江方志学会.

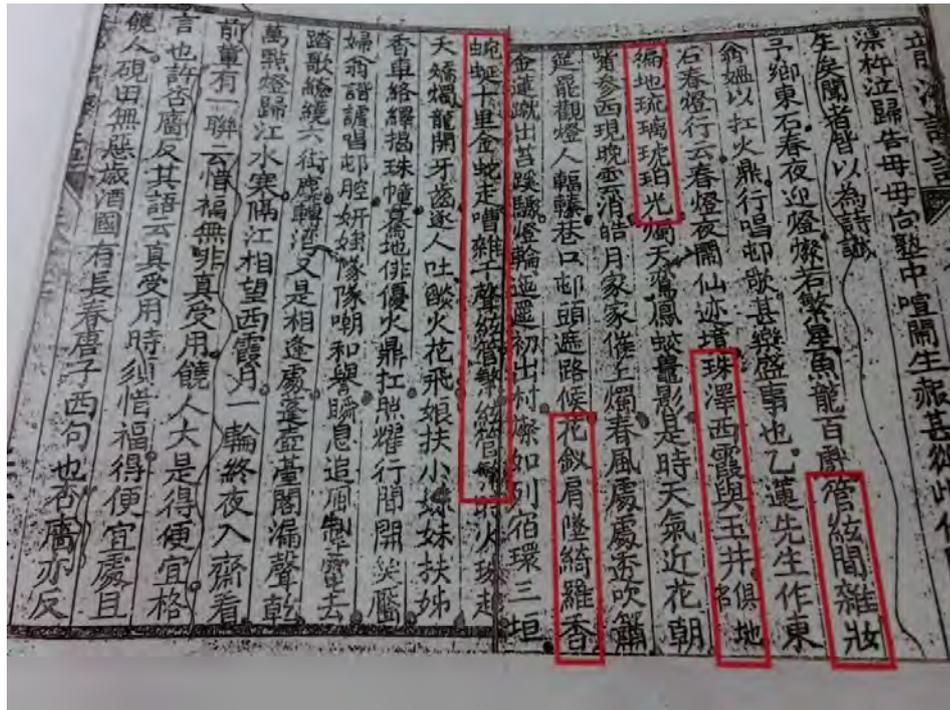


Fig. 5.5 Longjiang shihua, juan 3 [chapter 3]:21-22

*Guanxian* music, referring to *nanyin*, was repeatedly mentioned as having been played everywhere amid the noise of the crowd. It indicated the affluence of the countryside around Dongshi in the 1850s.

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, *nanyin* transmission in rural Dongshi was a hereditary tradition, one which has been sustained to the present day. Dongshi established its name and reputation as a town of rich cultural traditions, including *nanyin*. Many well-known artists and troupes of significant performance arts, including *liyuan* opera, *gaojia* opera and Southern glove puppetry, originated here.

### ***The amalgamation of neighbouring amateur nanyin groups***

*Nanyin* tradition in the town of Dongshi followed the political ebb and flow as it experienced various setbacks. The Society was founded in 1983 by a group of *nanyin* masters in an attempt to unite over a hundred societies in Dongshi. They aimed to promote *nanyin* as a major communal entertainment and to create a regional identity by participating in cross-regional *nanyin* activities. At the same time, it was also their desire to preserve and pass down the tradition to the young generation by providing teacher-training sessions for member societies (Cai Changrong, interview, 11 March 2010).

Rural Dongshi has maintained a certain degree of rusticity in comparison to the speedy modernization in other towns, and nearly every village has an amateur *nanyin* group. The alliance of Dongshizhen consists of twenty affiliated *nanyin* societies with a total of 288 registered member musicians. Many of these societies have over 150 years of history, and even though they come under the umbrella management of Dongshizhen, many have carried on using their own names. Each member society provides the music for life-cycle rituals and other communal services within its own village. Dongshizhen Nanyin Society keeps a detailed record of each member society in order to provide the member musicians with music for their life-cycle events. For example, if a member musician passed away, all the member societies' musicians under Dongshizhen Nanyin Society will attend the funeral to offer music.

Dongshizhen Nanyin Society is a town-level society representing Dongshi in all out-of-town formal *nanyin* activities, such as the biennial *nanyin* parade in Quanzhou and exchange visits with societies in every town and abroad; it organises events and liaises with performers. The director, Cai Changrong, said with pride that the Society is the only *nanyin* group in Jinjiang which could form at any time a team with 18 colourful parasols [凉伞阵]: a configuration of 18 full ensembles each comprising 11 to 17 musicians from their member societies to perform in a street parade (Cai Changrong, interview, 11 March 2010; Chapter 2.2.2).

### ***Teacher training centre***

Every morning from 8 to 10 a.m., Dongshizhen Nanyin Society operates as a training centre for *nanyin* teachers from different villages. Then ten or so attendees (Fig. 5.6) are mostly voluntary *nanyin* teachers in local schools and/or in public organisations such as Old People's Associations. Their contributions to *nanyin* education are of immense importance for the continuation of the tradition. I noted that the teachers would practise the pieces as preparation for their teaching and invite comments from the other musicians on site.

Among all the societies I visited, Dongshizhen is the only one that has strictly maintained *nanyin* practice on a daily basis. The morning session starts when there are enough players to form an Upper Four ensemble to accompany the vocalists. Their regular daily practice and good coordination between vocalists and accompanying

instrumentalists lays a solid foundation for keeping up good standards of performance skills, as indeed the results show: Dongshizhen musicians are frequent award-winners in various competitions open to different age groups.



Fig. 5.6 Daily morning session in Dongshizhen Nanyin Society (field photo 2010)

### ***Performance opportunities***

Dongshizhen hosts a weekly three-hour recital for its member societies every Saturday evening regardless of the weather. Each week one member village is invited to perform, while other member musicians converge to enjoy the event; in this way, every member society is given the opportunity to participate in a recital. The recital is staged on the platform in front of the Society venue and is open to the public (Fig. 5.4).

The popular tradition of interactive visits between amateur *nanyin* groups initiated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century has become the norm nowadays (Chapter 4.1.3 *Baiguan*). During my fieldwork in Dongshizhen, the Society received frequent visits from other groups in the form of the traditional *baiguan*. (One of the visiting groups was Shishi Shenghe Nanyueshe 石狮市声和南乐社, Fig. 5.7)



Fig. 5.7 *Baiguan* 拜馆 by Shishi Shenghe Nanyueshe to Dongshizhen Nanyin Society (field photo 2010)

Performances in ritual and celebrative events are also an important part of *nanyin* activities in Dongshizhen. The Society links and interacts with six local temples in most of the local pilgrimages and temple fairs.<sup>101</sup>

### ***Relationship with local authority***

As an active participant in communal activities, Dongshizhen Nanyin Society maintains a very good relationship with the local authority by cooperating with the government in various activities. Being part of the Society's civil and communal responsibilities, they collaborate with the government to promote and contribute to the enrichment of culture and arts via such activities as the Spring festival which I attended in 2010 (Fig. 5.8); they propagate economy by providing free *nanyin* musical entertainment in exhibition venues for the major local manufacturing. The successful and efficient running of the Society relies on a good relationship with and support from the local authority.

<sup>101</sup> These six temples venerate the patron deity of the villages (*wangye*), and some follow Buddhist and Daoist practices. They are: Baisha Zhenjiang Gong Liuxing Wangfu 鎮江宮六姓王府; Jiayingmiao 嘉應廟 (also known as Jiulong Sangong Gong 九龍三公宮); Cijigong 慈濟宮; Nantiansi 南天寺; Long Jiangci 龍江寺; and Tianhougong 天后宮 (built in 1197).



Fig. 5.8 Dongshizhen communal activity: Spring festival (field photo 2010)

### ***Rapport among member musicians***

The success of running an umbrella organisation also relies heavily on good relationships between members. In the residences of individual members in Dongshi, home gatherings for *nanyin* music-making on weekday evenings are common. Yan Xiurun 顏秀潤 is one of those generous hosts. A member vocalist and a regular attendee of the morning sessions at Dongshizhen Nanyin Society, she teaches children *nanyin* at home and in local primary schools. I was invited to a *nanyin* evening gathering at her home (Fig. 5.9). People began arriving at about 5.30 p.m. while some women were busy in the kitchen preparing dinner for the group. Food was served after 6pm. Members continued to arrive and ate randomly. It was a casual and family-like gathering, as the musicians brought along their children.

On that occasion, over ten musicians attended the gathering. Even though it was a casual affair, the musicians seriously followed the formal recital routine by playing in the order *zhi-qu-pu*. It was common in all the *nanyin* societies that while the musicians were playing, other attendants were chatting and socialising. Nevertheless, this did not affect the performance spirit of the musicians, who seemed to be enjoying themselves a lot. The musicians took turns singing and playing on different instruments.



Fig. 5.9 Home music-making gathering in Dongshi (field photo 2010)

Xiurun's home gathering also provides the opportunity for her students to gain performance experience. In addition to the ten guests just mentioned, five of her students participated in the performance. Members describe Xiurun's home as a cradle nurturing children *nanyin* singers.

Contemporary Dongshi is still an old-fashioned town in rural Jinjiang with few modern entertainment facilities. There is only a cinema and a karaoke bar, but these do not attract the local young people I interviewed in the *nanyin* society. The town's lifestyle is simple, and the mentality of the people is still rather conservative. A private residence is the preferred gathering environment for *nanyin* people to converge and make music.

### ***Human relationships***

In every organisation, the adoption of management strategy varies. The concept of egalitarianism in the management level of Dongshi is a crucial reason for its success as a *nanyin* hub in Jinjiang. Ethnomusicologist Christopher Waterman (1982) discusses how the concept of in-group egalitarianism is identified in Nigerian *juju* band leader Captain Dayo's strategic appeals:

His meta-communication, expressed through a variety of channels, is “we are all musicians,” and periodic use of the integrative mode, given the status associations of musicians as a reference group, tends to reduce the perceived differential between Dayo and the rest of the band. There is a great deal of egalitarian joking behavior before and after jobs, which temporarily reduces social distance. (Waterman 1982: 66-7)

This is Dayo’s strategy to exert control over his band musicians. Due to the unequal social system, Dayo represents dual statuses dealing with two contrasting social groups: he is a *jǔjú* musician to his elite patrons and boss to the poor young band musicians. Such dualism of identity does not exist in the contemporary society in Dongshizhen.

With Dongshizhen being a hub comprising many amateur groups associated with long histories and each having its own unique way of musical interpretation passed down by different masters, its masters reached a compromise to sort out discrepancies to standardize the diverse musical interpretations (Chapter 6.6.2). The director Cai Changrong told me that “everyone here is a teacher; we learn from each other”; the musicians took the approach of *hujiao huxue* 互教互学 [mutual teaching and learning] to avoid hierarchy or any contention between masters, and this continues to be their teaching ethos today (interview, 11 March 2010).

Asked about his secret for dealing with human relationships in the Society, Cai said he considered “fairness, consideration and respect for the elder masters” as essential factors. As a show of respect for the old masters, he invited them to be honorary consultants of the Society and seeks their opinions on decision-making about Society affairs; this pleases the old masters very much. The list of honorary consultants also includes local entrepreneurs, mostly educated and mature-minded people and retired merchants. They have plenty of leisure time and are willing to contribute.

### ***Financial resources***

Dongshizhen Nanyin Society has a very strong financial standing. It imposes a nominal annual membership fee of 10 RMB with no maximum indicated. Cai Changrong, who has been the Society’s director since 1991, said “I am a businessman, and I am very concerned about the financial management of this Society” (interview, 11 March 2010). Every year the government provides the group with a subsidy of 3000 RMB<sup>102</sup> for its New Year activities, but on top of this, the director has to generate income to organise

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<sup>102</sup> Equivalent to approximately GBP300 in March 2013.

other activities and to run the Society while being expected to contribute time, money and effort. In dealing with the Society's finances with transparency and integrity, Cai has earned the trust and respect of the members, which is why he has continued as director since 1991.

Fund-raising relies mainly on the Society director's good social connections. There are three deputy directors in Dongshizhen, who are influential leaders of the member groups in their own villages. The Society moved to its new premises in October 2010 and immediately set up a *nanyin jijinhui* 南音基金会 [*nanyin* foundation]. Through the leaders' social networks, they successfully raised the sum of one million RMB as the Society's reserve. The money came mainly from overseas Chinese of Dongshi origin and from local entrepreneurs.

The social change after the Cultural Revolution has resulted in re-organisation of *nanyin* societies in Jinjiang and led to changes in management style and strategies. New large-scale organisational structure necessitates standardization of music-playing and transmission. The contemporary administrative and organization skill set emphasizes flexible handling of human relations and effective financial management; therefore it is significant to have active and capable individuals who are willing to render financial support and contribute their time and efforts in running a *nanyin* society. The society leaders need to be able to mediate between the competing demands and priorities of their members, the local communities, the local authorities, and benefactors from the overseas Chinese community. These are important roles of social leadership within the community. They require significant skills in political and financial management, and knowledge of the *nanyin* tradition. It is interesting to compare the ways that these locally embedded societies operate with the more formally government-supported initiatives.

### **5.3 THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE IN *NANYIN* RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES**

Religion was considered feudal and superstitious by the PRC government and was severely suppressed during the Cultural Revolution period, but survived and continues to re-invent itself over time. In the discourse of revivalism of traditions in Minnan, Tan Chee-Beng argues that:

[T]raditions are reproduced by both officials and ordinary people. While government institutions selectively reproduce traditions and try to influence the ordinary people's choice of tradition, their combined actions of selection and reproduction bring about a dynamic cultural revival. (Tan 2006:x)

From the activity records of each *nanyin* society in my field sites, performing for ritual events is a core activity. In this section, I examine how *nanyin* ritual tradition is reproduced and situated in the present state ideology along with the dynamics of secularization in ritual practices in Jinjiang. *Nanyin* ritual performances in funeral rites and temple fairs as seen in the field nowadays will be included in the discussion.

### 5.3.1 Invented tradition - Funeral rituals

Traditions are not static and are sometimes invented as a result of modernization and urbanization, as often seen in the contemporary performance of ritual. The funeral rites of the late *nanyin* master Gong Wenpeng 龚文鹏 (1952–2011), former teacher of Yubinshe, which I attended in 2011, showed a combination of new ideas and traditional Confucian practice. The new ideas represent invention of tradition to adapt to the old ways of practice, just as Eric Hobsbawm defines:

‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. (Hobsbawm 1983:1)

Gong was born in 1952 in the village of Wushing, Shishi City 石狮市.<sup>103</sup> He was respected as a devoted teacher during his time with Yubinshe (1991-3). On 27 April 2011, the small alleys in the village of Wuxing Shanshang 五星山上 in Shishi became unusually noisy. In the residence of Gong's family, groups of *nanyin* musicians came one after another to pay their respects to the late master, who had passed away on the 25<sup>th</sup>. The coffin was placed in the living room on the ground floor. A straw-man<sup>104</sup> symbolising the *hunshen* 魂身 [spiritual body] of the deceased was placed on a chair in front of the coffin; it was properly dressed with a hat, a pair of shoes, the clothes of master Gong, and his photo was pasted on its face.

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<sup>103</sup> Shishi was once a city under the administration of the town of Jinjiang, then became a city of the same level as Jinjiang City in 1988 (Wang Renzhi 2001:11).

<sup>104</sup> The straw-man is a replica made of dry straw and in the same size of the deceased. I have not seen this in my native village in Jinjiang, but according to Gong's students, it was the practice in the villages of Shishi City (various *nanyin* students, interviewed in Quanzhou, 5 May 2011).

When a *nanyin* musician passes away, a few pre-burial wakes are held as part of the mourning ritual and as a mark of respect; in Gong's funeral, there were two wakes from 27 to 29 April. In such wakes, groups of *nanyin* ensembles visit the family to offer their music to the deceased as soon as the altar inside the house is set up; they come every day to play *nanyin* until the burial day. In examining the role of music in ritual contexts, Rachel Harris (2004:125) contends that music-making is a core element in establishing social relatedness and collective remembering. The same notion is evident in a *nanyin* funeral: the participants visiting the Gong family physically involved themselves in forming unity in mutual remembering through music-making. Through music, the musicians convey their condolences to the family and their wishes for the repose of the soul of the deceased. The host family is expected to provide snacks, drinks and dinner. The normal timing of the whole event could be from three to ten day, its duration determined by the selection of a good date for the funeral from a special calendar (*chunniutu* 春牛图). The calendar is a system of references according to which people believed that supernatural power bore direct temporal influence on a person's life, and that the best choice of funeral date would bring prosperity to the family and its offspring (Wang Mingming 1993:84). For a less well-off family, a long pre-funeral mourning period can be a financial burden, so under such circumstances it would be shortened.

### ***Sandianjiu* ritual**

During the mourning period of Gong's funeral, the *nanyin* funeral ritual *xianguanji* 弦管祭 with *sandianjiu* wine offerings (4.1.1 Life cycle activities) was offered twice. The first *sandianjiu* was offered by some students in front of the coffin during the first wake on the 27<sup>th</sup>, as a means to pay tribute to their respected teacher (DVD-5). The celebrant and musicians were mostly Gong's students. On the 29<sup>th</sup>, the day of the burial, after the coffin was moved to the public venue, another *xianguanji* was offered by the Shishi City Xinghe Nanyin Society of which Gong had been the deputy director (Fig. 5.10). This public venue is a covered communal area for use by the villagers for special events or feasts within the village.



Fig. 5.10 *Sandianjiu* ritual on funeral day (field photo, 2011)

### ***Music in funeral ritual***

*Sandianjiu* is the most prestigious *nanyin* funeral rite. Its programme structure consists of *zhi*, *qu* and *pu*, similar to the performance sequence in a normal *nanyin* recital (Score 10). The vocal piece uses the same title as the ritual, *sandianjiu*, and the content is written with mourning text. It is sung together, with offerings of wine, at the funeral only, never on any other occasions.

The ritual starts with the first section of the *zhi* instrumental suite *Yuxiaosheng* 玉簫聲. Next comes the *qu* vocal piece, also titled *sandianjiu* after the rite. The *qu* – in 16/4 time (G mode), with a slow introduction and ending – shares the same labelled melody *Shengdiyu* 生地獄 played at the end of *Yuxiaosheng* and has similar musical elements, allowing for a smooth and seamless transition (Score 10, b.28 in *Yuxiaosheng* and b.6 in *Sandianjiu*).

The text of *Sandianjiu* gives indications for the ritualist to instruct the celebrant to pour three cups of wine as offering on the ground in front of the altar, each cup at designated moments (2<sup>nd</sup> beat of b.2; 2<sup>nd</sup> beat of b.14; 2<sup>nd</sup> beat of b.24); this is the reason the ritual itself is also named *sandianjiu* [ritual of triple wine offerings]. Published notations reveal different versions found in Quanzhou, Chendai and Shishi. All these versions of notation show the same labelled melody and mode, but the Shishi version is in

the faster tempo of 4/2. Score 10 is the Chendai version adopted in the funeral ritual of the late master Ding Shuiqing which I attended in 2009.

For the concluding *pu* section, the last three sections from the popular suite *Meihuacao* (G mode) are usually performed. They are: *Dianshui liuxiang* 点水流香 (4/4); *Lianzhu poe* 联珠破萼 (1/4) and *Wanhua jingfang* 万花竟放 (1/4).

The above programme is the most frequently performed, but the instrumental pieces may be changed in accordance with the preferences of individual *nanyin* societies.

The opening *zhi* section accompanies the presentation of offerings, and the *qu* vocal piece begins after the offerings. In a much earlier interview with Gong Wenpeng (21 November 2009), it was revealed that until the 1950s, 24 dishes of cooked food were to be offered one after another with the ritualist giving each dish its name, to symbolise good wishes with the music accompanying these actions; the offerings thus took quite some time, and the instrumental music would continue until the presentation was finished.

The students' *sandianjiu* ritual offering was a simplified version compared to earlier times. According to them, nowadays there are usually five kinds of flowers and five kinds of fruits being offered. Their instrumental section was obviously cut short: the vocal piece started while the offering process was still going on (DVD-5, 8:11). It seemed to me that they did not intentionally simplify it but just that the old custom had not been practised for quite some time, partly due to the Cultural Revolution. Without practice and transmission, the ritual procedure cannot be well sustained.

*Sandianjiu* is a ritual in musical form which is primarily an expression of reverence for and recognition of the deceased master's attainments in *nanyin* tradition. It also allows musicians to express their emotional attachment to the deceased in ways which cannot be expressed in everyday speech. On the other hand, it is also an act to control a potentially impulsive spirit. Traditionally, the Chinese take great care with funerary rituals because they believe that a recently deceased person may become a dangerous spirit and a threat to the living. It is through proper performance of funeral rituals that a volatile spirit can be converted to a tamed ancestor (R. Watson 1988:204; Li Ping-Hui 1996:135). A funeral is thus for both the dead and the living: "if the soul is not settled, the living may also suffer" (J.J.M. de Groot, quoted in R. Watson 1988:205-6). The performance of *sandianjiu* thus serves multiple purposes.

### *The wake – an emotive statement*

Scholastic explorations of music in death rituals and emotional expressions, focussing comprehensively on laments in the form of music, poetry and linguistics of different traditions, are numerous (e.g. Seremetakis 1991; Feld 1990). Gong Wenpeng's funeral was distinguished by the students' special eulogies expressed during the second wake: a practice which does not usually form part of funeral ritual.

Gong had built up a close relationship with his first batch of students in Shenhu Hujian Yubin Nanyin Society (1991-3). These students valued the second wake as their last chance to be with their respected teacher, and they unanimously decided to make this final gathering a sentimental re-enactment of their previous learning sessions with Gong. On the evening of the 28<sup>th</sup>, the second wake, they gathered in front of Gong's coffin. From their conversation, revealing fond memories and the intimacy between a *nanyin* teacher and his students, the Chinese traditional *shituzhi* 师徒制 [master-disciple] system was revealed.

At around 9 p.m., the students gathered and sat on the mattress in front of the coffin in the living room. They sat closely around the straw-man (*hunshen*) which symbolically represented their teacher. Gong was a drinker – he consumed wine like it was tea, and there was always a pot of wine on the table when he was teaching – so the students prepared wine, filled the cup and regularly poured cups of wine on the floor, which was covered with clay tiles, as offerings during the gathering. After the ritual, they just left the wine to dry up. They brought their own instruments and played from time to time, replicating a typical *nanyin* session they used to have with Gong. They chatted, drank wine and played *nanyin* until midnight.

Gong spent most of his life giving free *nanyin* lessons, while his wife Gao Liying 高丽英 shouldered the family financial burden by selling ladies' apparel in the market place. She strongly supported her husband and is well respected and loved by Gong's students. The following are examples of the students' communication with their teacher during the wake (field recordings, 5 May 2011, various conversations with Gong's students):

Chunfen declared: “*Shiniang* 师娘 (literally teacher's wife, as the students used to address her) treated us like her daughters, and whenever we had a performance, she would help us to dress and put on make-up. She even picked lice out of the hair of a little

girl... Gong *xian*<sup>105</sup>, you were an easygoing person and you treated us like friends of the same generation. We upset you with our inattentiveness and improper behaviour in learning, and I remember that you would stare at us with your big eyes; we were scared even though you never scolded us.”

According to the students, Gong was a straightforward and upright person, although he was disliked by some people in the *nanyin* circle because of his occasional temper. Despite this, he won the full admiration and respect of his students because of his love and dedication to both the students and the genre. The students recalled his virtues:

Xilong: “You taught under very poor living conditions in Shenhu [The early Shenhu Yubinshe shared part of the upper floor of Baoquan’an temple]: there was no water supply, and the place lacked sanitation. I saw you getting pails of water from the nearby well every day. There was also no electricity, and you used to buy food and cook for us using a small gas stove. We were teenagers and big eaters, and you generously shared your salary buying food for us, just like you shared your *nanyin* knowledge with us. We must have eaten up all your salary. We are most grateful for your unselfishness. Now that you are gone, we will never see you again... [cries].”

Mingwei: “I remember when you were teaching us at Shenhu, we liked to follow you when you went home to Shishi for the weekend. We ate and slept in your house. We asked for different dishes of food and were ignorant of your family’s financial situation. I was very impressed that whenever I stayed overnight at your home, you helped *Shiniang* (teacher’s wife) in her apparel stall in the market until very late, but you never forgot to bring me hot midnight snacks. You always watched me eat, and you even cleaned the plate for me. When we returned to Shenhu, you would always hire a motorcycle to take each of us, which was costly and a luxury.”

Being a young child of around 11 years old when he was learning under Gong, Mingwei admitted that in the past, there were times when he found his teacher’s behaviour unjustified, but of course he did not dare to confront his teacher. He only pointed it out now believing that his teacher would forgive his directness.

Mingwei: “Gong *xian*, *Shiniang* is a rare paragon of virtue: a hardworking person and an amazingly good wife. Sometimes you were unfair to her. I remember one time

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<sup>105</sup> Another way of addressing ‘teacher Gong’ (a shortened version of Gong *xiansheng*).

during our visit, she cooked vegetables for us without removing the stalks as you would do for us, and you got furious with her and threw away the whole dish. We understand you loved us and thought that the stalk was hard for a child's stomach to digest, but *Shiniang* did not have bad intentions.”

These were just a few examples of their statements during the second wake, which reflected the affection and emotional ties between the students and their teacher. Many studies have focused on how ritual communicates between the living and the deceased and how the meanings of communications are deciphered along with the strategic orientations in how ritual psychologically reframes and transforms the reality.<sup>106</sup> In his analysis of a ritual among the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea, Edward Schieffelin considers that “The reality evoked in the performance does not derive directly from its following a coherent ritual structure (though it does follow one), but from the process of dialogic interaction” (1985:721). Gong's attitude toward his pupils in his teaching career was clearly modelled on forging a close and warm familial relation with them. Upon his death, the students reciprocated by transforming their collective memories in the mourning context into a form of worship. They voiced their personal memories one after another, situating their emotions and relationships with each other and with their teacher. Chinese ritual ceremonies routinely include recitation of praises to the deities or ancestors and requests for blessings. The pupils' outpouring during this wake was by no means a form of mere supplication: instead, the students also expressed their suppressed disagreements with their master, even criticising his past treatment towards his wife. This was indeed a bold move with no precedent, as people would not normally challenge a deity or ancestor. It also illustrates their close and genuine relationship with the teacher.

The second wake is the part of the funerary ritual held the night before the burial of the body. It is the most emotional moment for conveying and presenting collective recollection of the past through participation. The re-enacting of their learning sessions becomes a powerful link between the teacher and students. All the old practices were relinquished and converted to worship modified in their own familial way. It was through this communicative channel that the students entered into the realm of their remembered world to converse with their teacher.

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<sup>106</sup> Watson, James L. 1988; Watson, Rubie S. 1988; Yung, Rawski and Watson (ed.) 1996.

Gong's funeral mourning represents a family model for teacher-pupil relations with emotional and hierarchical sentiments which grow out of daily life interactions. This is different from the concept of equality in which 'everyone is a teacher' between Dongshizhen *nanyin* members as discussed in the previous section; a dissimilar social relationship within the *nanyin* sphere co-exists as two contrasting management strategies.

### *The funeral*

In a recent study of funeral rituals in Fujian, Yang Mu (2012) described the glocalization of mortuary rites in Gangkou, Fuzhou, provincial capital of Fujian. General phenomena analogous to those noted by Yang were seen in Gong's funeral on 29 April 2011, which was far from being traditional. The funeral was a large-scale one, not because his family spent a lot of money but because many *nanyin* ensembles participated and neighbours from the whole village joined in the funeral parade. The alleys leading to the public venue were full of colourful placards. Traditionally, Chinese people would provide offerings to the deceased by burning huge paper-glued artefacts such as houses and cars at a funeral, believing that the deceased would receive and enjoy them in the other world. With modern ideas and computer-aided techniques in today's advanced world, people utilize graphic designs to vividly depict on the placards the imaginary life they wish the deceased to enjoy in the afterlife. (Fig. 5.11; DVD-5).



Fig. 5.11 Funeral placards at Gong Wenpeng's funeral (2011)

In southeast China, it is common to find a mix of traditional ensembles and Western-style brass bands playing simultaneously in the same funeral procession. In Fuzhou, music indigenous to other regions was performed by professional and amateur grass-roots folk performing groups for mortuary rites, using non-traditional instruments (Yang 2012:7). Such a combination reflects the modernization and glocalization of recent decades. At Gong's funeral, the mixing of genres generated a dissonant sound effect; the noisy musical discord created a cacophony whilst the procession marched through the winding narrow alleys of the village, but the disparate musical elements interwove to enrich the sonority.

DeWoskin argues that the instrumentalists exert control over the spirits (DeWoskin 1982:30), and music is believed to help guide the deceased on the way to the other world (Li 1996:133-5). In funerals and calendrical parades, *guchui* 鼓吹 [martial styles with blowing and drumming], *chegu chui* 车鼓吹 [cart drum and winds] and martial style *longhu dou* 龙虎斗 [dragon and tiger in accord] are typical Southeast China folk genres (Jones 1995:316). The family and friends of the deceased hire instrumental ensembles, with the family's financial standing determining the number of ensembles. In Gong's funeral procession, the *chegu chui* led the procession; this is a local genre which has a big drum inside a cart pushed by two men, with the drummer playing the drum from behind the cart (Fig. 5.13 below) followed by a gong, cymbals and several shawms. The coffin is always at the end of the procession; this means that *nanyin* musicians consider playing for shawm bands in funerals as being chased by the ghost and therefore it is not a respectable performance (Chapter 3.3.1 Social class and prestige).

These processional ensembles create musical exuberance both to comfort the living and to give direction to the soul of the deceased (Yung, Rawski and Watson 1996:11). The funeral procession defines the extent of social life which the deceased had enjoyed: from the familial relationships, to the number of participating *nanyin* ensembles and the neighbours, it recalls Gong's good social relationships in the *nanyin* world and with his community.

### **5.3.2 Revitalization of temple fair tradition**

As in most other regions in China, Jinjiang follows polytheistic forms of religious practice with their pantheon including those not only of traditional orthodox religions but

also of popular cults such as *wangye* 王爷 [marshal lords]. Temples venerating different *wangye* abound in the villages and towns. It is a traditional belief that:

The establishment of a temple or shrine is for the purposes of praising the virtue and reciprocating the blessings of all earthly, heavenly gods and spirits of deceased human beings who, through supernatural powers, have efficaciously protected the local people. (Hu Zhiwu and Zhou Xuezheng 1990 [1830] (1):422)

Consequently, the deceased could be honoured and transformed into local deities (*wangye*), and were worshipped through rituals by the local people. It is said that there have been at least 360 *wangye* in the history of southern Fujian, with many of them being famous historical figures (Cai Changrong, interview, 30 April 2010; Dean 1993), and it is generally believed that *nanyin* was the form of prestigious entertainment favoured by literati and court officials such as *wangye*. Until the early 1960s, *nanyin* was the only music offered in the temple fair in the town of Dongshi (Zhou Yidian, interview, 28apr2010). This differs from the temple fairs in Shaanbei, north China, where all kinds of musical activities accompany the pilgrims with a ‘red and fiery’ atmosphere (Jones 2009:193).

#### ***Adaptation of government policy in the Reform era***

After the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976, the national government instigated a series of economic and political reforms referred to as the post-Mao Reform, adopting an Opening-up (*gaige kaifang* 改革开放) policy. This policy aimed to improve the internal social and economic systems through reforms in addition to opening up the country to foreign investment.

The opening-up policy was successful particularly in its early stages as it attracted overseas Chinese people eager to renew familial ties to visit their relatives in their hometown. In traditional Chinese society, the ancestral hall is the centre of the village and a symbol of lineage and power, while temples are inextricably linked to religious beliefs. The ancestral hall also represents the unity of the lineage, and therefore the overseas Chinese feel it is their responsibility to contribute to its maintenance (Dean 1993:126). During the Cultural Revolution, temples and ancestral halls were considered superstitious venues and many were destroyed. When the Jinjiang overseas Chinese visited their hometown, one of the main duties was to worship their ancestors, but as many local temples and ancestral halls were destroyed or neglected during the tumultuous years, they

ploughed in much money to build new ancestral halls and restore the local temples. Since funding from the *huaqiao* contributed to the growth of the economy, the government welcomed such potential benefactors and adopted a friendly attitude to reinforce a good relationship by relaxing the existing constraining policies. The government allowed the *huaqiao* to build their ancestral halls and permitted, to a certain extent, the resumption of sacrificial rites in temples. The cordial relationship with the visiting *huaqiao* consequently brought forth munificent cultural and economic patronage.

Under the PRC state Economic Reform policy, restraints on religious activities were hence much relaxed. For calendrical celebrations at local temples, ancestral halls and other local collective celebrations today, funds are raised from the local people and their overseas relatives. People with high social status contributed in order to maintain that status, while wealthy individuals donated to ‘buy face’ (*mianzi* 面子). In other words, their personal agenda was to secure higher social status and leadership in their community, which Wang Mingming (1997:80) refers to as a form of ‘popular authorities’ (*minjian quanwei* 民间权威). Based on his ethnographic observations, Wang also discusses local power from cultural perspectives. He argues that the powers of leadership are balanced through the practice of ritual events, and suggests that the establishment of such ‘popular authorities’ is different from what is characterised by Max Weber as ‘bureaucratic authority’. The former is derived from traditional culture in which the constructed image of capable people (*nengren* 能人) is deeply embedded; they strengthen the lineage relationship through ritual organisation and mediate between government and families for mutual benefit. The latter, ‘bureaucratic authority’, is gained by appointment within a higher hierarchical government system. Within the framework of traditional culture, popular authorities were given the power to execute various political powers voluntarily. They are highly trusted and esteemed, unlike the government officials, as no bribery or personal benefit is believed to be involved in their work (Wang Mingming 1997:80).

The policy not only invited overseas economic investment but also allowed financial sponsorship for religious festivities. The performing arts associated with these activities thus resumed, leading to the revitalization of ritual activities. Religious festivities thrived, and a wide variety of performing troupes were employed to perform in all kinds of folk festivals; large-scale and profligate festivals became a general social phenomenon, and Western influences in performing arts genres are seen in these rural festivals.

Extravagance in festival preparation became a ‘talk of the town’ topic, with an implication of competition between villages to show off their wealthy background.

During my field research, I attended several temple fairs of different natures in different villages. The most spectacular was one at the Zhenjiang Gong Liuxing Wangfu 鎮江宮六姓王府, a temple first built in 1902 for worshipping six gods in the fishing village of Baisha at the southern end of Dongshi town (Fig. 5.12) (Anon. 1985:306). Every second lunar month of the year, the village holds a religious event (*zuo jiao* 做醮) symbolising the *wangye* patrolling the sea to control and rescue the wandering souls in order to protect people from catastrophes. The *wangye*, who were believed to be devoted patriots, had performed miracles for the villagers, and were thus worshipped.



Fig. 5.12 Temple fair at Zhenjiang Gong Liuxing Wangfu Temple (field photo 2010)

The most significant annual event in this village is the birthday of the six resident gods *liuxing wangye* on the 19<sup>th</sup> of the third lunar month, which fell on May 2<sup>nd</sup> in the year 2010; the celebration started two days earlier. This temple fair not only invites the faithful from the vicinity, it also attracts overseas pilgrims from temples with which Zhenjiang Gong is allied.

During the period of celebration, the open courtyard outside the Baisha temple was crowded with folk performing arts theatres, indigenous and Western collective dances and music. Some of these performing groups came by big tourist buses, whilst pilgrims from the nearby villages paraded in mile-long processions. A blend of musical sounds shattered the air when the brass bands played Western marching tunes and various shawm bands played local genres (Fig. 5.13).



Fig. 5.13 Local ensemble *chegu chui* in the temple fair (field photo 2010)

Western brass bands have been popular since the 1930s for weddings and funerals in China, and from 1949 they were employed for revolutionary music because the metallic acoustics of brass instruments were felt to symbolise heroism (Yang Mu 2003:82). With the economic improvement during the 1980s Reform era, the popularity of brass bands extended to rural festivities to enhance the exuberant temple fair atmosphere such as that at Baisha (DVD-6).

To uplift the jovial atmosphere, festivals like this prioritise exuberance above musical appreciation. The syncretic aural effect creates the desired cacophony, and music functions to achieve a cheerful festive mood in a religious context. The quality of music performance was not regarded as important, but the musical function is irreplaceable. This can be seen in most Chinese ritual events when several musical genres are played in

close spatial proximity. Despite the dissonant harmony, tonal sonority has been enriched through the simultaneous mixing of the different musical elements, and each represents itself individually within the same ritual context (Yung, Rawski and Watson 1996:11).

### ***Music offering in temple fairs by Dongshizhen Nanyin Society***

During the Baisha temple fair every year, an ensemble of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society musicians parades to the temple to pay tribute to the deities in the form of music offering (Fig. 5.14). The 2010 procession consisted of sixteen male and female musicians. Only male musicians performed inside the temple; the women musicians performed with the men later on the stage outside the temple to entertain the worshippers and villagers. *Nanyin* was the only genre performed inside the temple: other folk musics and dances were performed in the front courtyard facing the main door of the temple to please the gods.



Fig. 5.14 Dongshizhen Nanyin Society temple fair procession (field photo 2010)

The Dongshizhen *nanyin* performance at the Baisha temple fair was structured in three parts: procession to the temple with music playing, musical offering inside the temple, and stage performance for public entertainment:

The music played for the procession included *Chutingqian* 出庭前 4/4 (C mode), the last section of the *zhi* suite *Yizhixiangsi* 一纸相思 played by the *ai'a'zhi* ensemble whilst proceeding to the temple (DVD-6, 4:46-10:23).

The music offering inside the temple (Score 9) had the same programme as the Autumn ritual for *si Langjun*, in the sequence *pu-qu-pu*. The instrumental piece *Niangxue zhengchun* 釀雪爭春 8/4 (G) (DVD-6, 10:38-13:20) is followed by *Jinlu baozhuang* 金炉宝篆 4/4 (G) (DVD-6, 13:21-17:09), and the programme ends with *Jixue feihua* 急雪飞花 (DVD-6, 17:10-18:07).

After the Dongshizhen musicians entered the temple, they presented incense sticks to the deities before performing, standing in two rows facing each other in front of the altar (Fig. 5.15).



Fig. 5.15 Music offering in the temple (field photo 2010)

The singer designated to sing in the temple is usually a respected *nanyin* male musician. Cai Yixiang (b.1925) of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society was invited to sing in front of the altar accompanied by *shangsiguan* instrumentalists standing on each side. When the musical offering was completed, the musicians bowed to pay homage to the

gods and left the altar area. They proceeded to the theatre stage outside the temple and began their recital to entertain the public.

The open-air recital was performed on a stage beside the temple (Fig. 5.16), and the vocal section was in the form of *shijin chang* 什錦唱 [singing miscellaneous songs]. It is a mix of short and popular songs chosen according to the preference of the singers. The slow songs from the 8/2 ballad repertory were not chosen because they were not practical for such a short recital.



Fig. 5.16 Stage recital at the Baisha temple fair (field photo 2010)

The staged recital attracted a large audience. Nichangxuan Nanyin Society 霓裳軒, a society in Baisha village belonging to the greater umbrella society of Dongshizhen, joined the performance. The musicians and the villagers enjoyed an afternoon of *nanyin* music outside the temple.

### ***The role of nanyin in temple fairs in rural Jinjiang***

Before the 1970s, *nanyin* was the only music played during the temple fair; it is now one of many local genres performed, but its cultural and aesthetic value is still highly regarded. The presence of *nanyin* does not carry any direct ritual function, as there is no conventional structure performed in such local cult worship – no scripture recitation

groups, and no Daoist priest or other ritual specialists; as such, music was played mainly for devotional purposes of the pilgrim group the ensemble represented.

Traditionally, *nanyin* musicians asserted that they do not play for money, but nowadays a society may at times perform with remuneration split among the musicians. In some rural areas, temple committees would hire local *nanyin* societies to play for the temple fairs for an agreed amount of money, and the devout worshippers would hire *nanyin* musicians to offer music in the temple for thanksgiving purposes. The regular musical engagements between the local *nanyin* groups and their temple networks make it a significant performance context for the *nanyin* societies. Temple fairs contribute to community coherence, and *nanyin* performance is an integral part of the local culture, reflecting “the general and underlying principles and values which animate the culture as a whole” (Merriam 1964:250).

#### **5.4 CONCLUSION**

My ethnographic findings illustrate the various aspects of cultural and social life represented by *nanyin* in southern Fujian.

After several political campaigns and movements before 1980s, many *nanyin* societies survived and some were reorganised. With a long historical background, the oldest *nanyin* society, Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society has been under a traditional and conservative style of management. In general, *nanyin* practice in Shenhu is facing a decline for two main reasons. One is the indifferent relationship between the Shenhu local amateur groups, which is a hindrance in promoting *nanyin* tradition locally. The second reason, surprisingly, is the impact of increasing socio-economic development. Like other suburban areas in the modernized China, Shenhu has seen rapid industrial development in recent decades, resulting in a highly mobile workforce of young people drawn to work in suburban factories and to seek career opportunities in cities. This is reflected in the age gap between current *nanyin* musicians, almost all over 50 years of age, and the student *nanyin* learners in Shenhu.

A successful model of contemporary management is seen in the old town Dongshi with its rich historical and cultural background. The establishment of Dongshizhen

Nanyin Society, amalgamating nearly twenty traditional societies, marks a large and successful umbrella management model.

Scholars have contributed to the study of the process of social interaction and exchange between individuals and groups in different perspectives. Transactional theorist Robert Paine (1976:70-1) stresses that the devices of communication are salient in power manoeuvring. In what he has termed meta-communicative modes of exchange, he discerns an integrative mode which accentuates the equivalence of the two parties. The managerial level of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society runs the Society on the basis of humility and equivalence between member players and creates a social adherence to the old masters. This is a momentous deviation from the traditional hierarchical organisation of a typical *nanyin* society. Successful promotion of *nanyin* tradition requires a strong social force for support, teachers' enthusiasm to uphold performance standards through persistent daily practice, and a good relationship with local government and temple authorities. Dongshizhen Nanyin Society has all of these, contributing to the success of its management.

In Fuzhou, in line with the trend towards commercialization and modernization, funeral ritual is being presented like a secular amusement show (Yang Mu 2012). In Minnan, after the funerary reforms of the 1980s, traditional funeral rituals in Minnan have been simplified with the adoption of cremation. However, contemporary practice also reflects glocalization: music for funeral processions mixes traditional and Western elements, and the mourning incorporates contemporary sentiments as a form of remembrance. The *sandianjiu* offering ritual discussed previously is a modern way to express memories and respect for the deceased, which sees a teacher–student relationship replicating a familial tie.

Temple festivals are symbols of tradition and seem impossible to abolish completely. They are essentially grounded in folk religious beliefs and practised in many different forms across China. Music and performing arts are important components in such events; for example, in Gansu province in northwest China, love songs (*hua'er*) were chanted in the Lianhuashan temple festival (Yang Mu 1998:215). Temple fairs are also centred on practices which only recently were criticised and banned as 'feudal superstition'. Though the Chinese officials feel wary of these rural practices, the government's attitude on religious ideology has given way to certain extent, and these practices are now promoted,

and controlled by the local authorities, as opportunities for local commerce, and even as sites for the performance of intangible cultural heritage. (Kouwenhoven 2006)

With regard to musical aspects, Yang Mu (2012:24-5) states that in present-day Fuzhou the religious music is sometimes ‘absurd’ as classical sacred verses are adapted to humorous pop tunes and accompanied by glocalised ensemble playing. In contrast, *nanyin* continues to take its pride of place inside the temple, where its (male) musicians actively participate in the rituals. Maintaining these practices places *nanyin* at the heart of the community, and demonstrates its continuing prestige and relevance to contemporary life.

The temple fair illustrates a general ritual renaissance scene in Minnan, with the upsurging socio-economic condition of the region, the financial sponsorship from various sources and the self-determining power of the local authority acting as the catalysts. These factors demonstrate that the present state policy overtly and covertly allows diverse approaches to religious practice.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF *NANYIN* EDUCATION

For every music genre, Western or non-Western, evidence suggests that a form of distinct transmission pedagogy in line with its own culture and aesthetic emphasis is present. Culture is a form of learned behaviour with its own set of ideals and values contained in a broad and continuous process of enculturation. Drawing on Herskovits' (1948) definition, Merriam emphasizes that enculturation is "the process by which the individual learns his culture ... a never-ending process continuing throughout the life span of the individual" in connection with socialization and formal and informal education (Merriam 1964:146). Kerchner and Abril (2009:1) stress that many musical experiences in our life are important and musically educative. They are part of the enculturation process, and music educator Lucy Green delineates enculturation as "the acquisition of musical skills and knowledge by immersion in the everyday music and musical practices of one's own social context" (2001:22).

This is reflected in now countless ethnographic writings on enculturation of various musics (e.g. Berliner 1993; Rice 1994; Witzleben 1995; Chou Chiener 2001; Henson 2006). In *nanyin*, the changing modes and contexts of transmission from oral transmission to institutionalized instructions are seen in the post-1949 era. Such studies provide vital concepts which help to understand the cognitive processes of *nanyin* learning. This section examines the different forms of *nanyin* transmission, the musical experiences of the people involved and the acquisition of music in the social context in contemporary southern Fujian.

#### 6.1 TRADITIONAL ORAL TRANSMISSION

Oral transmission plays a significant role in music transmission. Historically, the transmission of *nanyin* follows the traditional *kouchuan xinshou* 口传心授 [literally 'transmit by mouth and pass on via the heart'] stemming from the master-disciple system, as is common in most Chinese folk music.

Oral transmission in Chinese genres is discussed in various works, such as: Witzleben's writing (1995) on the transmission of *jiangnan sizhu* both in local music clubs and in the Shanghai Conservatory; Rees's study (2000:86) of Dongjing music in Lijiang, southwestern China; and Chou Chiener's learning experience with Taiwan's *nanguan* groups (2001). Let me now discuss both traditional and contemporary *nanyin* transmission in southern Fujian.

### **6.1.1 *Nanyin* traditional oral transmission**

Philip Bohlman contends that oral tradition connects the present to the past and is the medium through which “some core of musical practices from the past ... remains intact in the present” (1997:151). In *nanyin*, oral transmission is regarded as the traditional way of teaching, under the guidance of a resident teacher (*jiguan xiansheng* 倚館先生). Every veteran musician interviewed agrees with Jinjiang master Cai Weibiao (interview, 5 December 2009) that they follow their teacher's teaching and their knowledge of *nanyin* is based on “what my teacher taught me”. Most *nanyin* teachers with whom I conversed referenced oral transmission as their principal teaching method. My field observations reveal that this is still true today, though aided by the use of musical scores. (Chapters 6.2 and 6.3)

#### ***Imitation and repetition***

When learning *nanyin* singing, students of different ages commonly considered enunciation as the most difficult aspect. To teach a new vocal piece, a teacher first demonstrates by singing the whole song while accompanying himself on the *pipa* so as to familiarize the students with the melody. Then he breaks it down phrase by phrase: he reads the lyrics and demystifies them word by word. The students then imitate to ensure accuracy. This process is called *nianzui* 唸嘴 [read by mouth]. The procedure is repeated until everyone is acquainted with the correct pronunciation of each word. Via this repetitive reading, all the details of words and phrases are stressed. Mastery of intonation is called *shangkou* 上口 [the melody is in the mouth]. This singing in phrases for students to follow is typical of the oral transmission style not only for vocal but also for instrumental learning (Cai Weibiao, interview, 5 December 2009).

In many *nanyin* songs, there is a background story. During the past when circulation of scores and publications were not common, teachers would tell the students the episodes, which the lyrics referred to in the story. This tradition has also been passed down as a norm in the teaching process. Many recently published scores include these background stories (e.g. *Xianguan zhipu daquan* 弦管指谱大全 (2005b) published in Jinjiang).

### ***Learning-by-rote***

Akin to other folk genres, a *nanyin* master is expected to have a retentive memory and a wide spectrum of repertoire at his disposal. In the 1940s, the most prominent vocalist in Quanzhou, Zhuang Yongyi, was given the nickname *zhizhu mu* 蜘蛛母 [spider mother], symbolizing a big belly full of *nanyin* repertoire.

Text is also regarded as a memory aid. In the instrumental *zhi* repertory, text is included and the content was initially for helping to memorize the long pieces in the performance (Chapter 2.4.1). Learning-by-rote is still a basic requirement for effective learning nowadays. Taiwan *nanyin* scholar Chou Chiener cites a veteran *nanyin* musician's learning experience that choosing several songs from the same tune family helps memorize them because they share the same melodic theme (2002b:98).

### **6.1.2 *Quanqiang* 泉腔 - basic accent in *nanyin* vocal**

Appropriate pronunciation and correct phonetics are considered to be the most difficult part of *nanyin* vocal technique, because each phoneme in the text is emphasized and must be enunciated at a predetermined intonation when sung. The same Chinese character can have both classical and colloquial pronunciations, and the latter may again vary according to different locales. In southern Fujian, the spoken vernacular differs between locales, but in *nanyin* singing, the projection of lyrics is based on Quanzhou accent (*Quanqiang*). This is considered authentic yet controversial, because Quanzhou accent is not a standardized dialect. During the Qing dynasty, there were five counties under the administration of Quanzhou: Hui'an, Nan'an, Tong'an, Anxi, and rural areas south of Jinjiang River (the present Jinjiang City). The people from these five counties all speak with different accents, and *Quanqiang* in *nanyin* actually incorporates all these accents (Cai Changrong, interview, 11 March 2010). As an old musical tradition, *nanyin* vocal interpretation is very much affected by the way it is taught, because the interpretation, including that of accent used, varies between different teachers.

Chendai veteran *nanyin* vocalist Ding Shuilai 丁水来 explained to me the problem which customarily arises from these distinct local accents, and gave several examples with reference to Jinjiang and Quanzhou regions. Being of Jinjiang origin, I agree with Ding’s argument that Jinjiang vernacular sounds tend to be ‘flat’ compared to the Quanzhou accent. In the video demonstration (DVD-7, 1:22-2:50), Ding exemplifies the different accents with the pronunciation of the following words (Table 6.1):

	Quanzhou	Jinjiang
Butterfly	<i>mer'ya</i>	<i>mae'ya</i>
To fly	<i>ber</i>	<i>Bae</i>
To speak	<i>zaer'wue</i>	<i>seh'wue</i>
To sit	<i>tze</i>	<i>Jae</i>

Table 6.1 Some examples of accent differences between Quanzhou and Jinjiang (approximate romanization)

Pronouncing lyrics in *Quanqiang* is regarded as authentic, but minor discrepancies still exist in the interpretation of some *nanyin* songs. Therefore, presumably the issue of accents has repercussions for attempts to standardize teaching today.

### 6.1.3 Learning of instrumental pieces

According to tradition, all students had to start with vocal training in order to obtain the fundamentals of the genre, with instrumental training following later. Simultaneous learning of different instruments was basically not allowed until the 1960s. This could be seen as well-intentioned in terms of training a student to focus on basic *nanyin* knowledge, but it could also be a way to disguise the fact that not all masters were skilled on all *nanyin* instruments. In any case, students could choose to learn individually from another teacher who specialized in a particular instrument.

To learn an instrumental piece, e.g. the *pu* suites, before the students attempt to find the melodies on their instruments, the teacher starts by singing the melodies to the *nanyin gongche* syllables for them to imitate vocally using these syllables. “I still think this is a very effective teaching method, and I use the same method teaching my students nowadays” said Cai Weibiao (interview, 5 December 2009). This same method was used when I learnt *pipa* in the field and in Hong Kong.

Until the early 1960s, vocal training was a prerequisite for learning instruments. Nowadays some students prefer to go straight to learning an instrument, skipping the vocal training, but they are always advised to believe in the usefulness of the traditional methods. In Taiwan, the traditional *nanguan* learning process is basically the same: Chou Chiener (2002b:107) discloses that every student wanting to learn an instrument must start with singing lessons and that he/she “could not touch any instrument without the teacher’s permission” (Chou 2002b:107).

## 6.2 INSTITUTIONALISED *NANYIN* EDUCATION

The notion of institutionalization tends to imply a strictly government-controlled educational structure, with transmission of music which has been transformed from its former state, as commonly seen in modern nations. In the Soviet Union, formal music education flourished in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the rise of many music institutions had a great impact on Uzbek music and its transmission (Henson 2006:43-4). Since the 1950s, PRC government cultural policy has been paradoxical: it showed on the one hand an anti-Western attitude, but at the same time, “many Western elements of style and social context, particularly using Soviet models, have been introduced” (Nettl 1985:143). Tracing the cultural background of *nanyin*, the emergence of institutional and classroom teaching styles as well as the influences of traditional oral transmission, this section attempts to investigate the mode of teaching both in the institutions and in amateur *nanyin* societies and how these have impacted the perpetuation of authenticity in *nanyin*.

The history of Western-influenced conservatory education in China can be traced back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the wave of modernizing reforms after the May 4 Movement (1919) which aimed to pursue the new and abolish the old. The reformists were mostly Chinese intellectuals who had received Western-style academic education abroad in Europe or Japan. They believed that the weakness of China was due to its lack of modern and scientific developments, and advocated a reform based on Western-oriented modernization (A. Jones 2001; Stock 2003; Sun Zhuo 2011). In music composing, there was a fascination with European and American style (Liu Ching-chih 2010:186). It was on these grounds that Western musical culture took root and overwhelmingly influenced Chinese music education in the ensuing decades.

In the 1920s, music courses with Western influence were introduced in a few universities in China (Stock 1996:143). Various conservatories were established during this period: the Peking University Music Group<sup>107</sup> (1916), the Peking University Institute of Music (1922) and the Shanghai National Conservatory of Music<sup>108</sup> (1927), the latter two both offering Chinese and Western music side-by-side (Liu Ching-chih 2010:81-91; Han and Gray 1979:13). The rise of the Chinese conservatory tradition featured “the re-envisioning of individual compositions as enduring works, conceived, transmitted, and preserved in musical notation” (Stock 1996:144). Chinese folk music was generally denigrated as ‘low culture’; nevertheless, through the efforts of some patriotic musicians, a few Chinese music courses were integrated into the conservatory curricula. Chinese music was reconceptualised and disseminated as ‘national music’ (*guoyue* 国乐) in newly arranged repertoires open for modification and development in a Westernized way (Stock 1996:143). In 1933, Western notation replaced *gongchepu*, and Western-influenced systems such as cipher notation (*jianpu*) were introduced and replaced traditional oral transmission methods. The musicians adopted cipher notation in the 1930s and 1940s, considering it to be a modern and scientific manner of notating music, though they were also familiar with *gongchepu* (generally of other Chinese genres) and Western staff notation (Stock 1996:145-6). Westernization had great influence on composition and performance, as Han Kuo-Huang states:

Modernization was synonymous with Westernization. Musicians trained in Western style began to think and hear music in terms of Western intonation, harmony, tone color, range, and above all, standardization of musical instruments. The new generation of musicians who played traditional instruments were also influenced by the same way of thinking. The late Western Romantic concept of largeness became the norm, and the establishment of traditional Chinese orchestras in the style of the large Western orchestras was inevitable. (Han Kuo-Huang 1979:13)

However, on the positive side, traditional Chinese music was not totally neglected. During this period, Western and ‘national’ orchestras co-existed and received equal performance opportunities. In the Nationalist capital Nanking, the first modern Chinese orchestra was organized in 1935, associated with the radio station, to broadcast ‘national’ music (Han and Gray 1979:14-15).

As a result of modernization and Westernization since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the traditional transmission system in many folk genres around the world has changed. In

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<sup>107</sup> Precursor to the Peking University Music Research Society, which was officially established in 1919.

<sup>108</sup> Renamed in 1956 as Shanghai Conservatory of Music.

Turkey in the 1970s, the master-apprentice relationship (*usta-çirak*) in traditional music was replaced by classroom instruction in the *dernek* and *dershane* (private club) context (Stokes 1992:101). Berliner (1993) gives examples of various traditional visual and aural transmission approaches towards learning Zimbabwean *mbira* music, such as learning from ancestral spirits through dreams, indirect learning by observing and imitating the performance of skilled players along with direct intense learning from experienced musicians in short lesson periods. Under the control of the Communist Party, changing forms of transmission were seen in learning Bulgarian bagpipes. Bulgarian folk music was drawn into new music colleges, and professional self-taught musicians were asked to teach in formal music schools founded by the state for folk music (Rice 1994:215-23). Such studies provide helpful references for examining the pedagogical settings of *nanyin*.

The transmission of *nanyin* in Minnan today encompasses institutional and informal instruction, as discussed below.

### 6.2.1 School for professional training

In Fujian, the history of institutional education for performing arts can be traced back to 1956 when Jinjiang Diqu Yishu Xuexiao 晋江地区艺术学校 [Jinjiang Region Arts School] was founded. Initially it was a local arts academy which focused on training professionals in Chinese performing arts. It was reorganized in 1978 as a branch Class (*ban* 班) of the provincial level Fujian Yishu Xuexiao [Fujian Arts School], Fuzhou, and later renamed as Fujian Yishu Xuexiao Quanzhou Xiquban 福建艺术学校泉州戏曲班 [Quanzhou Opera and Singing Class of Fujian Arts School]. At first, only classes such as *liyuan* opera and *gaojiao* opera were offered: *nanyin* was not taught until 1984. In 1998, the school moved to its present premises (Fig. 6.1); a year later, it officially became one of the 15 branch schools (*fenxiao* 分校) of Fujian Arts School and was renamed Fujian Yishu Xuexiao Quanzhou Fenxiao 福建艺术学校泉州分校 [Fujian Arts School, Quanzhou Branch]. In 2004 the school became independent and has since adopted its present name: Fujiansheng Quanzhou Yishu Xuexiao 福建省泉州艺术学校 [Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School], hereafter Yixiao.<sup>109</sup> Yixiao was established with the aim of cultivating professional performers. The academy became dormant with the start of the Cultural Revolution but resumed enrolment in 1984.

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<sup>109</sup> Information provided by Xie Qianhong 谢千红, Yixiao principal, interview, 8 October 2013.



Fig. 6.1 Fujiansheng Quanzhou Yishu Xuexiao [Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School]  
(field photo 2013)

In response to the government's ideology of salvaging the declining traditional arts during the Reform period (1980s), there was a surge of enthusiasm to revive *nanyin*. The first batch of *nanyin* students was enrolled in Yixiao in 1984 (Xiao Peiling 萧培玲, interview, 21 March 2010). Yixiao offered 3- and 5-year programmes for *nanyin*, *liyuan*, and *gaojiao* opera, string puppetry and other performing arts. Enrolment was not open every year because the job market was not fluid enough to support recruitment of graduates. The second batch of students was enrolled in 1993 after the first batch had graduated. The same system applies to other performing arts courses.



Fig. 6.2 First batch of students in Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School (1984)  
(Photograph courtesy of Xiao Peiling)

For enrolment during that time, the candidates had to have completed junior high school and also be 15-20 years old. They had to be good-looking with a minimum height of 1.6 metres, and had to undergo interviews in addition to written examinations. Those with basic *nanyin* knowledge were prioritized. From the group photo (Fig. 6.2), it is worth noting that the shift in gender was already obvious in the 1980s. There were only two boys in this initial *nanyin* intake. My informant was a student who was accepted into the 1984 class and graduated in 1987. These students were given comprehensive professional training with the curriculum including political studies, literature and stage operatic choreography alongside *nanyin*, as well as other non-musical subjects. To promote *nanyin* learning and attract more applicants, the authority offered each student 33 catties of rice per month, which was equivalent to a cadre's pay at that time. In addition to the privilege of free tuition, each student was given around 10 RMB as pocket money every month. Therefore, being a student at Yixiao was considered prestigious (Xie Xiaoxue 谢晓雪, interview, 21 March 2010).

In the 1980s, the *nanyin* teachers in Yixiao were elderly renowned masters recruited from folk amateur groups, mostly lacking high academic qualifications. Whilst cipher notation was used for most school music courses across China during that time, some of the prevailing *nanyin* scores were notated in both cipher notation and *gongchepu* simultaneously. Most of the old teachers in Yixiao used only *gongchepu* and followed traditional oral transmission in melodic embellishment, since that was the system they were familiar with, even though cipher notation was found to be easier for the beginners.

Since the formation in 1960 of the first state-owned *nanyin* troupe, Quanzhou Folk Music Ensemble, *nanyin* singing has evolved from solo performances to a group of 2-4 vocalists with accompanying instruments. Rather than being seated, the singers stood on stage and sang with simple hand gestures and movements, as costumes had not been introduced back then. Gradually, other folk *nanyin* societies began emulating this performance style. The Yixiao graduates of 1987 were a group of young, attractive, primarily female artists who were praised by the public as a morale booster for the antiquated folk tradition and soon became idols in the local performing arts world (Xie Xiaoxue and Xiao Peiling, interview, 21 March 2010). All of them were recruited by the Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble (previously Quanzhou Folk Music Ensemble) on a ten-year service contract at a monthly salary of more than 100 RMB, and to this day, many of them are still important performers with the Ensemble. These new artists incorporated into their singing operatic choreographed gestures, which they had learned at arts school. The performance repertoire was re-arranged and expanded to include more duets, trios and group singing when appropriate to the lyrics. The ensemble provided colourful costumes, and the performers all wore make-up when performing (Fig. 6.3).

Their concerts received great acclaim, and their performance style became the prototype. Through showcasing these artists in the public arena, *nanyin* became increasingly popular in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.



Fig. 6.3 *Nanyin* performance in rural Jinjiang village in the late 1980s  
(Photograph courtesy of Xiao Peiling)

### ***Contemporary vocal teaching in Yixiao***

To investigate contemporary *nanyin* vocal teaching in Yixiao and the extent to which the traditional oral transmission is followed today, I attended two sessions on 8 October 2013. The young female teacher, Wu Wanpin 吴婉婷 (b.1985), told me that the *nanyin* songs taught in Yixiao are mostly of 2/4 and 4/4 tempi. To start a new piece, Wu follows a procedure also used by other Yixiao teachers:

1. Tells the students the background story.
2. Tells the mode and tempo.
3. If audio devices are available, the teacher plays a recording of the piece to familiarize the students with the tune.
4. Reads the lyrics phrase by phrase for the students to follow, while the students add pronunciation notes beside the text.
5. The teacher sings with her own *pipa* accompaniment as students follow.
6. Students sing together, and if the interpretation is wrong, the teacher stops them, explains and repeats until the mistakes are corrected.

7. Because of the small class size, all students are given the chance to sing individually; the teacher corrects technique, accentuates diction, and teaches how to embellish and other details.
8. Before the session ends, the teacher sings the whole piece again to her *pipa* accompaniment and asks the students to use their mobile phone or other technical device to record it and practice at home.

The above teaching summary complies with the traditional “reading by mouth” (*nianzui*) oral transmission mentioned earlier, in terms of background story-telling, imitation and repetition. Obvious new characteristics of modernized institutional teaching include the use of notation, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.5, and the use of technology such as audio devices and mobile phones. By asking the students to follow the recording, the idiosyncratic interpretation of the teacher is articulated.

Beat counting is important in traditional *nanyin* learning; one’s counting gesture reveals his/her level of musical understanding. During her class, Wu Wanpin also taught the students the technique seen in Fig. 6.4 where they count the beat with one hand by touching index, middle and ring fingers with the thumb. In actual performance, a singer, whilst holding wood clappers (*paiban*) in one hand, will unnoticeably do this counting to ensure playing the *paiban* on the right beat.



Fig. 6.4 *Nanyin* vocal session in Fujiansheng Quanzhou Yishu Xuexiao (field photo 2013)

To comply with modernization, the current trend of teaching is focused on stage performance in which operatic gestures and choreography are incorporated to portray the background story of the song. To learn stage choreography, *nanyin* students in Yixiao attend the *xingtǐ bān* 形体班 [choreography classes] four times a week, taught by a teacher of *gaojia* opera in Yixiao (Fig. 6.5).



Fig. 6.5 Choreography class (*xingtǐ bān*) for *nanyin* students (field photo 2013)

### ***Enrolments in recent years***

In recent years, although Yixiao has been designated by the state as one of the professional demonstration centres for ethnic culture (*minzu wenhua zhuan ye shi fan dian* 民族文化专业示范点) because of *nanyin* professional teaching, the enrolment rate has dropped sharply, and the outlook for future enrolment is rather bleak. However, in order to abide by the UNESCO ICH Safeguarding Convention of 2003 to protect and transmit *nanyin* culture, Yixiao enrolment is now open annually for application, unlike earlier years (Xie Qianhong, interview, 8 October 2013). Table 6.2 shows the number of current *nanyin* students in Yixiao:

Year	Female	Male	Total
2010	3	0	3
2011	2	1	3
2012	4	0	4
2013	2	1	3

Table 6.2 Enrolments of *nanyin* students (2010-2013) in Fujiansheng Quanzhou Yishu Xuexiao

In the vocal sessions I attended, there were only three students from two different levels. The advantage of a small class size is that it allows the teacher to attend to the progress of individual students more closely. But the future of *nanyin* demands a larger enrolment. To attract more applicants, Yixiao has lowered *nanyin* enrolment criteria and abolished the entrance examination.

### ***Job opportunities for graduates***

According to Yixiao's Principal, *nanyin* practice is common in Minnan and yet few people would seriously consider it as a professional career due to the employment problems which Yixiao graduates generally encounter (Xie Qianhong, interview, 8 October 2013). The government-owned Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble seems to be the only good job outlet for Yixiao graduates, but recruitment of new performers is rare as the 1987 Yixiao graduates still dominate. Another alternative is to join local commercial troupes and sing nightly in the public parks such as those in Wenhua Gong and Wenmiao (Fig. 3.7); this, however, is usually not considered a respectable choice (Chapter 3.3.2; Xie Qianhong, interview, 8 October 2013), and anyhow the number of commercial troupes in Minnan is insufficient to support the annual graduates. Given that these students are in constant contact with the existing *nanyin* societies, they do not approach them for a job because the musicians in the amateur groups are unpaid volunteer teachers. Teaching *nanyin* in secondary schools is mostly monopolised by graduates of Quanzhou Normal University, where Westernized modern music is also taught (Chapter 6.2.2 below); exceptional recruitment as elementary school *nanyin* teachers may be offered to Yixiao graduates who are *nanyin* competition award winners. Employment in the diaspora is also difficult to obtain: due to several regional and global economic crises at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, *nanyin* activities diminished and overseas recruitment of

*nanyin* teachers declined. These are the main considerations which have discouraged enrolment in Yixiao in recent years.

China's rapid economic advancement has, though, created one interesting new job opportunity for *nanyin* students. Many of the nationwide technology and communication companies in Minnan have set up *nanyin* sections for staff entertainment as part of employee benefits and have approached Yixiao to recruit teachers (Xie Qianhong, interview, 8 October 2013). This is, however, only a minimal replacement as compared to the job market at large.

### 6.2.2 Institution for the cultivation of *nanyin* teachers

Quanzhou Shifan Xuexiao 泉州师范学校 [Quanzhou Normal School], founded in 1958 by the prefectural Party committee, was primarily a teacher training college. The School underwent development, suspension and subsequent revival during different periods of social unrest. In 1999, the government merged three schools into one institution and upgraded it as Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan 泉州师范学院 [Quanzhou Normal College]. Then in 2000, with the approval of the State Ministry of Education, the English name was “upgraded” to Quanzhou Normal University (hereafter Shiyuan; Fig. 6.6).



Fig. 6.6 Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan [Quanzhou Normal University] (field photo 2013)

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, this has been a general phenomenon since the early 1920s: conservatory music education in China is predominantly under Western influence. Helen Rees noted that most people in Shanghai including teachers and students in the Shanghai Conservatory “view local folk music as ‘backward’ (*luohou*), ‘unscientific’ (*bu kexue*), and aesthetically inferior to Western art music or Westernized Chinese genres” (2012:24). The self-denigrating attitude towards folk music continued well into the 1990s when the promotion of ICH began at last to challenge these attitudes. Similarly, teaching in Shiyuan was Western-oriented, with Chinese traditional music absent from the curriculum until 2003.

Since *nanyin* started to be taught in elementary and secondary schools in the 1990s (Chapter 6.3 below), a demand for *nanyin* teachers emerged. Subsequently, in 2003, Quanzhou Normal University officially included *nanyin* education as a department in the School of Music and Dance 音乐与舞蹈学院. Creating a dedicated university department devoted to a regional genre was a historic breakthrough and a big step forward in the Chinese music education community; henceforth, *nanyin* has established a firm foothold in the academic arena. The whole process was made possible with the support of the municipal government, who backed the application submitted to UNESCO for the consideration of *nanyin* as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008.

The Shiyuan *nanyin* department offers a four-year programme, and senior high school graduation is an essential prerequisite. The present *nanyin* teachers in Shiyuan, as in Yixiao, are mostly members of the Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble, mainly the first batch of Yixiao graduates. But as Shiyuan’s purposes of musical enculturation and its entrance criteria differ from Yixiao’s, its approach to transmission also differs. Shiyuan’s entrance criteria are higher than Yixiao’s: their current *nanyin* students mostly already have a *nanyin* background, with some being winners of annual student *nanyin* competitions. (Ten students attend vocal sessions, all female.) This means that many steps in teaching can be eliminated. One of the current Shiyuan teachers, Su Shiyong, takes an approach that omits some of the steps of Yixiao teaching listed several pages back. She told me that her way of teaching was first to tell the background story of the song. She would then insist that the students make notes on the score of the pronunciation of some important characters. To familiarize them with the melody, she usually starts by singing with her own *pipa* accompaniment, as the students record her demonstration with their iPhones.

But if some students have learnt the song before, she would omit that step and let each experienced student sing, providing *pipa* accompaniment and correcting as necessary. In a class of mixed standard, she provides free extra private sessions to new learners; the student either goes to her residence or stays behind after class. Like other vocal teachers in Shiyuan, Su Shiyong chooses songs from the prescribed teaching material provided by Shiyuan and only uses *gongchepu* in singing. She demonstrates with her own singing, never playing audio recordings. She claims that she follows the traditional model of transmission except that students also use *gongche* scores during teaching.

### ***Instrumental session in Shiyuan***

In the Shiyuan *nanyin* syllabus, *pipa* learning is compulsory. I attended two *pipa* sessions, one for the 1<sup>st</sup>-year and another for 2<sup>nd</sup>-year students. There were 19 1<sup>st</sup>-year students (16 female, 3 male) and 23 2<sup>nd</sup>-years (22 female, 1 male). Shiyuan's *nanyin* class sizes are much larger than Yixiao's.

The teacher Zeng Jiayang started by teaching the 1<sup>st</sup>-year students how to tune the instruments. He then lectured about *pipa* history and manufacture. Next he demonstrated the posture for holding the *pipa* and corrected them as they played a note repeatedly.



Fig. 6.7 2<sup>nd</sup>-year *pipa* class, Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan (field photo 2013)

The 2<sup>nd</sup>-year session also started with the students being assisted in tuning (Fig. 6.7). The students brought their own instrument and the score; they were learning an instrumental piece from the *pu* repertory. Importantly, the students, in accordance with the traditional learning process, all sing the melodies according to the *nanyin gongche* syllables (*che, gong, liu, si, yi*) instead of Western solfège (Chapter 6.1.3). The teacher sang a phrase, the students imitated, then teacher and students repeated singing together, followed by the teacher explaining and correcting their fingering techniques. Individual students were chosen to sing *gongche* with self-accompaniment. During the class, the *pipa* students were giving free practice time and encouraged to consult the teacher when they encountered practical problems.

Although the class was well attended, I question whether the present *nanyin* education system in Shiyuan best supports the concepts of tradition and authenticity. The curriculum of the Music and Dance Department includes a wide variety of courses, mainly focusing on Western music (vocal and instrumental), political studies, history and dancing. A 2<sup>nd</sup>-year student opined that Western music courses are technically demanding and require a great deal of dedication and practice time (Li Jiaqin 李佳勤, interview, 9 October 2013). *Nanyin* students receive each week: two sessions of theoretical study; four vocal sessions; two *pipa* sessions; and two sessions on a *shangsiguan* instrument of their choice (*dongxiao, sanxian or erxian*). Each session is 45 minutes, and generally two sessions are taught continuously in succession. The present schedule is obviously insufficient to provide much depth in *nanyin* study, because the predetermined syllabus occupies most of the students' time and deprives them of *nanyin* practice (Zeng Jiayang, interview, 3 May 2011).

The lack of an actual *nanyin* ensemble at Shiyuan also hinders group practice. Students desiring group practice have to organise an ad hoc ensemble (Li Jiaqin, interview, 9 October 2013). The graduates ultimately become school teachers who teach all music-related subjects rather than *nanyin* specifically.

### 6.2.3 Teacher/student relationship

Merriam argues that a lack of formal educational institutions in some nonliterate societies does not mean that music education is absent: learning is a socialization process and “schooling may be operative in an apprentice system” (1964:146). A type of

apprentice system in which learning takes place whilst students live and practise in the homes of their teachers continue to be practised today in some societies. Examples include: the *uchideshi* system for several Japanese instruments such as koto, shakuhachi and shamisen, and even now for Japanese traditional folk song transmission, under the *iemoto* system (Hughes 2008:175); the traditional Uzbek *ustoz-shogird* teacher-student relationship (Henson 2006:157-8); and the *gurukulavasam* teacher-disciple relationship in South Indian classical music (Weidman 2006:3). Under these systems (and many non-music fields would also be included), the student takes part in daily duties to serve the instructor. This kind of training, of which one aspect is learning by constant exposure and absorption rather than direct teaching, is believed to be helpful for faster progress, developing proficiency, and a closer relationship between the instructor and the student (see e.g. Toyoda 1997).

Prior to 1949, *nanyin* transmission was under the Chinese traditional *shituzhi* 师徒制 [master-disciple system] in which the teacher-student relationship was akin to that of parent and child. The concept of “teacher for a day, father for life” (*yiri weishi zhongshen weifu* 一日为师终身为父) has been deeply rooted in the *nanyin* musicians’ minds. “I respected my teacher as much as I respected my father, and the influence of my teacher on me often transcended my father’s” (Zeng Jiayang, interview, 3 May 2011). In the context of individual teaching, the teacher is like a family member who would come to the student’s house every day regardless of the weather (different from the Japanese, Uzbek and South Indian apprentice systems in which the student lives in the teacher’s home and serves as a servant). Within amateur *nanyin* societies, teachers-in-residence would give individual or small group sessions every day, and a student could approach them anytime for lessons free of charge. Following changes in the teaching contexts, the teacher-student relationship has obviously become much more distant. This is reflected in the *nanyin pipa* teaching at Quanzhou Normal University (Shiyuan): “In a class of nearly twenty students, just tuning all the *pipa* already takes up much of the teaching time. There is little time left to correct the techniques of each student, and I cannot even remember all their names, not to mention establishing a closer teacher-student relationship” (Zeng Jiayang, interview, 3 May 2011). From my observation, the time it took to tune their instruments was at least 15 minutes (Fig. 6.7). Under the institutionalised *nanyin* educational system, the traditional relationship between teacher and pupil in which the latter develops a lifelong respect for the teacher is unlikely to be achieved.

### 6.3 *NANYIN* EDUCATION IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

There is a need for more ethnomusicological studies of children's music and music education (Nettl 2005:427). John Blacking (1995) provided a useful early cultural analytical study of a children's song repertoire. Education specialists Marie McCarthy (1996a, 1996b) and Lucy Green (2001, 2008) undertake to focus on community music education in multi-cultural settings and new classroom music pedagogies respectively. Patricia Shehan Campbell (1996, 2010) endeavours to explore the musical world of children's lives and to discover the meanings of music for them through their musical expressions and interactions. Durán, Magriel and Baker's film project (2011) documented the enculturation processes of children in six diverse cultures in the face of urbanization, globalization and lack of institutional support. (Durán, Magriel and Baker 2011)

These scholars' works introduce new concepts and present them in lively ethnographic discourses which provide important insights for this study. In this section, I investigate mainly how *nanyin* is formally transmitted in secondary and elementary schools. With supporting field recordings, I will also discuss the informal teaching of children's *nanyin* by amateur musicians.

#### 6.3.1 *Nanyin* in the classroom: a strategic launching

In China, an interventionist approach by the government towards the transmission of traditional folk genres is not uncommon and has been seen in several provinces. In the 1990s, a serious decline in folk cultural practices led the local authorities to generally agree that steps had to be taken in order to pass down the folk culture to children in various regions of China (Chapter 7.3.1). In Minnan, as with the rest of China, the government Reform and Opening-up policy in the 1980s opened the floodgates for modern pop music imported from the West, Hong Kong, Taiwan and other parts of Asia with its power to captivate the younger generation. As a result, folk arts and musical traditions suffered a serious decline.

Facing what they had considered to be the possible extinction of the *nanyin* tradition, a group of intellectuals and folk advocates in Minnan attempted to introduce a strategy using *zuixiao liqi qi zuida zuoyong* 最小力气 起最大作用 [small effort for great effect] by proposing the idea of introducing *nanyin* into the mainstream school education – *nanyin ru keshi* 南音入课室 [literally '*nanyin* enters the classroom'] – with the intention

of deepening school-age children's understanding of their musical heritage and continuing the tradition (Chen Risheng, interview, 9 March 2010). At first this idea was met with strong opposition from the Education Department and schools. Such a response reflected the centralised bureaucratic control of the authorities in Quanzhou. Since it was not a task assigned by a higher-ranking department, there was no reward for the successful launch of such a scheme, but on the contrary failure would result in possible censure.

Another strong negative response to this idea came from schools. During the 1980s, only monophonic short songs were taught in elementary and secondary schools in Minnan, and using only cipher notation. Staff notation was not used in the schools, but mostly only by individuals learning Western instruments outside school. (This information comes from Zeng Jiayang (interview, 4 February 2014), who was a secondary school student in the 1980s.) Since virtually all school music teachers were thus unfamiliar with traditional *nanyin* notation, local education administrators were reluctant to introduce the teaching of traditional music

Despite opposition, Chen Risheng, Director of Quanzhou's Bureau of Culture from 1987-97 and provider of this information, enthusiastically pushed through the plan to teach *nanyin* in schools. This was finally approved by the Bureau of Culture and the Education Department of Quanzhou, and *nanyin* became part of the elementary and secondary school curriculum in 1990. The teachers were either school music teachers who knew *nanyin* or instructors recruited from *nanyin* societies.

### **6.3.2 Classroom pedagogies**

To gain a better understanding of *nanyin* teaching in the classrooms, I visited both elementary and secondary schools in Jinjiang, interviewing their teachers and recording a few sessions. For some elementary schools in Jinjiang, *nanyin* is a compulsory subject in their arts curriculum, whilst for others it is an optional 'Special Interest Class' (*xingquban* 兴趣班). The following data on *nanyin* pedagogy are reflections of my fieldwork in April 2010.

### ***Qingyang Xiaocong Zhongxin Primary School* 青陽曉聰中心小學**

*Nanyin* is a compulsory subject in Qingyang Xiaocong Zhongxin Primary School since 2007: all students begin learning *nanyin* in grade 3 (age 9) and continue with it in grades 4 and 5 (Principal Cai Changping 蔡長平, interview, 26 April 2010). In a *nanyin* session, the teacher Cai Huarong 蔡華容 was teaching a grade 3 class of about 50 students. She wrote the lyrics of the song *Yuanxiao Shiwu* (Score 7) on the blackboard and read out the lyrics for the students to follow together. The teacher then randomly asked some students to demonstrate the pronunciation (DVD-8). The duration of the session was 40 minutes, which was only enough for teaching lyrics-reading.

There was a *pipa* on the teacher's desk to be used to accompany the students when they start to learn singing. In a later conversation, Cai Huarong told me that her teaching method followed this order:

1. Read the lyrics (DVD-8)
2. Tell the story to familiarize the students with the song's background.
3. The teacher sings the whole song to give the students the feel of the melody.
4. Teacher sings a phrase and students imitate.
5. Individual students who sing well will be asked to demonstrate.
6. The whole song is sung by several students in a style Cai Huarong calls *kai huoche* 开火车 [driving the train]: individual students each sing one or more phrases in sequence, one after another until the song is finished.

Teaching a class size of 50 students is different from individual teaching, as each individual student's enunciation of the lyrics can hardly be corrected, not to mention the realisation of the melody with expressive embellishments.

### ***Qiaosheng Secondary School, Dongshi* 东石侨声中学**

Marie McCarthy observes that the musical culture of a society exerts great influences on the children, since “the mosaic of music cultures found in schools is a reflection of community cultural makeup” (1996a:76). Qiaosheng Secondary School is the only secondary school in Dongshi; it was founded in the 1950s, and the school *nanyin* ensemble, Qiaosheng Nanyin Yanjiushe 侨声南音研究社 [Qiaosheng Nanyin Research Society], was established at the same time. At that time, *nanyin* learning was not

mandatory and only those who were interested would participate. The present campus was completed in 2001, being one of the large-scale projects in Jinjiang funded by overseas Chinese in the post-Mao Reform period.

Early *nanyin* in this School was taught by masters recruited from *nanyin* groups in nearby villages. The School's Society participated in all the public performances within the community. With the Cultural Revolution, *nanyin* learning at Qiaosheng Secondary School was suspended until the revival period when masters from Dongshizhen Nanyin Society were invited to teach.

Today, there is one optional 'Special Interest Class' with 10 to 20 *nanyin* students. The tradition of Qiaosheng Nanyin Society is thus maintained. The students meet every Wednesday after school to learn the basics such as *gongchepu* reading and the concept of *gunmen*. On Saturday evenings, the students attend the weekly gathering of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society to polish their performance skills with the masters.

The teacher, Cai Huadan 蔡华丹, is a graduate from the *nanyin* department of Quanzhou Normal University. Like other institutional *nanyin* graduates, she attempts to modernize *nanyin* interpretation by re-arranging the traditional pieces with additional stage choreography. In an attempt to give it a fresh new image, Cai infused a strong Western flavour into traditional *nanyin* singing, including jazz and rock (*yaogun* 摇滚) rhythms with rapped *nanyin* lyrics in a performance to celebrate the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party in 2011. They performed the piece entitled *Zhiru huayuan* 直入花园 [Going straight to the garden] as re-arranged by Cai Huadan. According to another *nanyin* musician, Cai Yayi (personal communication, 30 August 2013), this and similar songs have been arranged in different styles of modern music by several individuals; for example, around 2006 a primary school teacher, Chen Silai, re-arranged *Zhiru huayuan* and inserted rapped lyrics in English. It is common that traditional *nanyin* songs are re-arranged even in medley form, incorporating Western musical elements and instruments, and sung in original lyrics or rewritten to adapt to the contents of performance (Cai Huadan, interview, 30 August 2013). Such attempts surprisingly received positive feedback from some conservative musicians. *Nanyin* heritage bearer Yang Cui'e commented (interview, 10 March 2010) that the introduction of rock rhythms was "not a bad thing" because a new style of performance acts as a means of cultivating young people's appreciation for their cultural legacy, creating a link with the past. From

the picture below (Fig. 6.8), it is evident that such rhythmic fusions are taught in classrooms, attracting students and encouraging them to experiment.



Fig. 6.8 Rock and Roll *nanyin* performance (photograph courtesy of Qiaosheng Secondary School)

After graduating from Qiaosheng Secondary School, many *nanyin* students further their studies in the *nanyin* department at Quanzhou Normal University, and some would try to pursue a *nanyin*-related career (Cai Huadan, interview, 15 October 2011).

### 6.3.3 Annual students' *nanyin* competition

Upon the launching of *nanyin* education in classrooms in 1990, the government adopted a series of methods to encourage *nanyin* learning and teaching. The first annual joint *nanyin* competition for elementary and secondary students was held in summer. It is a town-level competition structured on a pyramidal system, which culminates in an annual City-level competition in Quanzhou. This included giving prize-winners extra marks in their senior high school entrance applications, and admission priority to the *nanyin* department of Quanzhou Normal University. In the first few years the winners' school music teachers were credited for the result and their professional assessment marks were increased, and the *nanyin* masters responsible for the training were also mentioned in the certificates. The competition received great support from the local amateur *nanyin* groups, who gave cash awards to prize-winning member students. The event not only signifies a personal achievement but is also seen as an honour which is celebrated by the whole village. The run-up to the competition involves gruelling daily practice under the supervision of *nanyin* masters in the participants' societies.

Michael Bakan, discussing *gamelan beleganjur* competitions in Bali, concurred that music competitions are important not just to individuals but also to groups or teachers who choose repertoire, train the participants and make performance-related decisions

(1999:209-40). In Minnan, however, *nanyin* teacher Gong Wenpeng chastised the government for their declining financial and other support for the competition in recent years, particularly the failure to sufficiently acknowledge the important efforts and involvement of amateur *nanyin* musicians in training the participants (interview, 21 November 2009).

The annual students' *nanyin* competition has created a greater current of interest in *nanyin* learning and has become the biggest musical event in southern Fujian.

#### **6.4 INFORMAL CHILDREN'S NANYIN EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN FUJIAN**

Informal learning is one element of music education. Lucy Green defines it as “encountering unsought learning experiences through enculturation in the musical environment” (2001:16). *Nanyin* transmission outside the institutions is continuing strongly, but is influenced by modern styles of pedagogy; it is not confined by time and context, and is taught according to individual musicians' personal teaching strategies. Children attain their musical knowledge from various sources, including other children of the same age. In Jinjiang, all amateur *nanyin* societies offer free lessons for anyone interested, which is one of the main reasons that *nanyin* permeates the society. When I spoke to musicians in Jinjiang about *nanyin* education, I could feel their fervour and passion in continuing the tradition, as they believe that passing down the genre to the next generation is an important responsibility. Many hold the ethos of “I have learned from several teachers for free; I am indebted to this *nanyin* culture of transmission, and so I feel the social responsibility of continuing with this culture of transmission” (Cai Weibiao, interview, 5 December 2009). These musicians form a strong force essential to the continuity of *nanyin* tradition.

In order to understand the *nanyin* soundscape of children's lives in Jinjiang, this section will examine two case studies intended to exemplify the methods of teaching *nanyin* to children in groups. I attempt to reveal how children acquire music and how vocal and percussion sessions are conducted. The *nanyin* repertoire used to teach children will also be examined.

In case study (1), the rationale of interviewing Ding Shuilai 丁水来 is that he is a veteran *nanyin* vocalist/teacher and his grandniece Ding Jialing 丁佳玲 has been under his personal tutelage since age 6. In case study (2) I have chosen to examine Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society (Yubinshe) because, despite the Society being often mocked as a *nanyin* kindergarten, it has the most vibrant children's *nanyin* group, which was formed under the auspices of its female director He Xiubi (DVD-9-10).

#### 6.4.1 Acquisition of music

In Minnan, *nanyin* was heard in nearly every household until the 1960s, for the genre had been the core form of music enjoyed by the society at large for over a century. Transmission in rural areas such as Dongshi was a hereditary tradition under which many children learnt by rote and osmosis and became *nanyin* masters as adults. Some musicians pass on *nanyin* knowledge within the family with activities such as playing music with their children. Zhou Yidian's family has been sustaining *nanyin* for four generations in Dongshi. This social phenomenon exerts a pervasive influence on children's musical thoughts.

In October 2009, I attended a children's *nanyin* session at Yubinshe in Shenhu and interviewed nearly 20 children aged from 5 to 13. These young students joined the class for several reasons. Some were recruited via the school 'Special Interest Classes' which they had joined at their own will, then being further encouraged by their teacher to gain extra tuition in local *nanyin* societies; other students were sent by parents who encouraged them to diversify their musical interests.

Interestingly, most of these children's parents are not *nanyin* performers; many play the electronic keyboard and sing pop songs. They may not even like *nanyin* but feel that their offspring should inherit this traditional culture. These parents represent the group of Shenhu inhabitants born during or after the Cultural Revolution, when *nanyin* practice was at its ebb. The children enjoy practising at home; whilst some asked their parents to play *nanyin* audio recordings for them, a few told me that they practised and sang with their grandparents who were *nanyin* aficionados.

A common teaching approach of many folk genres worldwide is a specific type of imitation and repetition: the teacher breaks a piece down into several phrases and teaches

one phrase at a time, repeating it several times as the students imitate (Henson 2006:126; Berliner 1993:140). In the case of instrumental learning which requires technique, e.g. *mbira*, students learn indirectly by observing and imitating skilled performers and synthesizing the techniques from different sources (Berliner 1993:140). In Timothy Rice's study (1994) of Bulgarian *gaida* bagpipe, he uses both emic and etic perspectives as someone learning from outside the tradition by which he acquires the playing technique through self-understanding. There are similarities and differences in learning according to different musical culture; in *nanyin* teaching, imitation and repetition are a norm, as evidenced in the case studies below.

### **Case study (1): Pedagogy and problems in children's *nanyin* vocal learning**

Private teaching of *nanyin*, found everywhere in Minnan, is one mechanism for transmitting the genre. In 2009, Chendai veteran vocalist Ding Shuilai discovered the singing talent of his 6-year-old grandniece Ding Jialing. He then decided to cultivate her talent by teaching her *nanyin* singing everyday during summer vacations.

In a field recording (DVD-7), Ding Shuilai shares his experience by giving examples illustrating the commonly encountered problem in vocal teaching. Closely emulating the traditional way of teaching a new vocal piece, Ding tells Jialing the story background and adopts the imitation-and-repetition method (Chapter 6.1). He states that the most difficult thing to teach a child is the lyrics. Many of the *nanyin* lyrics are poetic and written in a literary style that might even challenge adult learners. Jialing is required to memorize the long and difficult text even though she explicitly says "I don't know what it means" (DVD-7, 3:50).

A second problem is diction. For *nanyin* singing, clear enunciation of each part of a single syllable is essential (Chapter 2.3.2). However there is a common problem with pronunciation among children today. For example in the song *Zhiru huayuan* 直入花园, the word *zhiru* [going straight to] in Minnan vernacular should read *did-lip*, but is often read as *did-lid* by children; as a result, the final 'p' sound is not heard. (In Shenhu, the same mistake prevails.) To cope with this in his teaching, Ding Shuilai shortened the phrase he was teaching and emphasized the 'p' sound for Jialing to imitate.

In Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society, children's *nanyin* classes are divided into two groups: lower-level (kindergarten to grade 1) and middle-level (grades 1 to 6).

Children in the lower-level group are those who begin their *nanyin* learning at Yubinshe whilst those in the middle-level group attend *nanyin* ‘Special Interest Class’ in schools and receive extra training at Yubinshe. The teacher He Xiubi, woman director of Yubinshe, demonstrates (DVD-9) teaching a *nanyin* vocal piece to a mixed class of lower and middle groups. She reads a phrase or two of the lyrics for the children to follow. She then sings it out for the children to imitate. This is repeated until the children get it right. Afterwards the teacher then corrects mistakes made by the students.

### **Case study (2): Percussion class**

The learning of percussion instruments, which are classified as the Lower Four instruments (*xiasiguan*), has seldom been given much attention because they are not frequently played in the traditional repertoire (Chapter 2.2.2), but nearly all musicians are aware of their presence and role. On 8 October 2009, I recorded a children’s *nanyin* percussion session at Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society, where Chen Manying 陈曼迎, a school music teacher and vocalist of the Society, demonstrated how she taught percussion in school and in the Society (DVD-10).

The instruments are *sibao*, *shuangling*, *xiangzhan* and *jiaoluo*. These non-pitched instruments are popular because they are small and light to carry. They cost only a few RMB (less than £1) each and thus are affordable. Before the session starts, the students are first allowed to try each instrument and choose one to learn. According to the teacher, Chen Manying (interview, 6 October 2009), percussion sessions are very popular because children enjoy learning the toy-like percussion instruments.

The melody of *Zhiru Huayuan*, which is familiar to the children, was chosen for practice, and a few elder *nanyin* students were invited to demonstrate how the percussion instruments are used in punctuating the beats through various rhythmic patterns. This was followed by the teacher explaining how each instrument co-ordinated with the *pipa*. Then each student was allowed to try out the instrument they had chosen. Among these instruments, *sibao* is technically the most demanding, which influences the students’ choice of instrument.

It is not conventional and still not a norm to accompany *nanyin* vocals with percussion. In the early 1950s, Xiamen *nanyin* composer Ji Jingmu started to incorporate

percussion in his works to create musical interest in some of his vocal pieces; this was considered an innovative move, but it did not become popular (Liu Chunshu 2000:8).

#### 6.4.2 Choice of repertoire

The genre of *nanyin* does not have a separate repertory for children, unlike for example Venda children's songs which consist of a broad range of styles (Blacking 1995:17). Therefore, Minnan children sing the same traditional *nanyin* songs as the adults. Most of the transmitters simply choose their preferred melodies and disregard the contents of the songs.

I noted the importance in the choice of repertoire for children when I attended a group children's class in Yubinshe and came to realise that the contents of *nanyin* songs chosen to teach children were not censored. The song which Yubinshe's director taught them was *Chibi shang* 赤壁上, in *wukong siche guan* [C mode] (DVD-9). The story is about a monk flirting with a pretty boat-woman. During the course of teaching, the teacher gave the definitions of the words and asked the children to sing with 'appropriate emotion' (DVD-9, 13:00-30)! Though the teacher demystified the phrases, it was unlikely the children could comprehend fully and were able to express the implied emotions of the monk who found himself sleepless at night because he was enthralled by the beauty of the boat-woman. I learned later that due to what was regarded as unhealthy contents (*neirong bujiankang* 内容不健康), this piece and other *nanyin* songs with erotic texts were prohibited during the Cultural Revolution (Zeng Jiayang, interview, 16 November 2011).

For teaching children, more emphasis was given to choosing familiar tunes with lively tempi, which require fewer embellishments and which the children could sing at home with their family members – for example, *Zhiru huayuan* and *Yuanxiao shiwu* 元宵十五 [15<sup>th</sup> of the first lunar month] (for the background story, see Chapter 2.5.4 *Lijingji*). In Minnan, nearly every household is familiar with these tunes. The legend of *Zhiru huayuan* (Score 13) is about Zigu 紫姑, a young concubine who was maltreated and died at the hands of her master's wife. It was out of sympathy that people imagined that Zigu was on a happy journey to another world; the lyrics vividly delineate the girl happily running around a garden and enjoying the flowers and butterflies. The plot appears to be rather dark and brutal for children, but its lively melody makes it a favourite among them.

*Nanyin* texts are too difficult for children to understand linguistically, and so are the contents, which usually emphasise emotion, love and melancholy. Even though the teacher would explain the story, many students cannot actually understand the embedded feeling. They simply sing the words by rote, as Ding Jialing admitted in the field recording. Nevertheless, because Minnanese people see *nanyin* as a local tradition and a badge of regional identity, they value the continuity of the genre and thus advocate *nanyin* education starting from childhood.

## **6.5 NOTATION AND TEACHING MATERIALS**

Notation has many functions, including establishing a fixed standard for documenting a musical heritage and helping to promote the historicity of the genre, but it does not necessarily replace oral transmission (Becker 1980:21, Henson 2006:78). Notation reflects the aesthetics of people in their own culture, so “what is important to one music culture may be of much less concern in another” (Malm & Hughes 2001:842). For example, under the influence of colonization in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a European-influenced musical notation system started to be used in central Java. Judith Becker claims that the canonization under Western system in Java gamelan causes problems as it changes the musical ethos and pedagogical method of the old tradition (Becker 1980:24-5). Though the process of changing from oral to written tradition may seem inevitable subsequent to modernization and institutionalization, Becker presumes that notation is mainly of interest to scholars and historians but of little use to musicians. In Japan, traditional musicians seldom need detailed notation: it was originally merely a memory aid tool and only became important in teaching under Western influence in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Malm & Hughes 2001:842-3). Nevertheless, Bruno Nettl believes that “a comprehensive understanding of the music of a culture includes the way it is learned and the materials that are used to teach” (2005:389). In this section, the role of notation and the teaching materials used for different levels of *nanyin* teaching will be discussed.

### **6.5.1 The use of notation in *nanyin***

*Nanyin gongchepu* notation is used for teaching and learning; it is not formulated to teach composition and is not used during performance (Chapter 2.3.1).

*Nanyin* scores used by the two institutions, Yixiao and Shiyuan, are in three types of notation: traditional *gongchepu*, *jianpu* [cipher] and Western staff notation. Among these, *gongchepu* is the most preferred; teachers especially insist on it for students of singing because the cipher and staff notations used do not indicate melodic embellishments in the way *pipa* notation does in *nanyin gongchepu*. This is analogous to a Taiwan scholar's claim that *gongchepu* helps to detect spaces where a student can insert ornamentations (Chou 2002b: 99).

During various field conversations, the *pipa* teacher Zeng Jiayang disclosed that cipher notation is used mainly for practising instrumental technique while staff notation is used mostly by students who study Western art music and play Western instruments. On the rare occasion of learning and practising contemporary *nanyin* works written in *jianpu*, students refer to the notation of the new composition and use their experience to instinctively embellish the melody.

### 6.5.2 *Nanyin* teaching materials

Since the imposition of *nanyin* education for classrooms in 1990, over 120 elementary and secondary schools have participated and some 200,000 students have benefited from different levels of vocal and instrumental education (Chen Risheng, interview, 9 March 2010). To support this policy, the government has also published various *nanyin* teaching materials.

#### *Elementary and secondary schools*

Initially teaching was based on two teaching resources published in 1990: *Nanyin teaching materials: Trial music sources for Quanzhou City secondary and elementary schools*, and *Nanyin supplementary teaching materials: for nanyin Special Interest Class in schools*<sup>110</sup> The latest teaching resource is *Quanzhou Nanyin Jichu Jiaocheng* 泉州南音基础教程 [Quanzhou *nanyin* fundamental teaching material], published in 2009. The contents of this teaching material are divided in two parts: theoretical studies and

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<sup>110</sup> The two *nanyin* teaching materials are: (1) Chen Risheng 陈日升, Chen Boyu 陈伯禹 (ed.) 1990a. *Nanyin jiaocai: Quanzhoushi zhong xiaoxue yinyue ke shiyongben* 南音教材: 泉州市中小学音乐课试用本 [Nanyin teaching materials: trial music sources for Quanzhou City secondary and elementary schools]. Quanzhou: Quanzhou City Bureau of Education and Quanzhou City Bureau of Culture. (2) Chen Risheng, Chen Boyu (ed.) 1990b. *Nanyin buchong jiaocai: gong xuexiao nanyin xingqu xiaozu shiyong* 南音补充教材: 供小学南音兴趣小组使用 [Nanyin supplementary teaching materials: for *nanyin* Special Interest Class in schools]. Quanzhou: Quanzhou City Bureau of Education and Quanzhou City Bureau of Culture.

repertoire practice with twenty songs of progressive difficulty being organized into three types of notation (Score 13). The theoretical studies consist of a general introduction to the genre, the instruments, performance practice and ensembles with the selected songs acting as syllabi for the annual student *nanyin* competition. The first ten songs form the syllabus for elementary school students, the other ten for secondary school students.

### ***Institutional use***

Before 1962, when the *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* became the *nanyin* canon (as discussed in the next section), Yixiao teachers decided their own syllabus for each performing arts course. According to Su Shiyong, who began teaching *nanyin* vocal in Yixiao in 1984, sheets of *gongchepu* based on the 1962 compilation were mimeographed and used by both students and teachers. In 2006, *Zhongguo Quanzhou nanyin xilie jiaocheng* 中国泉州南音系列教程 [Series of Quanzhou *nanyin* teaching material] was published and has since been used by both Yixiao and Shiyuan. This series consists of individual instrumental and vocal volumes, authored by the performers of the government ensemble. Each instrumental volume consists not only of practice scores but of studies involving instruments, history and performing practice, and the vocal volume is prefaced with a general introduction. *Pipa* and vocal pieces are notated in traditional *nanyin gongchepu*, but *dongxiao* and *erxian* are in cipher notation; this series of teaching materials does not include *sanxian*. The series also includes a set of *nanyin* repertory, *zhi*, *qu* and *pu* which are in *gongchepu* based on the canonized *Quanzhou zhipu daquan*.

Aural learning is also important. During the Cultural Revolution when performances of traditional music were prohibited, *nanyin* musicians who migrated overseas released commercial recordings in places such as Hong Kong, making *nanyin* accessible to people in different geographical locales. Now government-subsidized commercial *nanyin* recordings, mostly DVDs, are available; the performers are mostly government ensemble artists.

## **6.6 CANONIZATION**

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, canonization of many musical genres was seen to have acquired musical aesthetic values and national symbols. The *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* compilation, created by order of the Quanzhou government in 1962 (Chapter 4.3),

suggests a project to canonize the *nanyin* genre, and echoes similar projects around the world where modernisers have brought folk traditions into the academy. Ruth Davis, for example, raises the problems encountered in the reform of the Tunisian *maluf* repertoire and the need to unify musicians' interpretations through the introduction of notation (Davis 2004:51). Similar cases are found around China when the state ensembles attempted to standardize interpretations of a multitude of traditional genres through transcriptions using cipher and staff notations. In the Uyghur Twelve Muqam, a purely oral tradition, Harris argues that the published repertory served primarily as documentation aimed at outsiders. She also argues that the series of cassettes published along with the scores were more important in standardising the repertoire (Harris 2008:90). In southern Fujian and the *nanyin* diaspora, almost all the *nanyin* societies provide only traditional *nanyin gongchepu* scores.

In Japan, an unprecedented summit conference was held in 1909 in Esashi, a small fishing town in Hokkaido, to discuss the performance and transmission of the renowned local folk song *Esashi Oiwake*. A dozen of the best singers attended, and each one was asked in future to agree to sing only one and the same version of the song – since for example there was only one way to sing a Schubert *lied* (Hughes 2008:113). In southern Fujian, a parallel to such musical standardization was seen when Quanzhou Minjian Yuetuan 泉州民间乐团 [Quanzhou Folk Music Ensemble] was established in 1960, recruiting thirteen well-recognised *nanyin* masters from Quanzhou, Jinjiang, Nan'an, Hui'an and Xiamen to teach.<sup>111</sup> As they were from different locales and their interpretations of *nanyin* were inherited from different teachers, a clash of interpretive differences existed. In an attempt to standardize teaching, these *nanyin* masters were asked to discuss and to reach a mutually agreed resolution for a uniform pedagogy. Consequently, the most influential standardized notation collection *Quanzhou Zhipu Daquan* 泉州指谱大全 was compiled in *gongchepu* with the joint efforts of these thirteen teachers and published in 1962 by order of Wang Jinsheng (Chapter 4.3.1); Zheng Guoquan 2009:171-2). This publication became the first teaching material from which the series *Zhongguo Quanzhou nanyin silie jiaocheng* (discussed above) drew for *nanyin* institutional learning, and has been frequently referenced by musicians in recent decades.

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<sup>111</sup> These thirteen masters recognised as the most virtuosic figures in *nanyin* music of the time were: He Tianci 何天賜, Zhuang Yongyi 庄泳沂, Chen Tianbo 陈天波, Chiu Zhide 邱志德, Lin Sunxiong 林孙雄, Xu Xiangju 许显举, Wu Pingshui 吴萍水, Wu Jingshui 吴镜水, Chen Youfu 陈有福, Wu Ruide 吴瑞德, Huang Shouwan 黄守万, Cai Shenmu 蔡森木 and Su Laihao 苏来好.

### 6.6.1 Computerization of *nanyin* notation

The notation used in *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* (1962) was nevertheless traditional *gongchepu*. As discussed in Chapter 2, traditional *nanyin* notation (*gongchepu* 工义谱), different from the *gongchepu* 工尺谱 used by other genres, is a unique system used only in Fujian *nanyin*. The configuration of symbols in different sizes is both horizontal and vertical. There are complicated combinations of symbols for *pipa* fingering and characters for pitch. It also integrates some non-standard vernacular characters. Due to difficulties in publishing *nanyin* scores, dissemination was limited.

In 1997, *nanyin* educator Wu Shizhong 吴世忠 (1943-99) and computer teacher Li Wensheng 李文胜 of Quanzhou Sixth Secondary School successfully devised auto-transcription computer software for converting the vertical *nanyin gongchepu* to horizontal Western notation (Wu Shizhong (1997), quoted in Zheng Guoquan 2009:127). Due to financial problems, it was not until 2000 that the first computerized *nanyin* score, *Nanyin Mingqu Xuan*,<sup>112</sup> combining *gongchepu* and Western notation was published with financial support from Singapore (Zheng Guoquan 2009:134).<sup>113</sup> Publications showing triple-notation – *nanyin gongchepu*, cipher notation and Western staff notation – first appeared in the 2006 and 2009 teaching material series (Chapter 6.5.2).

Coincidentally, around the year 2000, some old manuscripts were discovered overseas and in Jinjiang, which further aroused the enthusiasm for *nanyin* studies. This helped stimulate local government sponsorship for the preparation of several compilations, mostly in traditional *gongchepu* notation, in Quanzhou and particularly in Jinjiang.

These new publications, even those specifically intended for teaching, are not used by the major *nanyin* societies, although most were given a copy. All traditional *nanyin* societies prefer to use their own handwritten teaching scores (Fig. 2.14) which draw on surviving manuscripts (if any survived the Cultural Revolution) passed down by their former masters. In any case, the new publications were priced at 80-200 RMB in 2010,

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<sup>112</sup> The first publication consists of *wudatao* 五大套 [five big suites] from the *zhi* repertory: *Zilai shengchang* 自来生长, *Xingan bazu* 心肝跋踹, *Yizhi xiangsi* 一纸相思, *Chenshang huadeng* 趁赏花灯, and *Weijun qushi* 为君去时; the four most popular pieces from *pu* repertory: *Sishijing* 四时景, *Meihuacao* 梅花操, *Bajunma* 八骏马 and *Bainiao guicao* 百鸟归巢; and a fundamental piece for all *nanyin* learners, *Qishouban* 起手板.

<sup>113</sup> Siong Leng Musical Association, Singapore and Quanzhou Difang Xiqu Yanjiushe (compilers), 2000. *Nanyin Mingu Xuan*. Beijing: Zhongguo Xiju Chubanshe.

which is arguably too high for the budget of rural musicians and ordinary consumers, and also too costly for a folk *nanyin* society to keep several copies. Just as with the Uyghur Twelve Muqam, these nicely bound scores are “emblems of the canonisation process” (Harris 2008:90). There are limited commercial outlets for distribution; the scores are mostly given away by the compiling government units to musicians and scholars for study and research purposes.

The *nanyin* scores available for popular use are in booklet size with paper covers published by local *nanyin* societies such as the Quanzhoushi Gongren Wenhua Gong Nanyueshe 泉州市工人文化宫南乐社 [Quanzhou City Workers’ Cultural Hall Southern Music Society]. These scores are all in *gongchepu*, intended for internal circulation and are handy to carry. A booklet consists of usually ten to twenty songs (depending on the length of the pieces) and is sold at a much more affordable price of 10 RMB. Nevertheless despite knowing that the accuracy of the booklet-sized scores is not compatible with the newer publications, the musicians still habitually utilize them.

For institutional use, the teaching materials for instrumental learning are a synthesis of cipher and Western notation, while for the vocalists, the songs are in *gongchepu*. They were both published by the Quanzhou City Education Department in 2006 and 2009, and all of them draw the material from the *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* (1962). This suggests that the early standardization project has been influential in contemporary practice.

### **6.6.2 Standardization of transmission in individual *nanyin* societies**

Standardization of transmission within individual *nanyin* societies, especially in larger-scale societies, is seen for example in Dongshizhen Nanyin Society (previously discussed in Chapter 5.2.2), an umbrella organisation comprising nearly twenty amateur *nanyin* groups with long historical backgrounds. Unifying these groups involved throwing the performance traditions and interpretive styles of each society into one big melting pot. As *nanyin* was traditionally passed down by oral transmission, with musicians from different village groups learning from different teachers, it is natural that many discrepancies in performance practice existed. Whilst acknowledging these differences, Dongshizhen Nanyin Society decided to set up their own teaching syllabus and standardise interpretation as mutually agreed by all their teachers. This is in particular analogous to the 1909 *Esashi Oiwake* case mentioned above. Though many variants of

that Japanese song had previously been performed, in the one-song contests of recent decades, with teaching methods approved by organisers, every contestant was expected to sing very similarly to each other. For some years the judges even used a stopwatch to ensure that singers did not sing a verse too fast or too slow (Hughes 2008:227).

The smoothness of the standardizing process was credited to the concerted efforts of the late masters who were founders of the Society. These masters learnt from various renowned teachers and all devoted themselves to life-long exploration of *nanyin*. They exchanged their performance ideas through daily practice, and whenever they came across a difference in interpretation, they would stop and discuss. They all strongly believed in what they had learnt, hence confrontations and arguments were inevitable; yet on the positive side, they gave their individual rationale behind their performance and let others' ears make the final decision. Sending their students to perform in other *nanyin* societies was one of their methods to re-affirm the recognition of their decision-making (Cai Changrong, interview, 11 March 2010). During fieldwork in Jinjiang, I attended numerous recitals and often heard comments on interpretation from musicians in the audience. This is perhaps how the Dongshi masters collected the feedback of the others and included it in their considerations.

## 6.7 CONCLUSION

In recent decades, *nanyin* learning contexts have been extended from the traditional *guan* and *ge* teaching to institutionalized learning as the genre started to be taught in schools in 1990. This has redefined the space for *nanyin* learning and performance practice in general. Theodore Levin (1996:46) and Tanya Merchant Henson (2006:42) examine the Uzbek *Shashmaqom* musical tradition of Central Asia and reveal that institutionalisation was intended by cultural bureaucrats to 'elevate' 'primitive' folk traditions to the status of a national music more suited to represent the modern nation state of Uzbekistan on the international stage. This is also evident in the institutionalisation of Chinese traditional instruments such as the *erhu* or *dizi* (Stock 1996; Lau 1996). The intent to 'elevate' helps to raise the status of *nanyin* as an important and representative regional culture – a timely development as China prepared to apply to UNESCO for ICH recognition. This new government cultural policy also helps to

reinforce the value of *nanyin* tradition and heighten young people's awareness of this cultural legacy, creating a broader spectrum of interest in *nanyin* learning.

*Nanyin* education in southern Fujian can be divided into formal and informal. The former is carried out in schools of different levels, with different aims. In elementary and secondary schools, the aim is to enhance cultural knowledge and continue the tradition; Yixiao mainly aims to groom professional performers; and Shiyuan is for training *nanyin* teachers. The transmission methods in Yixiao and Shiyuan, I noticed, are very similar to the methods applied in Taiwan *nanguan* transmission, in principle and in practice, in that both claim to follow the traditional methods. This is probably because veteran *nanyin* musicians have been recruited to teach in the institutions.

Although *nanyin* has been given the prestige of being instituted as a department in the university, institutionalisation creates several problems. First, teaching facilities and performing opportunities are not yet sufficient in these schools. Bruno Nettl notes that in contemporary America, many music-loving people see university ensembles as the emblems of the schools (Nettl 1995:72). Traditional *nanyin* teaching is hard to fit into the institutional system; Shiyuan students focus on formal Western music learning, leaving insufficient time to explore *nanyin* in depth or to even simply form an ensemble emblematic of the institution.

Whilst students from Shiyuan mostly end up being music teachers, the general problem with *nanyin* students from Yixiao is the lack of job opportunities. This phenomenon is also seen in Taiwan, where the *nanguan* graduates of Taipei National University of the Arts generally cannot see a future in *nanguan*. Some graduates do join private troupes as professional *nanguan* musicians, but many others simply quit *nanguan* and settle for other jobs such as museum staff; most of them simply want to get a University degree (Wang Ying-fen 2003:141-2). This suggests that most students learning traditional genres are not career-oriented.

In children's *nanyin* learning contexts, several shortcomings are also noteworthy. Andrew Killick suggests that "If a tradition is a practice invested with a commitment to its continuation, we should expect to find efforts to ensure the continuation of whatever is regarded as traditional" (2010:143). In South Korea, Ch'oe Chongmin, leader of the National Changgeuk Company of Korea (NCKK), initiated a series productions of the children's opera form *Ch'anggŭk* (*Ŏrini ch'anggŭk*), featuring child performers, which

runs together with the regular *ch'anggŭk* series in the National Theatre during winter vacations. The idea and the contents are both distinctive: the series attempts to attract children in terms of shortening the duration of performance and incorporating performer-audience interaction, with contents embracing educative topics surrounding children. Training in the ICH-designated narrative genre *p'ansori* is also promoted, and the importance of early training is emphasized for achieving a good artistic standard and ensuring the continuation of the tradition. Compared to children's *nanyin* education in Minnan, NCKK has been highly efficient and successful.

The master/apprentice notion still continues to influence the music transmission style in many countries. Due to limitations of time, place and curriculum, such relationships between teacher and student can no longer be sustained under the contemporary music *nanyin* education system. *Nanyin* transmission today is a hybrid form of oral transmission with the aid of notation due to the fact that subtle nuances of the musical form simply cannot be effectively represented by notation. Despite the changing modes of transmission, teachers sustain the authenticity by transmitting their own styles of embellishment, which are not notated in the scores.

In striving for standardization, the government and collaborating musicians have canonized both notation and performance practice along with the compilation of *nanyin* repertoire by order of Quanzhou's mayor Wang Jinsheng in 1962. Standardization of teaching in Dongshizhen represents the negotiations and reconciliation of performance practice among musicians, as seen in *nanyin* societies of long historical background. Nowadays masters in amateur societies still play an important role in enculturating and training learners, in particular school students. Discussing the present *nanyin* education system in Minnan, *nanyin* researcher Chen Yanting points out that "*nanyin* education in the classroom is to recruit talented students, but to nurture them one must follow the traditional oral transmission by individual masters" (2008:116). The orally transmitted style has varied accordingly, but it remains the core teaching mode and has not been completely supplanted by written transmission.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *NANYIN AS CULTURAL CAPITAL*

Music, when deployed as cultural capital, may have considerable economic and political consequences. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu asserts that:

Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated,’ embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. (Bourdieu 1986:1)

Bourdieu also points out that capital can present itself in different guises “depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question” (1986:3-4). Historical studies and anthropological findings have demonstrated the stakes of symbolic capital embodied in *nanyin* and have confirmed its significance in the trade networks between southern Fujian and the Southeast Asian countries, which manifest as strong cultural and economic influences in the province of Fujian, especially in the Minnan region.<sup>114</sup>

In this Chapter, I examine the formation of transnational *nanyin* networks and how the musical tradition links the diaspora and its homeland. I attempt to explore the diaspora’s interactions with *nanyin* in Minnan and to spot the impacts from cultural and economic perspectives. Based on my ethnographic data, I examine how *nanyin*, in the guises of cultural, political and economic capital, has been used as various forms of mechanism to serve different aspects of government cultural policies in Minnan. I also examine the local authorities’ approaches towards the preservation and safeguarding of the genre as an intangible cultural heritage product. With two case studies, I analyse the decline of *nanyin* society in Chendai and the emergence of government intervention in a new *nanyin* society in Jinjiang. I investigate the viability of reviving the dormant *guozhiqu* practice as part of the ICH preservation scheme.

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<sup>114</sup> Vermeer 1990; Hook 1996; Wang Mingming 1997, 2009; Tan Chee-Beng 1999, 2006; Douw 1999; Dean 2010.

## 7.1 THE IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONAL *NANYIN* NETWORKS

In view of increasing influence of global forces on the contemporary musical world, Timothy Rice has argued that:

Musical experience may be the product of and contribute to the making of many “places”... our and our subjects’ experiences are no longer contained within local, isolated cultures or even within nation-states but are and have been shaped by regional, areal, colonial, and global economics, politics, social relations, and images... the locational dimension contains many other positions that powerfully impact musical experience. (Rice 2003:160)

Via several tides of emigration in different historical periods as discussed in Chapter 3.1.2, *nanyin* was disseminated to Southeast Asia, and the ‘place’ of *nanyin* practice transcended its original ‘regional’ boundaries. Just as Bourdieu notes that “the work of art is the objectification of a relationship of distinction and ... is thereby explicitly predisposed to bear such a relationship in the most varied contexts” (1984:227), *nanyin* held great value for the emigrants, representing Minnan identity in the diaspora. In Chapter 3.1.2, I traced the early outward historical emigration tides in southern Fujian; in this section, I discuss the transnational networks established through *nanyin* music-making. I examine the role of *nanyin* as defined by spatial and temporal dimensions from the cultural and economic perspectives.

### 7.1.1 Diasporic networks of *nanyin*

#### *Early sojourners*

There is no record of exact numbers of émigrés from Minnan until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but the early Chinese emigrants were from different social spheres. Historical studies show that these emigrants were deprived of legitimate rights in most of their host countries. Their inherent emotional resistance generated a sense of Chinese patriotism and ethnic solidarity within their community (Anthonio Tan 1972; Pramoedya 2007). In general, the early emigrants had the least sense of belonging in their recipient countries as they considered themselves ‘sojourners’ (*lǚju zhe* 旅居者) who were there to earn money and would finally return to China after saving enough money (Wang Gungwun 2000: 12). Wang argued that the notion of sojourning as “temporary residence at a new place of abode (with the intention of returning)” was a hindrance to assimilation (ibid:42). Emigrés regarded China as their ancestral home; they were born there and wanted to be buried there. This was reflected in many houses built by ‘sojourners’ in their home

town/village which the locals call *fankelou* 番客楼<sup>115</sup> [foreign guest's house] (Fig. 7.1). Houses like this often imitate the construction style of the host country. Regardless of class, most of the old Jinjiang emigrants' ideal retirement was to *yijin huanxiang* 衣锦还乡 [to return to their hometown in resplendent outfits].



Fig. 7.1 Residence of retired overseas Chinese in Shenhu (field photo 2011)

It is true up to now that overseas sojourners aspire to attain higher social status and influence back home (Douw 1999:25; Wang Gungwu 2000:20), and this psychologically motivates their generous financial contributions for the developments in their hometown to help solidify that social status (Chapter 7.1.3 below).

### *Nanyin in diasporic contexts*

In the diaspora, *nanyin* societies symbolize a social network linking them to homeland China; *nanyin* musicians converge for music-making and to exchange news from their hometowns. Aside from providing recreation and self-entertainment in their host countries, *nanyin* playing in the past was a means to express longing for and memories of their homeland Minnan. Many ethnomusicologists have contributed to exploring different paradigms of diasporic studies (Um 2005; Lee Tong Soon 2000; Shelemay 1998; Boym 2001). One could draw a parallel to Kay Shelemay's observations that the Jewish *pizmon* would serve to “trigger a panoply of personal and shared

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<sup>115</sup> ‘Fanke’ is what an indigenous Minnanese call diasporic Chinese returning from Southeast Asia.

memories” (Shelemay 1998:5), while through *nanyin* playing, the memories of the musicians’ past musical experiences of their hometown were recalled. Prominent *nanyin* societies still exist in the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao nowadays. These societies are financially sponsored by clan-related associations founded by wealthy social elites. They maintain frequent interactive visits and affiliation with those in southern Fujian up to the present except perhaps during the Cultural Revolution.

It is beyond the scope of this study to go into an in-depth study of *nanyin* practice in the diaspora. But in this section, I give a brief sketch of the functions of *nanyin* transnational networks.

### 7.1.2 *Nanyin* in cultural perspective

*Nanyin* in the diaspora references musical heritage and cultural displacement from southern Fujian. The genre has been a cultural mediator through transmission; the Quanzhou and Jinjiang areas of Minnan have been the main source of teachers in the *nanyin* diaspora since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. These teachers carry out the triple responsibilities of transmission, dissemination, and linking the diaspora to the hometown in China. *Nanyin* societies in Shenhui, Chendai and Dongshi were popular places from which *nanyin* teachers were recruited to teach in the Philippines, Taiwan, Singapore and Indonesia. To name a few: Ding Shibin (Chendai) was recruited to teach in Taiwan in 1995, Ding Xinkun (Chendai) and Zhou Tianlun (Dongshi) have been teaching in the Philippines since 1997 until the present.

Among the transnational cultural activities, the most significant event has been the large-scale *nanyin* grand concert. *Nanyin* concerts were generally called *nanyin huichang* 南音回唱 [*nanyin* communal concert], and these larger-scale events were called *dahuichang* 大回唱 [*da* = big]. These government-organised grand concerts grew in popularity; examples include the Rural *Nanyin* Grand Concert (*Nongcun Nanyin Dahuichang* 农村南音大回唱) and the Young Workers *Nanyin* Grand Concert (*Zhigong Qingnian Nanyin Dahuichang* 职工青年南音大回唱) in the 1950s and the Mid-Autumn Folk Music Grand Concert (*Zhongqiu Minjian Yinyue Dahuichang* 中秋民间音乐大会唱) in 1962 (Chen Yanting 2008:236).

Inspired by the First Asian *Nanyin Dahuichang* organised by Singapore Siong Leng Music Association in 1977, just after the end of the Cultural Revolution in China, the Quanzhou government sponsored a large-scale *nanyin* concert in 1981, inviting all local and overseas groups except those from Taiwan. It turned out to be a great success, and the government repeated the event in 1982, 1984, 1988, 1994 (with the first-ever Taiwanese participation), 2000, 2002, 2005, and 2010 (Zheng Guoquan 2009:298-307). The latest one in 2010, the 9<sup>th</sup> International Quanzhou Nanyin Grand Concert, included as one of the programmes of the Cross-strait Minnan Cultural Festival attended by over 5000 overseas participants; all the major *nanyin* societies in Southeast Asia were invited to participate.

The Zhongguo Nanyin Xuehui 中国南音学会 [China Nanyin Research Committee] was formed in 1985 to launch serious research about *nanyin*. This event caught the attention of scholars in Beijing and indeed resulted in a surge in *nanyin* research. This paved the way for the genre's nomination for the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008 and led to its recognition as a prestigious old folk tradition.

Regardless of the status of *nanyin*, its adherents enjoy it as a transnational cultural practice. Since the 1980s, many Minnan *nanyin* societies are affiliated with overseas groups as 'sister societies' (*jiemeishe* 姐妹社). Such ties continue to blossom nowadays. Exchange visits are often arranged to help polish performance skills and strengthen the bond of solidarity between these amateur groups.

The post-Mao Reform policy after the 1980s enabled more transnational *nanyin* activities and cultural contacts between Minnan and the diaspora. Through the exchange performances, local musicians learn how *nanyin* is being modernized and practised in the diaspora; overseas *nanyin* musicians are thus exposed to various interpretive styles which they might not have learnt from their teachers in their home countries.

### ***Cross-strait philosophical divide in nanyin practice***

In Taiwan, this genre is called *nanguan* and is accorded a high social status. Over 200 *nanguan* societies are known to have existed since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The developments of the genre in Taiwan are well documented by various Taiwan and

mainland China scholars.<sup>116</sup> Taiwan, being the closest geographically to Minnan, is the most significant *nanyin* diaspora, and the tradition continues to be practised.

I will briefly describe the socio-political background of Taiwan under which the genre has been cultivated since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. After the Nationalists (Kuomintang) retreated to and formed a government in Taiwan in 1949, all communications with mainland China were severed, and cross-strait *nanyin* interactions ceased until 1994 (Chapter 7.2.1 below); recovering China became the political mission of the Nationalist government.

The majority of Taiwan's population in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century were Minnanese. This led the Nationalist government in Taiwan to exploit Minnanese culture such as *nanguan* as propagandizing tools to legitimise the Nationalists as the guardians of Chinese culture and as the legitimate ruling regime of mainland China (Guy 2005:4-5; Wang Ying-fen 2012:163). Cultural policy of the Taiwanese government therefore brought about a flourishing scene of *nanguan* practice in the 1950s-1960s (Wang Ying-fen 2012:163-4). The Nationalist ideology to recover mainland China was further heightened during the time of the Cultural Revolution in China (1966-76) and *nanguan* again became one of the art forms strongly supported by the government. A whirlwind of *nanguan* activities in Taiwan and performances abroad were recorded after the Cultural Revolution and continued into the 1990s, including concerts in Korea and Japan in 1979 and a European tour in 1982 (Wang Ying-fen 2012:169). The tradition of *nanguan* had therefore been well maintained under a stable and prosperous social environment in Taiwan.

Regarding the mainland, it was thought that *nanyin* music-making in southern Fujian was completely frozen during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution. In the musical world of Taiwan and Hong Kong, it was generally assumed that all traditional music in China had lost its authenticity and competence in performance skills as a consequence of the absence of practice. In his conference paper on the theme of culture and music of this period, Taiwanese ethnomusicologist Tsai Tsan Huang notes that during his undergraduate years in Taiwan (1992-96), students were often told by their teachers that Chinese music on the mainland was no longer traditional and that the future direction of Chinese music thus relied on the lead of the Taiwan Chinese (Tsai 2013:2). This could

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<sup>116</sup> Nora Yeh 1985; Lü Chui-kuen 1986a, 1986b; Wang Ying-fen 1986, 1992a, 1992b, 2012; Chou Chiener 2001; Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989.

partly be due to the Nationalist government's counter-political agenda launched in 1967 particularly to support the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement (*Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong*) (Wang Ying-fen 2012:163).

In the last decade, there has been a debate circulating within the *nanyin* sphere in both sides of the strait over the authenticity of performance style between Taiwan and Minnan, which has provoked great resonance in Minnan. Whilst acknowledging that many *nanguan* clubs inherited the performance style of their teachers from southern Fujian, Wang Ying-fen (2012) draws on her study (1995) of the evolution of *nanguan* in Taiwan in the years 1984-94 and argues that:

[*N*]anguan in Taiwan developed its own unique style and tradition, owing in part to the fact that it more or less kept the style transmitted before 1949, while mainland *nanguan* [*nanyin*] underwent drastic changes under the Chinese Communist Party's proletarian arts policy. (Wang Ying-fen 2012:168)

The “drastic changes” were thought to refer to the revolutionary repertoire created during the Revolution. In fact, however, most of these works were abandoned and traditional practice promptly resumed when the Cultural Revolution ended (Chapter 4.3.2). Wang's argument was based mainly on the presumed near annihilation of the tradition during the 10-year Cultural Revolution rather than on any solid comparison of performance skill. In field conversations, the Minnan *nanyin* masters Ding Shibin and Su Tongmou strongly refuted the conjecture by Wang. They both gave examples to support their rebuttal; in their view, regardless of any social conditions, *nanyin* transmission and practice had never stopped even during the Cultural Revolution except for the performance of ritual-related practices (Cultural and musical scenario in Jinjiang in Chapter 4.3.1). Because of this debate, Jinjiang musicians generally considered the invitation by Taiwan amateur *nanguan* societies to perform the *guozhiqu* concert in 2005 to be a challenge to their knowledge of the repertoire of this nearly extinct tradition on the mainland (Ding Shibin, Su Tongmou, various field conversations).

Meanwhile, according to Wang Ying-fen (2003:95), deterioration in *nanguan* practice was seen after the Taiwan government's intervention in the 1980s. The new government policy led to the emergence of new *nanguan* troupes such as Hantang Yuefu Ensemble (hereafter HTYF) 汉唐乐府, founded in 1983 by Chen Mei-O 陈美娥. These new troupes benefited from large sums of government financial subsidy and transformed radically the traditional performance style (Wang Ying-fen 2012:161). The government's

promotion encouraged the proliferation of *nanguan* courses funded by the states in the mid-1990s, but the repertoire in practice was by then greatly reduced; young musicians generally lacked adequate *nanguan* knowledge and its cultural practice whilst veteran musicians were busy teaching and neglected practice. The success of *nanyin* ensembles relies very much on subtle interaction and close collaboration, therefore, musical artistry has been going downhill (Wang Ying-fen 2003:150).

The situation on both sides of the strait seems quite similar in certain aspects. Drawing from my own field data collected in Jinjiang, it does appear that there was a decline in the number of *nanyin* learners during the Revolution, as evidenced by an age gap between practitioners in Shenhu; the decline of *nanyin* musical artistry was seen in both Taiwan before 1980 (Wang Ying-fen 2012:177) and in Minnan nowadays for the same reasons that young people lack knowledge of *nanyin* culture on top of the shrinking repertoire in practice. Aside from different political factors in the two localities, dwindling interest in traditional local genre among the young is a common phenomenon nowadays. This is mainly attributed to Westernization in music education, globalization and urbanization as a result of industrialization, all of which can be seen in Jinjiang in the past decades.

### **7.1.3 Transnational patronage**

A traditional art form is a cultural inheritance sustained by the people. The maintenance of the tradition relies mainly on the financial sponsorship or economic patronage from the society contributing to the viability and vitality of the practice. Therefore, the economic development of the society where the art form is situated and the sources of funding are of prime importance.

In the early Reform era (1980s), the Fujian government exploited the sense of nostalgia and the notion of belonging which *nanyin* represented for the overseas Chinese, and used *nanyin* as an official means to incite nationalism and patriotism in the diaspora. This constituted a prominent strategy because the government's targets were the sponsors of the diasporic *nanyin* societies, who were wealthy entrepreneurs with high social status in their resident countries. Based on this, scholars assume that the sole purpose of the government was economic; a way to acquire financial support from overseas Chinese (Wu Ruizhu 2006: 175). Having observed the active promotion of *nanyin* activities in the

past decades, Chen Yanting (2008:373) argues that the government's motive in promoting *nanyin* culture was twofold: to assist in acquiring the eventual inscription to the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage; and to achieve financial benefit by attracting more overseas investment in Minnan, which exemplifies how the promotion of *nanyin* as cultural capital serves to influence flows of economic capital.

A provincial-level meeting was held in 1981 articulating the importance of opening up Fujian for overseas investments; the Quanzhou government ingeniously employed the tradition of *nanyin* to attract investments from Southeast Asia by organising large-scale international *nanyin* concerts (*nanyin dahuichang*). A thrilling result was first seen during the 1988 *nanyin* concert period when the government launched a trade fair, which turned out to be an overwhelming success (Chen Yanting 2008:264-5).

The history of overseas Minnanese's contributions to education and public facilities can be traced back to the mid-19th century (Wang Renzhi 2001:279; Yang Xuelin 1999:191) and has continued over the years since. In the late 1970s, the world economy boomed, improving people's earnings in China and Southeast Asia as well. More clan associations and alumni organisations were established in Southeast Asian countries including Hong Kong and Macao. Being a member of the Fujian diaspora in Hong Kong, I witnessed that the establishment of these groups brought people of the same origin together and promoted their social solidarity which was imperative in rendering help to the same kin groups in southern Fujian.

The Minnan government's attitude and adaptations to the Reform Policy of the 1980s further enhanced the efficacy of attracting more overseas contributions. With the influx of cash donations from overseas Chinese, a large number of new schools were built (Fig. 7.2) and those which were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution were restored. Aside from standard schools, schools for agricultural and professional training were included. The generous donations during the reform decade solved the government's financial problems in education to a great extent. The government set up a system to standardize the management of schools in 1996. This laid a good foundation for educational system in Jinjiang.



Fig. 7.2 Qiaosheng Secondary School, Dongshi, Jinjiang (field photo 2010)

Table 7.1 below shows the amount of money in RMB donated by overseas Jinjiang emigrants each year during the years 1988-96. These donations were used for many other public projects, as illustrated below:

Year	Construction and building projects	Highway and Transportation	Cultural and medical facilities	Others	Total (RMB)
1988	18,200,000	8,070,000	970,000	7,080,000	34,320,000
1989	28,790,000	8,910,000	300,000	4,540,000	42,540,000
1990	24,030,000	14,690,000	2,500,000	9,190,000	50,410,000
1991	34,000,000	11,000,000	6,500,000	3,000,000	54,500,000
1992	36,700,000	18,100,000	3,200,000	2,100,000	60,100,000
1993	39,000,000	7,360,000	8,900,000	9,940,000	65,200,000
1994	61,000,000	18,900,000	16,090,000	10,110,000	106,100,000
1995	65,340,000	11,000,000	31,340,000	6,240,000	113,920,000
1996	79,392,000	24,726,000	8,351,000	14,743,700	127,212,700
Grand total					654,302,700

Table 7.1 Donations (in RMB) from overseas Jinjiang emigrants, 1988-96 (Yang Xuelin 1999:216)

### *Economic patronage for nanyin*

Cultural capital as defined by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu refers to forms of knowledge, skills and experience acquired through the socialization of culture and tradition (1986:3). *Nanyin* can be seen as embodied cultural capital in that it is a form of culture and cultivation acquired over time and transmitted through cultural practices and social processes to promote/elevate an individual's or group's power and status. The accumulation of a cultural capital, here we may refer to *nanyin*, "can only be acquired by means of a sort of withdrawal from economic necessity" (Bourdieu 1984:53-4). In the *nanyin* tradition, music playing is not for money-making and it has no economic return. Amateur societies and its activities are essentially sustained by the wealthy local and overseas social elites. In recent years, from the several extravagant *nanyin* activities in Jinjiang and overseas, such as the celebration of a Society's anniversary, inauguration of a new society building and occasions of affiliation of sister societies, it is not uncommon that a host society would pay for 5-star hotel accommodation with food for some five hundred or more *nanyin* guests from abroad. In the Philippines and Indonesia when I visited in 2008, *nanyin* societies were weekly gathering venues for the musicians, with lavish dinners and snacks served free for members and non-members – typical *nanyin* hospitality and largesse.

In the contemporary Jinjiang *nanyin* sphere, the most prominent overseas contributions have been for erecting premises for *nanyin* societies; almost all the societies I visited in Jinjiang are sponsored by *huaqiao* in one way or another. The benefactors might not understand *nanyin*, but this is of no consequence because their patronage raises their personal status within their community. This could be seen as an example of Bourdieu's 'symbolic capital': *nanyin* becomes a means by which an individual may gain prestige or recognition. In Keren village, for example, despite the relative inactivity of *nanyin* music-making, rich *huaqiao* continue to donate sufficient cash to maintain the society as a daily gathering place for a few elderly people. (This may not happen in some poorer villages.) Of course, without further rather awkward investigation, it will remain unclear whether they do this for prestige or out of sincere concern for the lives of the elderly.

The protocol of exchange visits from overseas is another source of subsidy. Joining an overseas *nanyin* society's exchange visit in the year 2010, I witnessed cash donations

in the form of *hongbao* (red envelopes), which ranged from 2,000 to 30,000 RMB (roughly £180-2,700 at that time) depending on the acquaintanceship of the benefactor and the recipient Society. Overseas Minnanese emigrants have enthusiastically and generously rendered financial aid, contributing to the economic prosperity and stimulating social and cultural development of their hometown.

Although overseas financial support for *nanyin* is not as copious as the huge sums donated for other areas in the last few decades, it is very significant for the sustenance and development of *nanyin* in Jinjiang.

## **7.2 GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARDS NANYIN ACTIVITIES**

### **7.2.1 *Nanyin* as political diplomacy**

In many countries, political conditions have been a significant determinant in manipulating cultural products such as music. In exploring the diasporic issues of the Indian originated genre ‘Chutney’, Ramnarine argues that the music is seen as “a vehicle for political aspirations” (2004:154) as it is used by different political parties in their campaigns towards national unity. In Taiwan, since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, traditional cultures such as Peking opera, Chinese painting and *nanguan* were used as part of the state apparatus to support the agenda of the Taiwan Nationalist regime and to strengthen its supremacy and legitimacy to safeguard Chinese culture (Chapter 7.1.2).

Before the Reform era, the political relationship between Taiwan and mainland China was tense. In order to demonstrate their willingness for a friendly relationship in preparation for future unity, the Minnan Municipal government exploited *nanyin* as a diplomatic channel in the attempt for rapprochement between the PRC and Taiwan (S. Jones 1993:115; 1995:289). In November 1994, the ground-breaking official visit to Taiwan led by the then Deputy Director of the Cultural Bureau Chen Risheng was a delegate of government officials together with a *nanyin* ensemble. This initiated the first *nanyin* cross-strait exchange visit and eased the political stalemate between the two countries.

*Nanyin*’s use in this rapprochement, I argue, was not because of its perceived musical artistry but rather its ability to inspire patriotic sentiments and nostalgic ethos, with

economic intention as the core catalyst. This can be seen from the thriving spin-offs in communications and business interactions between the two countries subsequent to the visit. Nevertheless, the government's attitude further signified a resurgence of cultural openness; cross-strait *nanyin* musical interactions and exchange visits hence proliferated.

### 7.2.2 Re-inventing tradition

During the 1980s, in order to conform to the state government's cultural policy to standardize and secularize ritual performances in China, the Quanzhou City Bureau of Culture (*wenhua ju*) and the United Front Department (*tongzhanbu* 统战部) started to transform the local ritual culture into folkloric performances (Wang Mingming 1993: Chapter 2). *Nanyin* traditional practice, once denounced as feudal and superstitious, was secularized and reinvented as an ethnic performance genre. The government organised *nanyin* concerts of various scales in different locales; for example, the annual Jinjiang City Nanyin Festival, which was originally a grassroots activity, was designated an official manifestation of local culture. Such reinvented festival programmes have been carrying on since then. In the city of Quanzhou, the large-scale *nanyin* concerts included in cultural festivals represent one of the re-inventions to mark the government's efforts in the renewal and official recognition of local traditional arts.

#### *Secularization of festivities*

The revival of popular religion, which is seen as representing an oppositional ideology to Communism, is still closely supervised by the local authorities (S. Feuchtwang and Wang Mingming 2001). The presence of local power is revealed in the resurgence of mass calendrical activities as local authorities try to prevent the return of superstitious practices. As Wang Mingming has argued, in consideration of people's inclination to festive exuberance (*renao* 热闹), the Minnan authority subtly adapted its policy, re-inventing annual festivities to accommodate the masses' desires and to direct and lay claim to a region-wide celebratory mood (2006:13). In the annual Lantern Festival (*yuanxiao jie* 元宵节) on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the first lunar month, *nanyin* performances were allowed in every public site and religious venue. The *Si Langjun* ritual (Chapter 3.2.1), celebrated on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the second lunar month, is listed as one of the performance programmes, without the ritual, to be performed during the Lantern Festival. Rural *nanyin* societies contested the prohibition of *Si Langjun* worship. Other

annual festivities, such as the Buddhist Universal Salvation Festival (*pudu* 普度) on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> lunar month, were replaced by a month-long summer Operatic Performances Festival outside the Weiyuanlou Building, Quanzhou, which I attended in 2006. During the Mid-Autumn Festival (15<sup>th</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> lunar month), the International Puppet Festival was programmed to entertain the local audiences. These are all examples of secularized festive performances organised by the Quanzhou City government. On the timing of festive events, Wang Mingming (2006:13) cites an official statement: “our choosing such dates is based upon the consideration that there is a return of superstitious activities in these years ..... this is more effective than forcing them to stop their old habits”. Nonetheless, the government is showing a greater flexibility in imposing restrictions on what they consider ‘superstitious’ behaviour.

### ***Cross-strait government intervention***

Parallel to the re-invention of tradition and festivities, government intervention is seen in the reproduction of *nanyin* traditional repertoire by means of contemporary compositions in the recent years. The government ensemble (QNE) performers complain about government officials’ lack of genuine knowledge of *nanyin* culture; officials often criticize *nanyin* tempo as too slow, and request the composition of new works with a faster beat. The Western concept of performance arts is dominant and influenced their mode of intervention (Chapter 4.3.4).

A similar government intervention in *nanguan* in Taiwan in the early 1980s resulted in innovations and theatricalization by new professional groups. Wang Ying-fen observes that “quality has also deteriorated” in the nature of the genre and its practice (2012:175). Focusing on the impact of the Taiwan government’s intervention in preservation and transmission over a span of twenty years (1983-2003), Wang Ying-fen argues that it was a failure:

[T]he past two decades of state intervention in *nanguan* has fallen short of its goal to preserve and transmit *nanguan* mainly because its modes of intervention did not take into consideration the nature of *nanguan* as a pastime for self-cultivation among amateur musicians..... such a failure can be further traced back to the lack of understanding about local traditional culture in Taiwan society..... It has also contributed to the deterioration of the *nanguan* community both in terms of its musical quality and its members’ pride and identity as amateur musicians. (Wang Ying-fen 2003:95, 97)

There are parallels and differences in government intervention in Minnan and Taiwan. Negative effects on music quality comparable to those noted by Wang in Taiwan are also found in Minnan. Transmission of the genre was institutionalized, and the nature of music shifted from self-cultivation to institutionalization. In Taiwan, the newly formed professional troupes transformed and commercialized the genre with the aid of state funds to suit international markets; in Minnan, however, private groups source their own financial support and play locally, so deviation from traditional performance style is not so extreme.

The similarities lie in government decision-makers' lack of genuine understanding of the local musical culture and their adoption of Western models in transmitting the genre. The main differences however are essentially the dissimilar objectives of the individual governments and the source of the financial support. I argue that the Taiwan government aimed to legitimise its claims to cultural hegemony, i.e. claiming a leading role in the preservation of Chinese culture, whereas the Minnan government aspires to harness the genre for economic gain by taking advantage of its ICH status. With the huge amount of Taiwan states subsidies, exotic innovation and theatricalization are seen in *nanguan* performance style, whilst in Minnan, *nanyin* is being commercialised in order to raise more income (as discussed in the following section 7.2.3); the outcomes both point towards the economic market.

### **7.2.3 Commodification and tourism**

In China, tourism has become a mainstay of the economy in some regions, with showcasing folk heritage as one of the important mechanisms.

As Keith Howard argues, globalization and modernization have greatly affected performing arts everywhere: rapid changes and decline are seen in the practice of many folk genres which have been transformed from self-cultivation to commercialization, and different forms of intangible cultural products are converted into economic capital to promote tourism (Howard 2012).

In China, at the beginning of the opening-up policy in the 1980s, the national government set up low-interest loans to aid the undeveloped inner regions and to encourage privatization of “economic entities, service organizations and enterprises” in order to help the people “shake off poverty” (Yang Dali 1990:243). The policy

successfully exploited the cultural resources of Guizhou in Yunnan and attracted a plethora of investment projects and tourism (Schein 2000:77-8). Through the new economic strategic pattern, changes in cultural tradition took place; *Naxi* ancient music in Lijiang, Yunnan was commercialised and re-packaged for entertaining tourists and became the typical epitome of a successful commodification of cultural products (music and dance shows), generating large revenues for the government (Rees 2000, 2002).

Quanzhou is recognised as a City with a rich ancient tangible and intangible cultural heritage; it is known for several distinctive tangible artefacts such as historically renowned Buddhist temples, performing arts tradition and local handicrafts of indigenous characteristic all of which possess high tourism potential. Since the spread of the national fever of ICH preservation, the Quanzhou government has been attempting to harness the *nanyin* ICH prestige in order to effectively boost tourism. This discussion will start with the introduction of the government ensemble as the mechanism in the promotion process.

### ***The government ensemble***

In Minnan (with the exception of the city of Xiamen), the only professional *nanyin* ensemble wholly owned by the government is Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble (Quanzhou Nanyin Yuetuan 泉州南音乐团, hereafter QNE). As mentioned in earlier chapters, it was founded in 1960 as Quanzhou Folk Music Ensemble and renamed in 1986. In 2008, QNE moved to their new headquarters at Quanzhou Nanyin Yiyuan 泉州南音艺苑 which is also a public theatrical performance hall (Fig. 7.3). The government spent over 10 million RMB to build this as one of the projects to promote *nanyin* during the time when the genre was being submitted to UNESCO for consideration as an item of intangible cultural heritage.

QNE's theatre provides a very comfortable and air-conditioned environment, and their ticket price of 30 RMB was considered reasonable in 2011, but still there was a serious dwindling of audience for their regular performances. By contrast, the daily commercial *nanyin* staged performances in Quanzhou's public parks, such as the Wenhua Gong 文化宫 [Cultural Hall] and Wenmiao 文庙 [Confucius Temple] (Chapter 3.3.2, Fig. 3.7), were always well attended. During my field observations I witnessed the audience in the park enjoying the freedom of coming and going any time, talking freely



Fig. 7.3 Quanzhou Nanyin Yiyuan 泉州南音艺苑 (field photo 2010)

with other audience members and chatting over mobile phones during the performance. In the theatre, the audience need to abide by Western concert attendance regulations, i.e. watching the performance quietly in their seats. One may consider that performance in the park is open and free to the public, but having to pay for entrance tickets does not seem to be the real reason that QNE is losing the competitiveness. The audience members in the park may spend hundreds of RMB to request their favourite songs to be sung by specified singers. In return, they are well received with tea served by their favourite singers. My informant told me that his friend's father was a regular audience member of a commercial *nanyin* troupe and had spent tens of thousands of yuan attending park recitals in the past two years, so he was treated like a big boss in the park recitals. Some of the commercial troupes even allow audience members to play instruments on the stage in order to attract musician clients. Comparatively QNE concerts become less competitive.

Although *nanyin* is hallowed as ICH, it does not bring any fiscal benefit to the government, and subsidizing QNE is a great burden on the Quanzhou City government. The government focuses on attracting tourists, but the results are not satisfactory. The government has thus been reducing the amount of subsidy, requiring QNE to be self-sufficient in their operations; local ticket sales provide one of the main incomes to cover their expenses.

In the 1990s, the new performance style of Taiwanese *nanguan* troupes, notably Hantang Yuefu Ensemble (HTYF), is believed to have had much influence in Minnan. Their performances feature *nanguan* accompanying choreographed dancing, presented in splendid costumes and state-of-the-art lighting and stage design (Wang Ying-fen 2003: 134-5). An emulation of the style is seen in a DVD entitled *Changhen ge* 长恨歌 [Song of everlasting regrets], a story borrowed from a Tang poem. It is performed in a combination of *nanyin* singing and operatic style performance by the Xiamen government troupe, Xiamenshi Nanyuetuan, and the DVD label calls the style *nanyin yuewu* 南音乐舞 [*yue* = music, *wu* = dance, thus *nanyin* music and dance], a term not previously used in Minnan. Another contemporary work, *Qianjia luoqi Guanxianming* (DVD-4), frequently performed in public by Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble, is similar to this style. However, the Xiamen and Quanzhou ensembles did not replicate the HTYF model of promoting *nanyin* through global academic platforms, nor do they organize commercial performance tours; dissemination of *nanyin* therefore has yet to reach out to a broader international audience.

### ***Collaboration with other performing arts***

In 2011, in order to appeal to the wider audiences and to boost tourism, over three million RMB was invested by the government to promote local performing arts and stimulate tourism. QNE enriched their concert programmes through collaborations with other performing arts troupes: *gaojia*, *liyuan* and string puppetry and integrated brief snippets of these performing arts. The government supports and develops the state-owned puppetry theatre as one of the important performing arts in Minnan, leading to extensive exposure abroad and significant international acclaim (Ruizendaal 2006:88). To cope with the demanding entertainment market, QNE made many improvements, including more advanced lighting technology, audio equipment and stunning stage scenery.

At the same time, QNE also collaborated with travel agencies to attract tourist audience. The QNE routine *nanyin* concert is reduced to a weekly performance schedule giving priority to new collaborative programmes (Wu Shaochuan, interview, 1 May 2011).

### 7.3 ICH PRESERVATION AND REVIVAL

In the early 1980s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) initiated the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) system. In response to many of UNESCO's initiatives, China has been an enthusiastic participant since the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, creating an 'intangible craze' in the PRC and bringing its huge and distinctive cultural heritage to global attention. This has drawn much criticism from specialists, media and scholars of diversified cultural fields. On the other hand, the PRC's nominations of various genres including *nanyin* to UNESCO for consideration for Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (in 2005 the title was changed to Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity)<sup>117</sup> has attracted speculation by Western scholars. Amongst the musical traditions submitted by China, several were minority genres (e.g. the Uyghur Twelve Muqam, which UNESCO proclaimed in 2005 as an item of ICH), which some Western scholars see as giving disproportionate prominence to minority traditions. Rachel Harris suggests that there is a political strategy behind the promotion of the Uyghur Muqam, as the PRC stresses the 'inalienable identity' of the cultural heritage of minority groups in order to promote national unity (Harris 2008: Chapter 6).

A broader debate surrounding the value and rights in connection with folk music in China during this rapid modernization era ensued (Rees 2009; Yung 2009). The issue of ownership created great resonance of global concerns as evidenced by the cases of lawsuits widely discussed at the turn of the millennium, which set the precedents for the future of traditional music in terms of copyright, marketability and other conflicts of benefits regarding ICH (Rees 2009:65-71; Howard 2012; Shzr Ee Tan 2012).

To counter the threatened loss of indigenous cultural traditions in the face of globalization and cultural grey-out subsequent to social evolution, many nations have integrated conservation and the promotion of cultural legacy. In 2003, UNESCO endorsed the Convention for the Safeguarding of ICH, aiming to safeguard and respect ICH and to raise awareness of the importance and appreciation of ICH at international and local levels, and to provide for international cooperation and assistance.<sup>118</sup> The

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<sup>117</sup> Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (2001-5). [www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00103](http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00103), accessed 6 March 2012.

<sup>118</sup> Article 1 – Purposes of the convention. [www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006](http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006), accessed 25 October 2013.

Convention calls for taking necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding activities by stating that:

Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management. (UNESCO, 2003: Article 15)

In East Asia, Japan pioneered the legislation of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (*Bunkazai hognohō*) in 1950, followed by Korea in 1962 with the Cultural Properties Preservation Law (*Munhwajae pohobŏp*), and the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (*Wenhua zichan baocun fa*) implemented in 1982 by the Taiwan government. Compared to these East Asian countries, China was comparatively late in this respect; it became a member States Party of UNESCO in 2003 and issued the Law on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China in the same year. However, China has caught up rapidly within a decade, with the central government earmarking 46 million RMB (US\$5.6 million) for the preservation programme in early 2004. Being one of the 18 members of the Intergovernmental Committee in 2006 for safeguarding the ICH, China instituted the second Saturday of June as the nationwide Cultural Heritage Day (Hwee-San Tan 2009:160). From China's active participation and promotion of UNESCO's objectives and the establishment of *Zhongguo feiwuzhi wenhua yichan baohu zhongxin* [China Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection Centre] in 2006, the State's strong commitment to the ICH preservation was further affirmed.

The 2003 Convention, however, does not provide detailed guideline for the ICH safeguarding, leaving each member state to formulate its own programmes. Keith Howard believes that “the preservation of the intangible heritage takes different forms in different places” and that “doing nothing will result in irretrievable loss” (2012:7). He also notes that “cultural production exists in a mutually dependent relation with political power and political opposition” (Howard 2012:8). This is reflected in different approaches adopted by provinces like Yunnan in 2000, Guizhou in 2003 and Fujian in 2005 where local people have issued their own respective regulations to protect their traditional cultures with the cooperation of the provincial, prefectural and city governments (Rees 2012:33).

In the last decade, the new concept of ‘original ecology’ (*yuanshengtai* 原生态) demonstrates people's shift of interest to ‘nativization’ (*bentuhua* 本土化) (Rees

2012:34). In line with the UNESCO safeguarding measures, China established experimental *wenhua shengtai baohu qu* 文化生态保护区 [Eco-cultural protection area] in different regions, in total 12 of them up to 2012. The first was established in southern Fujian in 2007 (Anon. n.d.4). The goal was to provide an overarching protection plan for ICH, taking into consideration surrounding natural resources and social environments. Zhou Heping, head of the Ministry of Culture, defines this concept as follows:

An eco-cultural protection zone refers to a designated natural and cultural ecological environment region, an area where control and administration are implemented in order to achieve the goal of protection. There is the natural heritage, the ‘overall ecological environment’; material cultural heritage such as old architecture, historical streets, towns, traditional dwellings, and historical remains; and intangible cultural heritage such as oral traditions, traditional performing arts, folk customs, rituals, celebrations, and traditional handicrafts. These are all interdependent, and also have a close connection and harmonious coexistence with people’s productive lives. (Zhou Heping 2006:6 quoted in Rees 2012:30)

Around 2004, thoughts of protection (*baohu* 保护) and survival (*shengcun* 生存) had become a focus of discussion conceptually linked to ICH and environmental movement in China. The term ‘original ecology folksong’ (*yuenshengtai min’ge* 原生态民歌) has been widely used to refer to unmodernized songs sung by representative culture-bearers in the original local dialect (Rees 2012:34).

In Minnan, the preparation for *nanyin*’s nomination to the UNESCO Representative list started in the early 2000s, with recognition being granted in 2009. In this section, I discuss the extent to which initiatives by the Quanzhou municipal government and other local groups have succeeded in preserving and sustaining *nanyin* as an ICH in contemporary Jinjiang. I offer two case studies in which I analyse the decline of a traditional *nanyin* Society and the emergence of a new *nanyin* group in Jinjiang. I investigate the activities of the latter, attempting to examine the transformation of the *nanyin* tradition through political intervention. In the last section of this chapter, I discuss the feasibility of the revival of a dormant repertoire *guozhiqu* from the perspective of performance practice.

### **7.3.1 Preservation of *nanyin* as ICH**

In Article 15 of the 2003 Convention, UNESCO encourages state parties to include participation of communities, groups and individuals in the maintenance and non-formal transmission of traditional genres. As one of the performing arts traditions in China’s first

designated ‘Eco-cultural protection area’, *nanyin* is in the state’s ICH protection scheme. My discussion of *nanyin* ICH preservation starts with the involvement of individuals.

### ***Representative transmitter/heritage bearer***

The official designating of heritage bearers has been instituted in several countries, the earliest being Japan and Korea.<sup>119</sup> In the PRC, in 2007 over 200 national-level *daibiaoxing chuanchengren* 代表性传承人 [Representative Transmitters], recognised heritage bearers and practitioners in various cultural fields, were appointed across the country (Hwee-San Tan 2009:160; Rees 2012:32). These designated individuals were awarded a yearly stipend of 8000 RMB<sup>120</sup>, increased to 10,000 RMB from 2011, as a means of support for them to pass on their skills to the next generation and help the survival of the tradition. In Minnan, Representative Transmitters were recognised at different hierarchical levels – national, provincial and municipal – but only national-level heritage bearers receive a government stipend. With the accrued prestige and a rather attractive stipend, the desire for official recognition has been extremely high.

As the nomination must go through local and provincial cultural authorities before reaching national level, the appointment processes became problematic. Korea has seen claims of favouritism and corruption during the appointment process, including disregard for the Representatives’ disapproval of their appointed successors (Maliangkay 2012:141-2). In Jinjiang, I witnessed disputes over rejected nominations at national and municipal levels. *Nanyin* teacher Gong Wenpeng, who devoted his whole life to offering free *nanyin* lessons, was a candidate for the first batch of municipal-level heritage bearers (2008), but the honour fell into the hands of someone who was suspected of acquiring it through manipulation of personal connections. This was Gong’s greatest frustration and regret (Chapter 5.3.1). Ironically, a letter acknowledging him as a municipal-level heritage bearer (2011) arrived on the day of his death – hours too late to even let Gong know of the recognition he had longed for. The certificate is shown below (Fig. 7.4):

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<sup>119</sup> UNESCO, “Guidelines for the establishment of national ‘Living Human Treasure’ system”. [www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00031-EN.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00031-EN.pdf), p.3, accessed 28 October 2013.

<sup>120</sup> Around £800 in 2013.

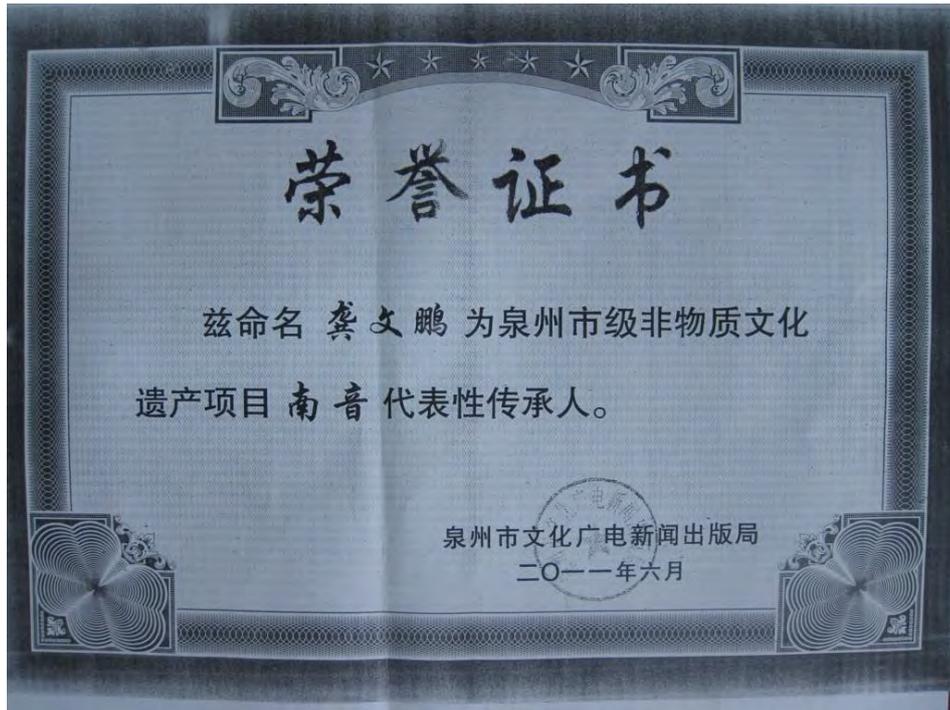


Fig. 7.4 Certificate of recognition as city-level *nanyin* heritage bearer in 2011  
(courtesy of Gong Wenpeng's family)

Case study 7.1 below shows that the claims of favouritism in the national-level nomination were considered to be the cause of many personal rivalries and a major reason for the decline of *nanyin* activities in Chendai.

From the outset, the UNESCO 2003 Convention guidelines encouraged supporting the transmission of traditional ICH knowledge through “non-formal and informal” means, i.e. learning separate from formal schools and institutions. In Korea, the heritage bearers are selected senior musicians who were well trained or had worked at the former court music bureau before 1945, and they were assigned official roles in the existing preservation work (Howard 2006:7). In Minnan, several *nanyin* societies, communal organisations and institutions have been made *chuanxi dian* 传习点 [transmitting and learning centres] where the designated transmitters of different levels provide free *nanyin* lessons. These transmitters are also recruited to teach in institutions on a salaried basis, e.g. at Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School and Quanzhou Normal University.

### ***Interventionist approaches***

In some cases, traditional oral/aural transmission modes cannot be practised due to the physical or social environment; for example, geographically isolated localities may

lack access to traditional-style teachers. In such cases, initiatives may be taken by different levels of officials, community groups and grassroots supporters to protect and preserve their local genre which is perceived as endangered. Such initiatives include seeking advice from professional institutions and paying elderly folk artists to pass down their knowledge and performing skills in schools (Rees 2009:64-5). Helen Rees gives three such examples in Yunnan (2012:36-49) and argues that the introduction of ICH recognition has had positive impacts on the survival of traditional genres. A similar initiative saw the local government of Huanxian in eastern Gansu province subsidize the local primary school, Sanshilipu School, to set up educational activities;<sup>121</sup> an elderly artist was invited to teach indigenous arts traditions, including shadow puppetry,<sup>122</sup> so that they can be passed down to the next generation. All these are fruitful moves prompted by UNESCO's ICH policies.

In Minnan, top-down and bottom-up initiatives using different types of approaches have occurred for the preservation of *nanyin*. In the education sector, the inclusion of *nanyin* in school education since 1990 demonstrates the recognition of the importance of 'nativization' in local music (Chapters 6.2-3). Since then, *nanyin* practitioners have been recruited to teach in schools, thus further acknowledging the folk musicians' skills; the performers currently teaching *nanyin* in higher education institutions are designated Representative Transmitters of different levels.

### ***Archival documentation***

The government's efforts in undertaking initiatives are mainly seen in formal *nanyin* transmission. As part of the preservation work, the government provides full financial support for the compilation and publication of *nanyin* repertoires in Minnan. However, Minnan's top-down safeguarding policy leads to insufficient coverage; for example, as opposed to written publications, support for sound archives seems much neglected despite musicians' strongly voiced opinions of their importance. In the field, *nanyin* musicians generally express concern about the loss of the repertoire in 8/2 metre, whose interpretation is considered the most difficult as the skill of embellishments is most demanding. Whilst performers unanimously agree that sound documentation of this 8/2 repertoire is crucial, the government has taken no action. The eligible vocalists are getting

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<sup>121</sup> Frank Kouwenhoven, personal communication, 19 June 2013.

<sup>122</sup> Kouwenhoven, Frank and Antoinet Schimmelpenninck. 2007. *Chinese shadows: The amazing world of shadow puppetry in rural northwest China*. DVD. Leiden: Pan Records.

old and the young ones are not up to the standard to interpret; following the passing of the old masters, such a repertoire is likely to become archaic and eventually obsolete.

In Quanzhou, sound recordings subsidized by the government have rarely been made in recent years; a large collection of valuable early *nanyin* sound recordings (1950s) and handwritten manuscripts gathered from numerous societies all over Minnan is being kept dormant in the government archive. Amateur musicians and scholars see this as negative political intervention in *nanyin* research. In Jinjiang, the only sound recordings produced by the government in the past decade are a set of *guozhiqu* recitals performed by Jinjiang amateur musicians in Taiwan (Chapter 7.3.2)<sup>123</sup> and the recently released *guozhiqu* audio recordings compiled and sung by the compiler, Su Tongmou.<sup>124</sup>

Bottom-up initiatives are manifold and crucial in protecting and sustaining *nanyin*. *Nanyin* societies are meeting venues for amateur musicians and play a vital role in transmission by offering informal traditional teaching to two communal organisations: Laonian Daxue 老年大学 [Elder People's Universities] and Laorenhui 老人会 [Old People's Association]. Enthusiastic voluntary teachers offering free *nanyin* lessons in schools are seen in rural villages such as Dongshi (Chapter 6.4). Close interaction through frequent exchange visits creates the sense of community which is the core element in sustaining this living tradition. *Nanyin* ritual performances for the community and calendrical festivities are other means of community cohesion crucial in the maintenance of the tradition (Chapter 5).

In most cases, UNESCO designation triggers national, local and community pride (Bell Yung 2009:152; Rees 2012:50). The promotional publicity since *nanyin*'s nomination has aroused great interest among Minnanese abroad. Global recognition has a different meaning for overseas *nanyin* practitioners: it brings a sense of ethnic pride and the honour of being its performers. This is particularly palpable with *nanyin* practitioners who had suffered racial discrimination and political humiliation in the diaspora, which occurred in several countries.

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<sup>123</sup> Fujiansheng Yinxiang Chubanshe. n.d. *Xianguan Guozhi Taoqu Xuanji* [selection of guozhi suites from xianguan in Wukongguan mode]. 2 Vols. ISRC CN-E17-05-0131-O/V.J8; *Xianguan Guozhi Taoqu Xuanji* [selection of guozhi suites from xianguan in sikongguan mode]. 2 Vols. ISRC CN-E17-05-0132-O/V.J 8. Performers: Jinjiang amateur *nanyin* musicians. Sole Distribution: Quanzhou City Yangguang Shengxiang Tuxu Youxian Gongsi.

<sup>124</sup> Jinjiangshi Renmin Zhengfu (Chief editing unit). 2011. *Xuan Guan Guo Zhi Gu Qu Xuan Ji* [Selected *guozhi* classical songs]. Su Tongmou (performer). 15 CDs. Fuzhou: Fujian Dianzi Yinxiang Chubanshe. ISRC CN-R20-10-0032-0/A.J6.

However, the feeling of ICH pride does not prevail in Minnan's amateur societies. It seems that the safeguarding policy has not been beneficial at the grassroots level. In my field conversations, musicians from the poorer rural areas liken *nanyin* to a forsaken orphan, much neglected by the government. In Xiaoxia Village, Jinjiang, for example, overseas patronage has faded as the younger generation of emigrants show no interest in rendering financial support, but the local authority also shows no signs of granting any aid, so the *nanyin* Society had to close down. A week after the UNESCO proclamation, I visited the musicians of Tianshan Nanyin Society, Keren Village, Shenhui. The news had not reached this rural village yet, but the amateur musicians explicitly told me that the ICH proclamation was irrelevant to them as they played for self-entertainment only and there were no interactions between the government and any of the rural amateur groups (Xu Jiamiao 许佳妙, interview, 9 October 2009).

Broadly speaking, the Minnan government and the grassroots undertake to protect *nanyin*, and yet the decline in practice continues in many places which elude the efforts of both parties. I will present two case studies below: case study 7.1 analyses the decline in *nanyin* activities in the town of Chendai, pinpointing the problems relating to rapid industrialization; case study 7.2 examines the impact of government intervention in the affairs of a newly established *nanyin* society in Jinjiang.

### **Case study 7.1: The decline of Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society**

The town of Chendai has gone through a series of metamorphoses over the centuries and is now a modern industrial and commercial town (Chapter 3.2.3). In the old agrarian society, people admired those who could play *nanyin*; since the 1980s, Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society had been known as a hub of renowned *nanyin* masters to which people went to learn and play *nanyin*. The turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, saw a plunge in *nanyin* activities in Chendai: *nanyin* performance is no longer a prestige factor as wealthy people compare the number of factories they own and how many workers they employ (Ding Shibin, interview, 4 May 2011).

In Chapter 3.2.3 I discussed the government implementation of economic reform since the 1990s and the favourable minority policies which encouraged the setting up of private businesses. Chendai became the shoe manufacturing capital of China, and the financial situation of most families improved (for detailed statistics, see Gladney

1996:275-6). Rapid industrialization has drawn in approximately half a million workers from all over China (Wang Renzhi 2001:26-7). Out of the total Chendai population, only about 10% are local inhabitants who speak the Minnan vernacular in which traditional *nanyin* songs are sung.

As in other towns and villages in Jinjiang, *nanyin* sessions were offered as special-interest classes in Chendai primary schools. But it was difficult to hire teachers there due to unattractive salaries compared to the industrial sector. The old masters strove to offer their contributions to sustain *nanyin*, but to little avail. Ding Shuilai noted: “I offered free teaching in my village school, but most students come from *putonghua*-speaking [Chinese national language] families of workers. *Nanyin* lyrics in Minnanese are too difficult for them” (interview, 14 November 2009). This cultural and linguistic diversity is another serious hindrance to promoting *nanyin* in Chendai. The mobility of workers follows the job market, and they have no intention of settling down in one place, so socio-cultural adaptation away from their hometown is not within their consideration.

Every major *nanyin* society is obliged to support government propagandizing. At one point, Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society was the representative *nanyin* group of Jinjiang City in all the official performing arenas, so the Society collaborated with the City government and was involved in most *nanyin* propagandizing duties. But in recent years they have only played for the local authority within the township of Chendai, because Jinjiang’s government duties have been taken over by a newly formed *nanyin* group (Case study 7.2 below). This change was generally ascribed to the acute disputes and confrontations between Ding Shibin and Su Tongmou over the nomination of national-level heritage bearers in 2007. Subsequent to this was Chendai master Ding Shuiqing’s untimely death in early 2009, a fatal loss when the Society was in need of a good teacher; it also pushed the awkward relations between Su and Ding Shibin to a non-reconcilable point. In another shattering blow to Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society’s activities, Ding Shibin’s declining health forced him to relinquish all his teaching posts in the two institutions and various folk *nanyin* groups in 2011; he passed away in June 2013.

The sharp fall in *nanyin* activities is in line with the blistering economic changes and upsurge in industrial development in Chendai. Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society now struggles to sustain the genre. At present, the core *nanyin* activities are mainly interactive events with their local and overseas affiliates. The Society’s decline cannot totally be

attributed to the lack of government financial support to recruit *nanyin* teachers in school. The ICH initiatives have not worked here because there is no social base to support the continued tradition, due to the aforementioned paucity of resident Minnanese dialect speakers and the focus on jobs in industry. Chendai's burgeoning economy in recent decades has brought about extensive changes in the socio-economic context, and prosperity has resulted in challenges to *nanyin*'s continuation.

**Case study 7.2: The emergence of Jinjiang Shi Nanyin Yishutuan  
晋江市南音艺术团 [The Jinjiang City Nanyin Arts Troupe]**

This is another example of government top-down intervention in the *nanyin* amateur world in Jinjiang. As part of Communist cultural policy in the current modernization trend, encroachment of secularization and modification of surviving old traditions has become a common story in all art forms, and rituals are apparently practised in much simpler versions. In Jinjiang, a new *nanyin* society was formed in 2010, aiming to stand out with a rejuvenated image and to situate *nanyin* practice within a new social ideology. This case study examines the emergence of this society, its structure, function and how the current government interventionist approach influences its activities.

Within the municipality of Quanzhou, Jinjiang is the City most actively engaged in *nanyin* activities. This is generally attributed not only to Jinjiang's economic prosperity but also to the political background of Su Tongmou, perhaps the most well-connected *nanyin* master (see Appendix 5). With his political connections, Su has been able to solicit government financial support for all sorts of *nanyin* activities and publications over the past two decades.

In June 2010, a new *nanyin* society, the Jinjiang Shi Nanyin Yishutuan (hereafter JSNY), was formed with Su as a consultant. This group is situated in the city of Qingyang, site of the Jinjiang government's administrative centre. The founding members consisted of some enthusiastic and financially capable young entrepreneurs and the local government as one of the contributors. They recruited a group of young *nanyin* award winners aged below 35 as members, aiming to form a high-standard *nanyin* ensemble representative of Jinjiang. They also aimed to train eligible teachers by providing a good platform for *nanyin* activities. It is worth mentioning here that a shift of gender is obvious; females dominate the contemporary *nanyin* performance scenes in both professional and

amateur contexts, as evidenced by attendance at the JSNY members' routine practice (Fig. 7.5).



Fig. 7.5 Weekly Sunday rehearsal at Jinjiang Shi Nanyin Yishutuan (field photo 2010)

JSNY co-operates with the Jinjiang Regional Bureau of Culture and has replaced the role of Chendai Minzu Nanyin Society in terms of government-supported *nanyin* activities such as performances for government duties and promulgating government policies (case study 7.1 above). JSNY follows the practice of all other *nanyin* secular activities such as exchange visits and accepts invitations to perform with local and overseas *nanyin* societies. Because of their connection with the government, some constraints are imposed on their activities; for example, the group does not participate in ritual activities which are considered superstitious, e.g. temple fairs and *si Langjun* worship. Being expected to abstain from such traditions has caused a dilemma for the group: although there is the altar inside the Society premises, in the Spring and Autumn *si Langjun* rituals they practise their veneration only by placing sacrificial food offerings on the altar and offering incense sticks; otherwise they do not practise the traditional rituals, and there are no musical offerings in front of the altar. Although superstitious elements are to be avoided, the administrative level of the group followed the local folk tradition and divination by referencing the Chinese calendar to seek assistance in scheduling an auspicious opening day (Su Tongmou, interview, 7 July 2010).

JSNY has emerged with a political connection aiming to represent *nanyin* with a modern image separate from its ritual context. Their aspiration is to exhibit quality in both performance and teacher-training. Their proficiency in performance is unquestionable, and it is encouraging to know that they endeavour to train better-quality teachers in the region. This young and energetic group should bring vibrancy to *nanyin* practice through their focus on interpretative skill and musical exploration. However, a folk tradition such as *nanyin* has its own intrinsic value in which ritual is one of the constituent ingredients. *Nanyin*'s secularization foreshadows the likely elimination of the memory of the musical ancestry and the hierarchical implications embedded in the tradition. For example, the ceremony of the patron deity *si Langjun* is traditionally commemorated as a two-part ritual: worshipping first the patron deity Langjun, then the ancestral masters of the Society. Prior to paying tribute to the late masters, the ritualist reads out the names of the five legendary musicians who played for Qing Emperor Kangxi's birthday (Chapter 3.1.1 Performance climax in Qing dynasty). This illustrates a gesture of respect for a higher level of the *nanyin* hierarchy. The biannual worship of *si Langjun* essentially pivots around the sense in which the feeling of a big and close family relationship is embedded in the Spring ritual, whilst the Autumn ritual is the opportunity to encourage solidarity amongst the *nanyin* musicians within the region as well as transnational *nanyin* interactions. Without the *si Langjun*, *nanyin* tradition loses its salient characteristics and functions.

### 7.3.2 The revival of the *guozhiqu* 过枝曲 tradition

In its 2003 Convention, UNESCO encourages fostering effective safeguarding of ICH, especially those in danger, by means of relevant studies and research methodologies (UNESCO 2003: Article 13c). In response to this call, the revival of *nanyin guozhiqu*, which used to be a popular recital sub-repertoire, became one of the items to be safeguarded. In Minnan, the *nanyin guozhiqu* has not been performed for decades and is facing extinction. With government support, Jinjiang's *nanyin* masters have been attempting to revive *guozhiqu* since 2005.

Music revival has been a common phenomenon since the 20<sup>th</sup> century; relevant discussions across the diverse folk musical landscape include Rosenberg's edited volume (1993) and Livingston (1999). The term 'revival' represents development of an old genre or musical system which Rosenberg (1993:177) refers to as "aggregates of shared

repertoire, instrumentation, and performance-style generally perceived as being historically and culturally bounded by such factors as class, ethnicity, race, religions, commerce, and art.” Therefore, musical revivals are “social movements which strive to ‘restore’ a musical system believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past” (Livingston 1999:66).

*Guozhiqu* is a distinctive sub-repertoire in the *nanyin* ballad (*qu*) repertoire. It was documented as an indispensable practice during formal recitals in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Su Tongmou and Ding Shuiqing 2005a: Preface). The practice of *guozhiqu* began gradually to fade away after 1949 and now faces the danger of discontinuation. In recent years, *nanyin* scholars and musicians in Jinjiang have tried to revive this repertoire through various endeavours with the support of the local government cultural departments. Manuscripts have been collected locally and from overseas, and Jinjiang scholars have subsequently published their findings with supportive audio recordings subsidized by the government. Despite all these efforts, there are many obstacles to revival. This section examines the performance context of *guozhiqu* and analyzes the difficulties in sustaining this practice from musical and socio-economic perspectives. Information is derived from various sources: field interviews; commercial DVD recordings of the *guozhiqu* recital in Taiwan (2005) performed by Jinjiang *nanyin* delegate musicians; and writings by both Minnan and Taiwan scholars.<sup>125</sup>

### ***Performance history***

The term *guozhiqu*, literally a “branch-crossing song”, connotes a type of song sung to link up two songs of different modes and tune families (*gunmen*) during the vocal section of a formal recital which is in the conventional sequence of instrumental-vocal-instrumental (*zhi-qu-pu*). *Guozhiqu* songs are in binary form: the first section features the main melody (*yun* 韵) of the song just sung and then leads, through a transitional phrase, into the second section, which incorporates the main melody from the next song. The function of *guozhiqu* is to enable seamless transition from one tune family to another during a recital.<sup>126</sup> The transition through the *guozhi* system is strictly prescribed

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<sup>125</sup> Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989; Su Tongmou and Ding Shuiqing 2005a; Lü Chuikuan 2005; Wang Ying-fen 2006; Chen Yanting 2008; Ding Shibin 2009; Su Tongmou 2011.

<sup>126</sup> Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:26; Su Tongmou and Ding Shuiqing 2005a:1; Lü Chuikuan 2005:138; Wang Ying-fen 2006:106; Chen Yanting 2008:243-4.

according to complex tune families, the four main modes and *nanyin* metrical marking groups (Appendix 4 Model programmes of *guozhi lianchang*).

The *guozhi* performance system was obsolete for several decades. Until the revival, the last traceable performances were in 1943 in Quanzhou, 1947 and 1948 in Anxi (Chen Shilian and Lin Zhongrong 2009 (4):36). The 1943 recital was for a major temple fair in the early 1943. It took place in the temple of Baosheng Dadi 包生大帝庙 at Huaqiaoting 花桥亭 in the city of Quanzhou, as a public recital to celebrate the deity's birthday on the 15<sup>th</sup> of the third lunar month. During that time, the two most significant *xianguan ge* [*nanyin* societies] in Quanzhou City were Huifengge 回风阁 and Shengpingzou 升平奏. A poster advertising the recital was put in a public place by Shengpingzou. The recital was overwhelmingly attended and triggered the competitiveness of another *nanyin* society, Huifengge, which set up its own formal stage at the same place on the following day and posted a challenge to Shengpingzou. For the next six days, from afternoon to midnight, the two groups played alternatively each day. Such competition was a common event in the 1940s, and so the rules were well known and standardized. According to the rules of the competition, songs that had already been sung by other vocalists of either group could not be repeated. Music was played non-stop, and vocalists took turns singing one after another with only routine meal breaks. Finally, on the seventh day, Shengpingzou ran out of pieces to perform (Zheng Guoquan 2009:409-10). The winning group, Huifengge, was led by two masters, Zhuang Yongyi 庄咏沂, a virtuoso and knowledgeable performer, and He Tianci 何天赐,<sup>127</sup> a notable vocalist who was the *zhitou* 枝头 (also known as *qiqutou* 起曲头 and *qiguo* 起过) of the competition (Zheng Guoquan 2009:406). The term *zhitou* designated a *nanyin* master or teacher of a *nanyin* society who had to be well-versed in a broad spectrum of repertory as he would be responsible for singing the *guozhiqu* in a formal recital. The *zhitou* sings the starting, transitional and concluding songs in a formal recital. He sings the appropriate transitional song and gives indication of the tune family for the vocalists to follow. The *zhitou*'s integrity and reliability must first be considered because his presence directly affects the performance of the recital. Though this performance style has not been practised for many decades, *guozhiqu* singing is still fondly recalled by local and overseas veteran *nanyin* musicians.

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<sup>127</sup>Zhuang Yongyi and He Tianci were two of the thirteen masters invited to compile the most influential *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* in 1962 (Chapter 6.6).

Alan Jabbour suggests that an art object being revived already exists and has been disseminated “but has also encountered a period of dormancy or suffered from inattention ... something happening in the present somehow simultaneously resurrects the past” (Jabbour 1993: Preface xii). The tradition of *guozhi* performance style was disseminated to the Southeast Asian Fujian diaspora, especially to Taiwan and the Philippines. In 2003, the Taiwan government commissioned a preservation project which included reconstruction of a kind of long dormant gala concert *zhengxian dahui* 整弦大会, which is the performance context of *guozhiqu* (Wang Ying-fen 2003:133). This thus re-kindled the practice of *guozhiqu* in Taiwan.

The earliest *guozhi* practice in Taiwan was documented in the newspaper Taiwan Riri Xinbao 台湾日日新报 on 6 August 1910. A large-scale formal *nanyin* traditional recital known as *paimentou* 排门头 [configuration of *gunmen*] was held at the Longshan Temple 龙山寺 in Mengjia 艋舺, Taipei by Jixiantang 集弦堂 *nanyin* society and some other *nanyin* musicians. The recital lasted for ten days with a historical record-breaking performance of all the 22 suites of the *zhi* repertory and 12 instrumental *pu* suites existing at the time, on top of hundreds of *nanyin* vocal pieces. Recitals with detailed programmes were also recorded for temple fairs organised by Jixiangtang in 1920, 1927, 1928 and 1939 in Taiwan. The later ones were in the form of competitions; such intense competition between *nanyin* societies activated conscientious practice, spurred the *nanyin* learning spirit and helped the development of the genre. *Nanyin* learning thus surged and activities flourished in Taiwan in the first half of the 20th century. The recital programmes show that each evening the musicians played repertoires in only one mode and the programmes were in the sequence of *zhi-qu-pu* similar to the discussions in the following paragraphs. Such recitals were frequently held in the Republican period but discontinued in the 1960s (Wang Ying-fen 2006:105-7).

Mark Slobin (1983:39) discusses the act of starting a revival and contends that “it is usually a very small number of key individuals who set the pace and/or serve as a source for an entire ethnic community... the “community” refers to a culturally heterogeneous group of people for whom the thing being revived has some essential cultural (and therefore communal) meaning”. The stimulus for the recent *guozhiqu* revival in Jinjiang was an invitation sent to the Jinjiang City Nanyin Association to perform in Taiwan in

summer 2005. The ten recitals in Taiwan were acclaimed as a great success and hence aroused interest in reviving *guozhiqu* in both regions.

Two of the old musicians who had participated in the *guozhiqu* recital in Quanzhou in the 1940s (see above) were still surviving in 2005 (Su Tongmou 2005a:2), and one was able to teach the Jinjiang representatives the traditional stage etiquette for a *guozhiqu* recital. The Jinjiang performers practised this etiquette in their Taiwan performance and recorded the similar process on the commercial DVD as a valuable preservation documentary. The etiquette mainly emphasizes the seemingly trivial details of how to elegantly pass the instruments to the next performer (Su Tongmou, interview, 9 July 2010; excerpts in DVD-3).

### ***Guozhiqu in performance context - Guozhi lianchang* 過支聯唱**

*Guozhi lianchang* [continuous singing recital] with the function of transitional songs (*guozhiqu*) was an essential part of a traditional formal *nanyin* recital and was often seen as an opportunity for performers to show off their skills and knowledge of the ballad repertory. A traditional formal *nanyin* recital was called *zhengxian paichang* 整弦排場 [tuning the instruments and setting up a formal performance stage]. The origin of this structure is not traceable, but parallels have been drawn to the three-part performance structure of *daqu* performed in the Tang dynasty Music Bureau (Chapter 2.4).

On such an occasion, the performance abided by various conventions and the performance style of *guozhi lianchang* was put in practice. The hosting group initially would send out invitations to guests, mainly other *nanyin* groups, to come and participate in the formal recital. The invitation had to specify the prescribed programme of the recital, especially the core mode of the performance, to allow the guests to prepare the repertoires for their participation.

Understanding this performance style requires full awareness of *nanyin* tune family structure, since the *guozhi* transitions must follow the rigid conventions of each specific model; they are closely related to the complex classification of mode, metrical measures and musical features of the tune families (Appendix 1). In a traditional formal *guozhi lianchang* recital, the recital programme begins with a piece from the *zhi* suite repertoire led by either *aiya* [small shawm] or *dongxiao* [end-blown flute]. The warm and lively atmosphere created by the *aiya* will then be followed by a gentle *xiaozhi* 簫指 ensemble,

a *shangsiguan* ensemble with *dongxiao* as the main instrument. The *xiaozhi* ensemble plays an instrumental piece chosen from the *zhi* suite repertoire before the singing starts and the transitional (*guozhi*) process follows. Vocalists take turns until they run out of songs and there is a need to change to a different mode or tune family, then the *zhitou* (see above) would sing a *guozhiqu* to facilitate the transition.<sup>128</sup>

The most significant function of *guozhiqu* is to link up songs from different tune families within the same mode so that continual singing according to the slow-to-fast metrical order can be carried on. This basic *guozhi* process is mentioned in all *guozhiqu*-related publications in Minnan<sup>129</sup> and overseas (Lü Chuikuan 2005; Wang Ying-fen 2006).

### ***Guozhi process***

According to the authors Ding Shibin and Su Tongmou, there are five transitional styles: full transition (*quanguo* 全过); half-transition (*banguo* 半过); mixed transition (*shijinguo* 什錦过); conventional transitions between songs in the ‘group-of-four’ (*siziyou* 四子遊); and flexible choices of songs between the ‘group-of-four’ (*sizichuan* 四子串). For detailed transitional styles, see four model programmes of *guozhi lianchang* performance in Appendix 4. These five styles were used by the masters during Ding Shibin’s father’s time, and he himself once participated in a *sizichuan* performance with a group of well-known *nanyin* masters in the 1970s when they visited the tomb to commemorate the death anniversary of the late *nanyin* master Cai Senmu 蔡森木 (Ding Shibin 2009:106).

The programmes of the two Taiwan recitals published in 2005 show that these ‘revival’ performances centred on *wukongguan* [G mode] and *sikongguan* [F mode] respectively (Su Tongmou and Ding Shuiqing 2005a). In the G mode vocal section, 6 songs were sung with 4 transitional *guozhiqu* pieces, while in the F mode vocal section, there were 8 songs sung with only 3 *guozhiqu* pieces. The tempi followed the convention of slow to fast in the traditional *zhi-qu-pu* performance structure and demonstrated the framework of the transitional process. These recital programmes manifested a much simplified version appropriately fitted in the 3-hour duration of a contemporary recital.

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<sup>128</sup> Chen Yanting 2008: 244; Zheng Guoquan 2009: 246; Chen Hanqing, interview, 5 October 2009.

<sup>129</sup> Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989; Chen Yanting 2008; Zheng Guoquan 2009.

### ***Problems with the continuation of Guozhiqu tradition***

Su Tongmou admitted to me that they are encountering some major problems in attempting to revive the *guozhiqu* tradition. The performance needs a team of around twenty musicians including vocalists and instrumentalists. They have to be well versed not only in the transitional song repertory but also in songs from a wide range of tune families. There is a lack of competent *guozhiqu* teachers; the few old masters who possess profound relevant knowledge are too old to teach. The ban on *nanyin* learning during the Cultural Revolution has created a lack of middle-aged musicians. It takes time to cultivate a knowledgeable *zhitou*, and revival of *guozhiqu* practice can only be achieved after a long and regular collective practice – which seems impractical in the fast-paced, economic-centred modern world.

Despite the difficulties in the revival of the *guozhiqu* tradition, Jinjiang scholars are persistent in documenting this repertory. The Jinjiang City authority subsidizes publications and compilations of *guozhiqu* repertory to provide an essential basis for the repertoire's preservation. This initiative corresponds with UNESCO's call to foster studies to enhance safeguarding of ICH, and to keep people informed of the risks of extinction.<sup>130</sup> If the 'revival' of *guozhiqu* performance turns out eventually to be unfeasible, at least it has had value as a documentation exercise.

The initiation of reviving *guozhi* practice is attributed to the close transnational ties between Taiwan and Minnan. It is interesting that the tradition of competitions between local societies is now taking place on a transnational level. This suggests the deployment of *nanyin* as cultural capital at international level. At the same time, through their performance in Taiwan in 2005, Minnan musicians demonstrated to Taiwan *nanguan* musicians that they had retained the tradition of *guozhiqu*, thus rebutting the earlier political claims from Taiwanese musicians that only it could preserve China's traditions. The revival also helps broaden knowledge of the *nanyin* repertory through zealous practice.

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<sup>130</sup> Article 14 – Education, awareness-raising and capacity-building.  
[www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006](http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006), accessed 12 April 2012.

## 7.4 CONCLUSION

In the 1980s, *nanyin* performance in the diaspora was not just for recreation but also functioned as part of a very active transnational network with Minnan. *Nanyin* activities create frequent interactions between Minnan and its diaspora and have had a significant impact on cultural and economic developments in Minnan.

Patronage for the sustenance of *nanyin* takes two forms: government money and *huaqiao* overseas Chinese support. A huge amount of money has been spent for the transformation and commodification of the genre, but no subsidy has gone to the grassroots-level *nanyin* musicians. In the present economic-driven situation, government intervention is manifested in various aspects of cultural production. The Minnan government strives to transform *nanyin* arts via stage modernization – a form of cultural repackaging to attract tourists and to raise commercial possibilities.

Financial support for grassroots *nanyin*, as in pre-revolutionary days, has come primarily from the diaspora or local entrepreneurs. *Huaqiao* money has flowed into the *nanyin* sphere in Jinjiang through different channels: directly into the hands of the government for special large development projects such as building schools, facilitating *nanyin* education and acquiring performing equipment; to the clan associations or directly to the *nanyin* societies for the construction of society premises, maintaining operational expenses and contributing significantly to *nanyin* transmission by offering scholarships to award-winners in the open competitions. In Hae-kyung Um's edited volume, case studies of various cultures illustrate that the "diaspora need for cultural identity also helps to secure the preservation and promotion of a particular aesthetic tradition at home" (Um 2005:6). I argue that in the *nanyin* diaspora, the genre symbolizes the socio-cultural identity of Minnanese ethnicity, and that the overseas practitioners use it to create communities and neighbourhoods in diverse cultural contexts, more to assert "social distinction than [as] a mere revival of tradition" (Lee Tong Soon 2000:156). To help identify with their cultural ancestry, the overseas Chinese continue to preserve the genre at grassroots level through their ties with Minnan. Since the interests of these individual sponsors were typically about earning prestige within their own communities 'back home', their interventions in *nanyin* were closely aligned with community interests.

Stephen Jones, reviewing the musical culture of Fujian, noted that the development of *nanguan* together with other musics (including Chaozhou and Hakka musics) was

“subject to the special circumstances of rapid economic development and contact with southeast Asia” (S. Jones 1993:115). It has been the prevailing government policy since the reform era that *wenhua datai jingji changxi* 文化搭台经济唱戏 [culture sets the stage, economy sings the opera] (Wu Ruizhu 2006:171; Chen Yanting 2008:265). The situation goes beyond the simple fact that *nanyin* is ‘subject’ to development: it is now being actively used as cultural capital and as a tool of economic development.

*Nanyin* was proclaimed as ICH in 2009, but this brought little exultation to many of the rural practitioners. The safeguarding measures are approached independently with top-down initiatives by government and bottom-up efforts from the grassroots. The State dictates the activities of government-sanctioned ensembles; transmission of *nanyin* benefits from institutionalization, but grassroots interests and opinions are typically neglected.

Regarding the government-sponsored preservation system in Korea, Keith Howard observes that folkloric arts are presented in a reconstructed and synthetic form and performance arts are contested and politicized. He thus argues that:

The preservation movement, to put it bluntly, is interventionist. Promotion of a preserved art or craft involves elements of presentation and restructuring that any academic concerned with authenticity is likely to critique. (Howard 2006:xiii).

This kind of intervention is also typical of the government-led, ‘top-down’ ICH initiatives in China. One of China’s initiatives is the appointment of ‘Representative Transmitters’ by the State Party to involve and support individuals in the passing down of the ICH. Rees (2012:32) observes that “even though China’s system is in its early stages, critiques of its mechanisms of appointment have begun”; this is evident in the disputes drawn from my Jinjiang field data.

The social instability of the 1960s and ‘70s was perhaps one of the reasons that the practice of *guozhiqu* repertoire lay dormant for several decades. The invitation in 2005 to perform in Taiwan provoked a spirit of revival and received an enthusiastic response within *nanyin* circles in Minnan. With respect to the nature of revival, Burt Feintuch explores the revival of the Northumbrian smallpipes and suggests that revivals re-invent and “create their own canons of repertoire, of style, of authenticity” (Feintuch 1993:191-2). In the case of *nanyin guozhiqu*, the revivalists have tried to resurrect the repertoire grounded in historical authenticity, but because the practice of *guozhi* is limited nowadays,

“neither the style of performance nor the origin of the item alone serves to define it” as authentic: authenticity also lies in its function in the performing context (Posen 1993:133). Despite great efforts, actual revival of the old tradition has not been practically viable: revivalism generally aims at bringing back what was important and standard in the past, and as seen in the attempts to revive *nanyin guozhiqu* in Minnan, only the framework of the performance style rather than the fine details of practice can be recovered and revived.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSIONS

*Nanyin* is one of China's oldest and most highly prized folk music traditions. It is also an important marker of regional identity in southern Fujian. To a native-born Minnanese like myself who was brought up in the Fujian diaspora, *nanyin* means the intimate musical sounds of my hometown; the birth of this research stemmed from a nostalgic recollection of childhood and a resultant calling to promote and to draw more international academic attention to the genre through my research.

#### 8.1 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

I carried out extensive fieldwork to catch up with the rapidly changing social and economic situation in Minnan. This study is based on original ethnographic data gleaned from many extensive interviews, searches of secondary material, and field investigations. I examined several issues within the timescale of the 20<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> centuries: the social status of *nanyin* musicians up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and how the gender shift during the 20<sup>th</sup> century impacted *nanyin* practice; the importance of the genre as reflected in its representation in different social and cultural contexts; the effects of various social and cultural transformations on *nanyin*; how *nanyin* ritual tradition is situated within the present state ideology; and the dynamics of secularization in the recent decades. In adaptation to social changes, re-organisation of amateur *nanyin* societies has occurred in southern Fujian, with contemporary administrative strategies replacing traditional practice in *nanyin* hubs nowadays. Following the worldwide modernization trend, *nanyin* education in the post-1949 era has been institutionalised, and field observations disclose how the changing modes of transmission impact the perpetuation of the genre. *Nanyin* has been disseminated to the Southeast Asian diaspora, and my research discloses the major impact of diasporic patronage on the socio-economic development and on *nanyin* practice in southern Fujian. I also discussed the differences in the current government cultural strategies and practice of the genre between Taiwan and Minnan.

This research was also very timely. Several prominent veteran *nanyin* masters whom I had interviewed passed away one after another in the past few years of my research, and their invaluable oral testimony of personal experiences and musical knowledge cannot be repeated. Thus there is great value to the field data I was able to collect regarding *nanyin* and other performance arts practices in Jinjiang, particularly concerning the scene of *nanyin* practice and how the musicians protected and sustained the tradition with great determination and perseverance during the Cultural Revolution.

First-hand information from my fieldwork unveils how the genre is transmitted in formal institutions and by grassroots organizations and individuals, the ways children are taught, censorship in repertoire, and the problems encountered in teaching. Research into contemporary *nanyin* education is vital for the understanding of the perpetuation of *nanyin* in southern Fujian.

## **8.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS**

*Nanyin* practice hovers around different ‘metaphors’ such as: nostalgia; self-entertainment; religious invocation (ritual performances); enacting social relationships; expression of identity; and commodification. The genre of *nanyin* has been developed through different trajectories in ‘time’ and moves across space from ‘regional’ Minnan contexts to the ‘subcultural’ *nanyin* diaspora where the tradition is still practised today.

### **8.2.1 Historically constructed**

Timothy Rice (1987:481) asserts that “if the fundamental ‘formative processes’ in music are conceived as historical, social, and individual, then the eventual identification of ‘musical processes’ will connect music to the rest of human behaviour and music study to the rest of the academic world.” This study started with a search through existing cross-disciplinary literature which provided threads of historical material vital to ethnomusicological investigation of *nanyin*. For example, in the study of *nanyin* repertory, the eminent Chinese historical musicologist Huang Xiangpeng 黄翔鹏 (1927-97) affirms the relatedness of *nanyin* to other ancient Chinese musical genres in some aspects:

*Nanyin* repertory consists of *pu*, *zhi* and *qu*; it cannot be categorised as an instrumental, *quyi* or opera-related genre. The repertoire could probably be derived from the dancing music of the pre-Tang dynasty periods. *Xianghe ge* of Han dynasty, *qingshang yue* since the Wei Jin (220 AD) epochs and *suyue* 俗乐 (later renamed as *yanyue* 燕乐) are the same [as *nanyin*], they were ‘historical genres’ inseparable from song, dance and instrumental. The obvious differences are that there is no dance in *nanyin* and with *xianghe ge*, *qingshang yue* and *yanyue*, there is no text. (Huang Xiangpeng 2007 (1):369)

Huang’s findings are amongst those which affirm that *nanyin* did not sprout indigenously in southern Fujian. While the repertoire is an important marker of regional identity within Minnan, its history is also imagined by contemporary scholars in ways that link it firmly to the wider national history of Chinese music. The music overview in Chapter 2 references mainland Chinese and Taiwanese scholastic studies on aesthetics, musical elements and performance practice of the genre, as well as its historical musical relatedness to local performing arts. These constitute as a point of departure in the study of musical aesthetics and performance practice.

### **8.2.2 Individuality in identity and musical meanings**

Individual experiences can be an important *tool for the examination of the general musical trends*. Timothy Rice (1987:479) writes: “Social maintenance can be seen as an ongoing interaction between historically constructed modes of behaviour, traditions... and individual action that recreates, modifies and interprets that tradition”. Study of the individual is significant in terms of identity and musical meanings in different contexts, as Mark Slobin notes:

Music seems to have an odd quality that even passionate activities like gardening or dog-raising lack: the simultaneous projecting and dissolving of the self in *performance*. Individual, family, gender, age, supercultural givens, and other factors hover around the musical space but can penetrate only very partially the moment of enactment of musical fellowship. Visible to the observer, these constraints remain unseen by the musicians, who are instead working out a shared vision that involves both the assertion of pride, even ambition, and the simultaneous disappearance of the ego. (Slobin 1993:41)

The *nanyin* society members whom I interviewed and conversed with were from various social strata. As pointed out by Slobin, each of us is an individual music culture; each has a set of personal musical landscapes (Slobin 1993: ix-x). Thus a great diversity of personal narratives which emerged from a cross-section of these individuals’ experiences and thoughts are identified in various themes. Up to 1949, *nanyin* was a prestigious amateur tradition of the elite class and a male-dominated entertainment.

Because of the legendary association with the Qing imperial court, the genre was highly valued and the practitioners' status was elevated. Consequently there were cultural expectations, including gender discrimination, which restricted *nanyin* learning and created complications regarding the practitioners' identity and prestige. Since the establishment of the PRC in 1949, major shifts in identity have occurred (Chapter 3.2-3.3).

### **8.2.3 Class and gender shifts in *nanyin* tradition**

During imperial times, women performed in court as part of the courtesan music tradition, but they were generally excluded from public performance. By the early Republican period in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, professional female *nanyin* performers emerged, but they were often seen in a bad light and regarded as prostitutes. The gender and class emancipation of the 1950s largely freed people from issues of social status, but remnants of women's historical exclusion from male-dominated society still exist. Since 1949, women have been freed from foot-binding and arranged marriages and granted access to education. However, with the burgeoning economy in recent decades, modern entertainment houses and karaoke bars proliferate and are served by female entertainers in the same way as the pre-modern era courtesans. Rachel Harris (2013:17) questions if "gendered power relations really differ across these different periods". Stephen Jones (2013:26) draws our attention to the fact that women's historical submission in society has not been totally eradicated: the "exclusion from power and choice in public society is still ongoing". He suggests that this is mainly due to the perseverance of patriarchy and the unequal scope of modernization and economic development between regions.

Nonetheless, the *nanyin* world seems to retain its conservative prejudice against providing commercial entertainment. This is also the reason that commercial troupes are only found in modernized cities like Quanzhou and can hardly survive in conservative Jinjiang County (Chapter 3.3.2).

### **8.2.4 Musical changes**

Tradition, authenticity, continuity and change are widely discussed in ethnomusicology. Nettl (2005:272) believes that musical change has accelerated since the end of the 19th century. He assumes that:

An absolutely static musical culture is actually inconceivable, and so it seems safe to hypothesize that every musical system has inherent in it a certain amount of constant change as one of its core elements, required simply to hold the system intact and to keep it from becoming an artificially preserved museum. Change is the norm more than continuity. (Nettl 2005:279)

Huang Xiangpeng (2007 (1):369) claims that music is not static: “Music is like a river, in the process of historical evolution; it discards, appropriates, absorbs, preserves and develops.” Music of all kinds evolves in a natural process and is inevitably transformed to a certain extent. *Nanyin* is no exception: it mirrors the social background and evolves to adapt to all conditions.

*Nanyin* is socially maintained and is integral in Minnan’s daily life; performance for communal and religious events forms the core of *nanyin* activities. Music is shaped by political and social changes; the early current of modernization in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century led to innovative *nanyin* works with new compositional techniques and content (Chapter 4.2.1). These works had socially engaged lyrics addressing social problems with didactic texts (Wang Yaohua and Liu Chunshu 1989:428-9). Another period of musical change in the early 1950s corresponded to social and economic changes in Xiamen: the urbanization and commercialization of that era generated regional interpretive differences between Quanzhou and Xiamen (Chapter 4.2.4).

During the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), new *nanyin* works were collective writings of political ideology. The over-emphasis on revolutionary sentiments in music tended to “obscure the real side of the musical life of the society” (Frederick Lau 1996: 126); such works mark the characteristics of that era and are rarely sung nowadays.

Minnan’s *nanyin* musicians are not keen to see innovations; indeed, some consider every attempt at innovation destructive to the tradition. Tradition-minded *nanyin* masters have argued strongly in favour of authenticity by insisting on the use of pre-existing labelled melodies and standard structures. In the 1950s, new *nanyin* compositions in Xiamen mostly adhered to this view (Chapter 4.2.2). In Minnan today, modernization of *nanyin* composition results from political pressure, and new works are almost exclusively encountered in the concert programmes of the government ensemble, although amateur composers sometimes approach amateur *nanyin* societies to ask for their works to be performed. When professional composers with no background in the genre have been commissioned to compose a *nanyin* piece, they have invariably attempted to relate to

traditional preferences by using labelled melodies, but nonetheless these new works are generally not accepted by *nanyin* musicians. *Nanyin* works by amateur composers have also appeared in recent decades, mainly in Jinjiang. Composers are fully aware of the importance of incorporating labelled melodies in their works, but understandably they would also try to demonstrate their musical creativity. However, veteran *nanyin* musicians condemn new compositions as tasteless if the labelled melody is not sufficiently manifested.

*Nanyin* musicians stress that composers should have in-depth understanding of the genre before making any stylistic changes; recent innovations by one composer without such background knowledge were recently condemned by an anonymous interviewee as “mixing fine Martell cognac [a well-known vintage in China] with top-quality vinegar”. Similar disapproval was given to the professional troupes in Xinjiang when they added new sections to the Uyghur Twelve Muqam; a prominent musicologist criticized it as “sticking new arms on the Venus de Milo” (Zhou Ji, interview in Ürümchi, 2006, quoted in Harris 2008:139). Contemporary *nanyin* composers often receive such vehement criticism of their works. To the musicians, the genre is an idealised aesthetic legacy and also a symbol of regional identity, thus requiring sufficient manifestation of pre-existing labelled melodies and respect for *nanyin* music conventions.

I hypothesize that the *nanyin* masters’ insistent conservatism can be ascribed to different aspects of *nanyin* history. Foremost is their reverence for the *nanyin* tradition as a historical heritage. *Nanyin* has a strict conventional musical form and structure; the musical elements are closely interwoven with pre-existing labelled melodies, mode and metre and flexible embellishment within a conventional framework. To most of the old musicians, the notion of innovation is a sign of modernization which would be devoid of traditional character and would become an offence to authenticity. Secondly, it is a matter of pride to preserve the original nature of the music because it has brought the musicians an elevated social status and prestige through devices such as the legend linking the genre to the Qing emperor. In other words, the emphasis on authenticity and tradition could be related to what scholars refer to as the extreme “Chinese culturalism” (Knapp 1989), the pioneer of “nationalism”, which is associated with cultural supremacy based on Confucianism, a philosophical foundation of *nanyin* (Chapter 3.2.1). Feelings of belonging and nostalgia, antiquarianism, and adherence to Confucian culture are among the causes for musicians’ revisiting of the cultural past.

### 8.2.5 *Nanyin* societies in Minnan

During my research, I have paid particular attention to the ways in which *nanyin* practice is socially organised and maintained. Akin to other *sizhu* ‘silk-and-bamboo’ traditions, *nanyin* daily music-making was a form of leisure and self-cultivated entertainment over tea and tobacco in a relaxing environment they called *guan* 管 or *ge* 阁, which were male social exchange centres in villages and towns before the 1950s. As *nanyin* gatherings gained a greater sense of formalism reflecting the ideologically-driven practice of modernization after the establishment of the PRC in 1949, new terms such as ‘*nanyin* society’ or ‘*nanyin yanjiushe*’ [*nanyin* research society] were used to self-identify one’s musical-social community.

The decline in *nanyin* practice in Minnan due to the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution led to the amalgamation of diminishing village amateur groups and formation of grassroots umbrella organizations (Chapter 5.2). In Chapter 5.2.2, I discussed the strategies these grassroots organizations adopted to maintain local practice of *nanyin*. The case study of a contemporary grassroots hub, Dongshizhen Nanyin Society, represents the most successful management, emphasizing rapport between members and creating a familial environment. The hub contributed significantly to sustaining *nanyin* tradition by setting up a teacher-training centre. Their interactive teaching/learning between musicians creates mutual respect amongst masters rather than a master/disciple relationship. Regular outdoor *nanyin* recitals which give fair opportunity for each member group to perform are the main mechanism to uphold performance standards of the hub. The continuation of *nanyin* tradition is ensured through Dongshizhen’s successful organization of an annual *nanyin* summer class which is always well attended by the students in the rural town of Dongshi.

It is the norm for *nanyin* societies in Minnan to hold weekly gatherings for musicians to enjoy music-making. They all provide free *nanyin* teaching for adults and children within their communities. There are annual public concerts (*dahuichang*) and open *nanyin* competitions which provide many performance opportunities. *Nanyin* societies take responsibility for training the candidates for such events.

Contemporary management of *nanyin* societies is on a self-sufficiency basis: a society’s survival essentially relies on good social connections with the local

entrepreneurs and overseas Chinese from whom the financial support is derived – the government renders no financial support to amateur *nanyin* societies. Nonetheless, all these societies have to maintain good relationships with local authorities and collaborate in promulgating official cultural and economic policies. A mutual cooperative relationship helps to carry out *nanyin* activities smoothly.

### 8.2.6 Rejuvenation and secularization of rituals

Modern Chinese governments have treated traditional rituals as relics of feudalism and superstitious beliefs, and calls for elimination have been heard since the New Culture movement of 1919 (S. Jones 1995:45). This is not only a 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon: examples of state intervention in ritual practices have been documented since an incident in Zhangzhou during the southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) (Van der Loon 1992; Gernet 1999; Ruizendaal 2006; Wang Mingming 2009). The PRC state government has been mistrustful of local religious practices, considering them a possible counter-hegemonic threat (Gates & Weller 1987:14-15 quoted in Harris 2004; Siu 1989:122). Despite the government's attempts at reform, most of the ritual practices are still maintained, especially in rural areas. Based on his study of music in Shaanbei, Stephen Jones believes that Maoist period policy to eradicate superstition and transform culture was unsuccessful because:

People remained loyal to their traditional concept of local village culture rather than to the state [cf. Guo Yuhua 2000: 350-352]. Though state-funded troupes are undoubtedly an aspect of overall musical activity, this point appears to be of wide relevance for many of the performing arts in the Chinese countryside today, and for our understanding of modern China. (S. Jones 2009:87)

In southern Fujian where polytheism is deeply rooted and religious activities thrive, the scale of temple fairs is enlarged and revitalization is seen in line with the burgeoning economy since the 1980s Reform period. Large-scale religious festivities with collective performances have flourished in Minnan with financial support from overseas. *Nanyin* does not play a direct role in the ceremonial context, but its presence represents a cultural significance. Sulamith Heins Potter and Jack Potter argue that the survival of older social and economic networks was the cause of the widespread resurgence of the practice of religious and magical beliefs in China:

The return to pre-Liberation expressive culture is not simply a matter of the persistence or “survival” of tradition. Traditional culture is reappearing because the economic base and

the social structures that were expressed by these symbolic forms are once again important. Relationships with relatives are increasing in importance in the absence of collective support, and these relationships are also symbolically affirmed by ceremonial means. [The] village temple, which had been dismantled by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, was rebuilt by the village citizens' committee.... Dragon-boat racing is another symbolic affirmation of village solidarity, and competitive strength. (Potter and Potter 1993:337)

However, I argue that not all but only certain remnants of cultural tradition were reappearing. Traditions are invented “often not because old ways are no longer available or viable, but because they are deliberately not used or adapted” (Hobsbawm 1983:8). Most of the surviving traditions were modified with the encroachment of secularization, and nowadays almost all rituals are practised in much simpler versions. In view of the resurging rituals in China, Kenneth Dean argues that religious traditions are constantly remade and adapted to changing social surroundings regardless of beliefs (Dean 1993:18). In her study of the politics and popular culture of Guangdong's Pearl River area, Helen Siu (1989) argues, contrary to Potter and Potter, that the social network which underlay the ritual tradition was exterminated during the revolutionary period, rendering the revival of old traditions unfeasible. Out of fragments of the ritual tradition, people reconstructed a contemporary culture which resembled the re-emergence of the old tradition but carried different meanings. The dilution of ritual practices “has been due to the intervention of a monopolizing state power” (Siu 1989:133). A similar phenomenon was found in the Naxi Ancient Music (*Naxi guyue*) of Lijiang County, Yunnan. Helen Rees (1996) traces the changes in the social and political contexts of this music: previously linked to state-sponsored Confucian sacrifices, it was suppressed during the Maoist period and re-emerged in the post-Mao era in a secular version for enjoyment and tourist entertainment.

In Minnan, the government secularizes calendrical and religious festivities by re-creating events to showcase local performance arts and for the entertainment of the masses (Chapter 7.2.2). This is intended to help promote Minnanese culture and at the same time to prevent the return of feudal ideology.

In *nanyin*, secularization is observed in the worship of the *nanyin* deity *si Langjun* and in the *si xianxian* ritual processes for the veneration of the ancestral masters. The ceremony underscores the hierarchy in *nanyin* music and the virtue of respect for the ancestral masters through joint worship. However, the newly established *nanyin* society, Jinjiang City Nanyin Yishutuan, situates itself in the present state ideology by eliminating

this meaningful worship in *nanyin* tradition. Though all kinds of religious and life-cycle rituals have been resumed, the lack of practice during ten years of Cultural Revolution has resulted in a gradual dilution in performance. As evidenced in my field recordings, the funeral ritual is infused with contemporary sentiments; minor details in the ritual process, which are symbols of hierarchy, were not taken seriously in performance; and it is in the handling of these minor details that respect for the cultural forebears, such as Langjun and the former Society masters, is implicitly expressed. Such virtue is characteristic of Chinese familial ties, social cohesion and harmony. On the other hand, from my field investigations, it is obvious that secularization of the tradition has been ongoing, which will help women access the genre, since they are still excluded from performing in certain ritual contexts such as in Langjun worship and the *sandianjiu* funeral ritual.

The revival and elaborate celebrations of expressive culture challenge the state ideology and reveal the paradoxical attitude of the local authority. There is no official rule limiting religious practice in rural areas, as seen in the increasing size of the temple fairs; it depends on the decisions of individual cadres in power (Chapter 5.3.2). The increase in overseas investment and diasporic patronage in Minnan after the economic Reform of the late 1980s benefited not only economy but also cultural and religious practices. The demand for *nanyin* music offerings in temple fairs has also increased. Overseas patronage is thus a significant factor in maintaining the ritual contexts because of their financial power.

### **8.2.7 The perpetuation of *nanyin* heritage**

Oral transmission has played an irreplaceable historical role in *nanyin*; the teaching contexts have changed, but oral transmission has not been completely supplanted as renowned *nanyin* musicians have been recruited to teach regardless of their own educational background. *Nanyin* is orally transmitted to students by imitation and repetition – what is called *nianzui* [read by mouth] – and this is still recognised as the most efficient way to teach (Chapter 6.1.1). With this traditional teaching, idiosyncratic styles inherited by the teachers are passed down; this is particularly obvious in vocal teaching in terms of embellishment and intonation. This mode of transmission is still practiced by formal educational institutions, amateur *nanyin* societies and private teachers. The institutions recruit ICH Representative Transmitters, professional performers and

amateur *nanyin* musicians as teachers, and these teachers follow the traditional teaching method based on oral transmission supplemented by notation.

But the introduction of institutional *nanyin* education in the 1980s, with changes in transmission, has impacted the perpetuation of *nanyin* to some extent. *Nanyin* is taught in two major educational institutions in Minnan: Fujiansheng Quanzhou Yishu Xuexiao [Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School] and Quanzhou Shifan Xueyuan [Quanzhou Normal University]. Quanzhou Arts School provides training for professional performers, and they emphasize the stage choreography which is included in their curriculum (Chapter 6.2.1). Quanzhou Normal University aims to train school music teachers, and their students overall are loaded with Western music studies. The conservatory practices of Chinese music can be regarded as ‘modernised tradition’ influenced by Western music (Fang Kun 1981: 3), and the use of notation is one sign of the encroachment of Western musical culture. The advantages of using notation include quick learning without depending on the good will of the teacher, and students can look up forgotten passages and control the pace of learning (Nettl 2005:296). *Nanyin* manuscripts in traditional *gongchepu* notation are considered a heritage passed down by the ancestral masters. Nowadays in both institutions, *nanyin* is taught by the use of three types of notation: *gongchepu*, cipher notation and Western staff notation.

The advancement of technology has triggered some significant changes in the method of transmission: modern equipment such as video, audio recordings and iPhones also assist learning nowadays. Students often record the teacher’s classroom demonstration for repetitive practice at home; they also compare the interpretation with other commercial video and audio recordings.

The question of whether institutional *nanyin* education achieves the goal of perpetuating the authenticity of the genre can be viewed from different angles. The institutional style of transmission facilitates *nanyin* learning to a higher academic level, and although the transmitters attempt to continue traditional styles of teaching, there are also shortcomings in the current overall institutional system in which Western music learning is much emphasized. Learning an old genre such as *nanyin* needs careful contemplation of the details bit by bit through regular collaborative practice. With the prescribed institutional curriculum covering both *nanyin* and Western music, students find insufficient time to explore and practise *nanyin* in-depth, and one wonders whether

deep musical perception can be achieved. *Nanyin* music-making very much articulates ensembleship and frequent practice, but there is no ensemble representative of Quanzhou Normal University. Under the circumstances of a shortage of practice time, especially collective practice, students would struggle to delve as deeply into *nanyin* as the curriculum allows them to do with Western music.

Since 1990, institutionalization of *nanyin* transmission has intensified under the Minnan government's strategic cultural policy of *xiangyin jin xiaoyuan* 乡音进校园 [rural sound enters the academic sphere] and the genre has been taught in elementary and secondary schools (Cai Changping 蔡长平,<sup>131</sup> interview, 20apr2010; Rees 2012: 41). Whilst *nanyin* learning is compulsory in some schools, in others it is an optional 'Special Interest Class' open to interested students. The former is taught by graduates from Quanzhou Normal University, or Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School who are *nanyin* competition award winners, while teaching of the 'Special Interest Class' is usually by voluntary members of the local *nanyin* societies. Field video DVD-8 exposes one of the inadequacies of the Arts School graduates' teaching style in a Jinjiang elementary school: due to class size, students could only receive a superficial experience of the music.

In Minnan, the grassroots play a significant role in the continuation of *nanyin* tradition by contributing a major part of the transmission. Private teaching explores the talent of individuals (DVD-7) and creates a family-like environment for group learning, as seen in children's *nanyin* learning classes at Shenhu's Hujian Yubin Nanyin Society (DVDs-9-10). Although *nanyin* is institutionalised, the sustaining of the genre is mainly through the efforts of amateur musicians; follow-up training prior to competitions or public performances still relies on communal *nanyin* societies where many institutional students go for furthering their practice and polishing their technique.

The existing institutional *nanyin* transmission paradigm in the last three decades has transformed the master-disciple system. Under the dialectic between modern institutional group learning and the individual teaching of the amateur *nanyin* societies, the concept of the hierarchical teacher/disciple relationship basically does not exist in the *nanyin* world nowadays, and the learning schedule is flexible depending on the self-motivation of the learners. As to pedagogical method, continuity of traditional teaching is clearly seen as nearly all *nanyin* teachers remain loyal to their teaching tradition and follow the process

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<sup>131</sup> Cai Changping, principal of Qingyang Xiaocong Zhongxin Primary School, Jinjiang (Chapter 6.3.2).

passed down by their teachers. The implementation of strategic ‘*nanyin* in the classroom’ education reinforces the respect for *nanyin* tradition and heightens young people’s sense of cultural legacy, but a general decline in *nanyin* knowledge is perceived.

Considering *nanyin* teachers’ efforts to maintain traditional transmission methods and musicians’ insistence on retaining traditional musical elements in *nanyin* compositions, it is logical to think that the quality of *nanyin* has not deteriorated much due to Westernization and other factors. This can be assumed from the feedback of Tian Qing, Director of the Music Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Arts, who compared the modernized instrumental national music (*minzu yinyue*) with *nanyin* in Quanzhou. Tian comments that to certain extent, the musical interpretation of *nanyin* has retained its antique style:

I had always lamented that most of the *minzu yinyue* [national music] we hear today is not in tune with the aura that flows out of the traditional Chinese ancient musical literature and classical art. When a *pipa* finger-roll is played like a machine gun shooting at the innocent audience, and the *erhu* is fiddled ... like horses dashing through a creek, and the *dizi* and *suona* are played on stage like the cheering and whistling at a sports playground... I could imagine our ancestors frowning upon us: are these our authentic tunes? Not until I listen to Quanzhou *nanyin* do I hear the musical genes inside my blood echoing to the music. (Tian Qing 2003 (Preface 3):7)

The local musicians have contributed immensely to *nanyin* transmission and performance through their dogged perseverance. The genre has demonstrated its strong surviving power and straddled various political upheaval periods in China as musicians challenged the political hazards and continued this folk tradition with courage and persistence (Chapter 4.3.1). Most of the musicians trust that *nanyin* will undoubtedly be sustained based on the fact that *nanyin* plays a pivotal role in the local social and cultural life.

### **8.2.8 The impact of diasporic patronage**

Referencing Rice’s modified model (2003), the ‘place’ of *nanyin* practice transcends geographic and social boundaries because the genre has been disseminated to many Southeast Asian countries through various emigration patterns. *Nanyin* playing in diaspora represents musical heritage and cultural displacement from southern Fujian. For first-generation emigrants, it was music from the homeland China, and it articulated a

sense of belonging and cultural continuity. The 1980s Reform era was a significant turning point with a general re-emergence of traditional culture in China. Considering the Minnan government's emphasis on promoting traditional puppetry in Quanzhou, Robin Ruizendaal (2006:342) believes that the "cooperation between the local performing arts and officials may be just another phase in the traditional relationship between the state and the arts, but it may also be the beginning of a more pragmatic approach to the expressions of cultural identity and local coherence."

On the other hand, the Minnan government was fully aware of the nostalgia and patriotism of the overseas Chinese. Through official recognition of *nanyin* and sponsorship for *nanyin* concerts, emigrants were linked to their homeland Minnan, and *nanyin* music-making serves as an active channel for multiple government purposes. The exploitation of *nanyin* activities in the Reform era successfully attracted a massive influx of donations from overseas Chinese of Jinjiang origin and contributed greatly to provide a strong foundation for economic and cultural development in southern Fujian. Transnational patronage encompasses *nanyin* education in terms of donating facilities and instruments in schools, and supporting the expenses of running amateur *nanyin* societies. Chapter 7.1 discusses the impact of diasporic patronage on the development of *nanyin* in Minnan.

Transnational *nanyin* activities help interconnect the cultural lives of Minnan and its diaspora. The recruitment of Minnan *nanyin* masters to teach overseas helps disseminate the genre and continue the Minnan cultural heritage on foreign soil. From a performance perspective, these activities also aid the exchange of performance skills and update the active repertoire, as well as strengthen the bond of solidarity by bringing together musicians from all the *nanyin* diasporic countries (Chapter 7.1).

Having observed the active promotion of *nanyin* activities in recent decades, Chen Yanting (2008: 373) argues that the government's motive in enhancing the importance of *nanyin* culture was twofold: to assist acquiring the eventual recognition as a Masterpiece of Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO, and to achieve financial benefit by attracting more overseas investment to Minnan. I contend that these two goals have been highly successful: *nanyin* was added to UNESCO's Representative List in 2009, and socio-economic development in Minnan has greatly benefited from overseas patronage. However, at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, while the foundation of Minnan's economy was

stable with commercial and industrial booms, by contrast the diasporic countries had suffered from several regional and global economic crises, resulting in inflation and devaluation of currencies. This has directly weakened the financial capability of the overseas Chinese, resulting in a major shrinkage of donations from overseas. This change in economic situations has led to a reversed role between the diaspora and Minnan: a shift from Minnanese economic dependence on *huaqiao* to *huaqiao*'s reliance on trade opportunities with China.

### 8.2.9 Different practice and safeguarding of *nanyin* between Taiwan and Minnan

*Nanyin* has been a well sustained musical tradition in diaspora, especially in Taiwan, whose populace is mainly of Fujianese descent. In an attempt to gain political hegemony over China, *nanguan* [*nanyin*] was used as a propaganda tool and was well nurtured under Taiwanese government cultural policy. This helped popularize the genre, and *nanguan* societies in Taiwan benefited from government subsidies. *Nanguan* scholar Wang Ying-fen (2012) argues that the government intervention has resulted in professionalization and theatricalization of the musical practice, rather than achieving the goal of preserving and transmitting the traditional nature of the genre.

The ten long years of the Cultural Revolution caused irreparable destruction to literature and arts in China, leading many in the Taiwan *nanguan* world to claim that their style is more authentic than in Minnan. My field observations reveal that the Cultural Revolution created an age gap in *nanyin* practice as learners dwindled, but *nanyin* musicians' perseverance in protecting and safeguarding the genre was undeniable. The major difference in cross-strait preservation of the genre, in my opinion, is the official financial resources provided for the sustenance of the genre. Whilst the Taiwan government renders large subsidies for its promotion, the Minnan municipal government financially supports only the official activities of *nanyin*, such as promulgating political and cultural ideologies and holding government-organised festive events; the grassroots are much neglected and have had to depend on support from patrons in the diaspora and more recently from local businessmen.

As to deterioration in the quality of musical practice, I argue that this is seen on both sides of the strait, and that it is because of modernization of musical concepts that both the government officials and the young generation in general lack an understanding of the

essence of traditional *nanyin*. In Taiwan, the interventionist goal for *nanguan* has fallen short because of the professionalization of *nanguan* troupes; it is a result of the government's neglect of the traditional nature of the genre. In Minnan, it is because of the commoditization of *nanyin* for tourism purposes, a typical economic-driven phenomenon.

#### **8.2.10 Current cultural strategies and challenges in Minnan**

In Minnan, government intervention in *nanyin* started soon after the establishment of the PRC when the Quanzhou municipal government amalgamated three major amateur *nanyin* groups and officially changed the name of the genre from *xianguan* to *nanyin* in 1952.

In the 1980s, enthusiastic scholars identified a *nanyin* revival. The local government subsidised a number of important *nanyin* compilations and other publications, nourished *nanyin* research. This was the initial sign of government promotional and preservation work, which was followed by the launching of *nanyin* in the classroom in the 1990s (Chapter 6.3). Aided by this promotion by the government, *nanyin* gained national exposure via mass media and cross-regional performances.

In 2003, UNESCO called for involving communities, groups and individuals in safeguarding ICH (UNESCO, 2003: Article 15). This necessarily involves collaboration between government and grassroots levels. Richard Kurin assumes it to be difficult to work out a balance between the two parties:

Some governments assume that their own constitutional status enables them to speak for any community of their citizens or inhabitants. They see this as a matter of national sovereignty. They resent having to cede any authority to communities – especially those regarded as marginal or lower in status than the ruling government. Others have so completely absorbed ‘community’ identification, leadership, and governance within their own governmental structures as to render the concept sociologically meaningless. Simply, the government is the community, with any vestige of freedom, autonomy, or distinctive group boundary absorbed within a larger social reality. (Kurin 2007:16)

In Minnan, a different situation has prevailed between two government departments over the last two decades. In the current hierarchical system of Minnan local governments, Jinjiang City is under the administration of Quanzhou City (see Fig. 1.1). However, my field investigations reveal that Jinjiang is, to a certain degree, independent in the handling of *nanyin* preservation work. The fact that a governmental department in Quanzhou is holding manuscripts and archives of many Jinjiang *nanyin* societies' heritage has caused

considerable tensions and conflicts between the grassroots groups and the authority for nearly two decades. *Nanyin* research has been greatly held back as no compilation or research has been published for over a decade by the Quanzhou municipal government, and the manuscripts and archives collected from local *nanyin* societies were inaccessible to scholars or researchers. Ironically, in several conversations, Jinjiang *nanyin* scholars and practitioners told me that their disappointment had generated a strong determination to conduct their own search for manuscripts from local and overseas private collections. Jinjiang's Regional Bureau of Culture demonstrates full support for upholding the *nanyin* tradition; prolific and well-categorised compilations published since 2005 represent the fortitude of the scholars in Jinjiang who geared up their efforts in *nanyin* preservation with the financial support of the authority. This unveils the problematical preservation work that *nanyin* is facing.

In southern Fujian, the proclamation of *nanyin* as a Masterpiece of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2009 was officially credited to the achievement of some politicians, with little acknowledgement of grassroots efforts. In the opinion of most of the folk musicians whom I talked with, the ICH fever was ephemeral, a sudden spark, a fast and brief glitter, and very soon it would die away.

In accordance with the 2003 UNESCO requirement to ensure the safeguarding of designated ICH genres, Representative Transmitters are designated by the State party to pass down their expertise and skills. In Minnan, many of the Representative Transmitters are assigned to offer free *nanyin* teaching at the 'transmitting and learning centres' (*chuanxi dian* 传习点). This has become problematic: although Representative Transmitters each receive a modest yearly stipend, still, free teaching is less attractive to those who also teach in institutions on a salary basis. Therefore, not all the transmitters are enthusiastic in assuming their responsibilities.

The Minnan government's efforts to promote *nanyin* in the public entertainment sphere and tourism market do not reap the same benefit as their support of the local puppetry tradition. The government could not rationalize being a sponsor of Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble, because the effort and expenses were too great a burden. Thus the subsidy for the ensemble has been reduced and will likely be cut yet further; the ensemble now has to be self-financing, seeking income from various sources, including paid performances for business events or large-scale personal events.

### 8.2.11 Revival of traditional repertoire

Revival codifies and keeps alive a musical tradition. In his study of the conservation of the old music tradition of Northumbrian pipes in the 1970s, Burt Feintuch (1993: 184) notes that “The term *revival* implies resuscitation, reactivation, and rekindling, and many revivalist musicians assert that they’re bolstering a declining musical tradition.... They are actually musical transformations, a kind of reinvention.” The 1980s saw a remarkable revival of traditional performing arts and religious expression in China, and many of these traditions were examples of cultural reconstruction. Since 2005, a group of revivalist *nanyin* scholars and musicians in Jinjiang have endeavoured to resuscitate the long dormant repertoire *guozhiqu*, the relatively unique concert programme models and stage etiquette.

Reviving *guozhiqu* does not refer to reviving the musical style or restoring it with a new musical creativity. The revival is to reawaken the models of programmes for large-scale *nanyin* recitals. This is a demanding practice because the musicians need to devote much time in practising to become fully aware of a wide range of repertoire to facilitate the programmes. Scholars and musicians aim to revive *guozhiqu*, to conserve and to continue the tradition by linking it to the distant past when *nanyin* practice was at its climax. Jinjiang musicians led by Su Tongmou contribute to preservation through searching and documentation of the repertoire and its related performance etiquettes with audio and video recordings. However, the possibility of reviving this recital tradition is very low: today’s modernized fast-paced lifestyle makes it difficult to spare time for the necessary frequent practices; even the more general *nanyin* repertoire has been much reduced in terms of actual performance. Whilst it is probably impossible to revive fully the traditionally prescribed model, the musicians follow a much simplified version more appropriate to the duration of recitals nowadays.

### 8.2.12 Sustainability

Rapid development and commercialization have sped up the urbanization of the region, created more job opportunities and accelerated population shifts from rural to urban areas. Like other performing arts in China, *nanyin* also faces competition from many different forms of contemporary entertainment. Overall there has been a decline in

*nanyin* practice, especially in the rural areas like Shenhui where there is a lack of younger-generation practitioners.

The genre has been facing different phases of challenges, weathering many historical ebbs and flows. It enjoyed prestige and flourished during the Qing dynasty, but it never received any practical support from the imperial court. Since Liberation, the PRC government policy towards this folk tradition in rural areas, as reflected in field conversations with *nanyin* musicians, is to leave it alone to either survive or die out in due course (*zisheng zimie* 自生自灭). Musicians commonly describe the genre as an orphan; the amateur *nanyin* societies, so important to sustenance of the tradition, have never had any financial support from the government. This lack of government support for the folk amateur groups has always been an object of complaint from the musicians. *Nanyin*'s revival has been impelled by overseas money, without which many of the amateur *nanyin* groups in Minnan would not have survived until now. In a panel discussion held by the government in Quanzhou right after *nanyin* was inscribed in the ICH list in 2009, I expressed my opinion that, to take action to preserve the ICH, the government should safeguard the genre by providing financial support to the grassroots, especially to those *nanyin* societies in locales whose overseas subsidies are diminishing for various reasons.

In the discourse of music sustainability, Jeff Todd Titon (2009b:127) claims: "In conceiving of ICH as a monument requiring protection and preservation, UNESCO implies that its authenticity rests in its past glory; yet in conceiving of ICH as a living tradition deserving safeguarding, UNESCO implies that its sustainability rests in its ability to adapt for the future." To analyze the sustainability of *nanyin* from different perspectives, we must first attribute it to the innate conservatism of the practitioners who obstinately refuse any innovation in the traditional genre, which forms a strong safeguard to the music. To examine how the genre can and will adapt for the future, we see the grassroots efforts in preserving *nanyin* tradition through informal transmission and communal activities. The grassroots' long-term commitment to the continuity of the tradition is manifested in the efforts of local amateur societies in cultivating children *nanyin* students and advocates of all age. These activities are manifested predominantly in public performances, often nightly in a park. The continuing practice of traditional exchange visits between societies marks the kind of unity typical of *nanyin* ideologies. *Nanyin* is integrated in most of the community rituals and life-cycle events. The *nanyin*

practitioners form a familial network locally and overseas within their musical domain, which the cohesion between amateur groups sustains from generation to generation.

Despite the lack of government financial resources to sustain these amateur societies, under the UNESCO safeguarding policies, *nanyin* is still one of the leading exponents of performing arts promoted officially by the national government.

### 8.3 TOPICS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The research reported in this thesis serves only as an introductory exploration of the *nanyin* world in its motherland, southern Fujian. Although I have incorporated a multiplicity of issues surrounding the genre, there is still much need for further exploration. Some examples:

- In-depth music analysis would be valuable to shed light on the configuration of scale pitches in relationship to modal practice, the musical function and structure of *guozhiqu*, and embellishing technique both instrumental and vocal.

- Further examination of children's *nanyin* education is needed, especially in terms of the choice and development of repertoire.

- The *nanyin* diaspora is a significant topic that has not been explored as a whole (as opposed to specific studies of Taiwan). With today's rapid communications technology and mobility of population, global geographic distances are shortened and cross-influences in music interpretation are fluid. The re-invention of *nanyin* tradition in the diasporic countries and its influences on the development of the genre in Minnan is noteworthy.

It is my fervent wish that this study will incite further insightful research into *nanyin*, a revered living ancient musical tradition of southern Fujian.

**NANYIN MUSICAL CULTURE IN SOUTHERN  
FUJIAN, CHINA:  
ADAPTATION AND CONTINUITY**

**Sau-Ping Cloris Lim**

**Volume 2: Appendices, Bibliography, Discography,  
*Nanyin* transnotations and scores, and Recordings**

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**Department of Music  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### APPENDICES

1	Classification of <i>gunmen</i> families	334
2	The fifteen frequently performed suites from the traditional <i>pu</i> repertory	339
3	Bilingual (Mandarin and Minnanese) <i>nanyin</i> vocal pieces	341
4	Model programmes of <i>Guozhi Lianchang</i> 过枝联唱 performance	342
5	List of interviewees	354

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	359
---------------------	-----

<b>DISCOGRAPHY</b>	403
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### NANYIN TRANSNOTATIONS AND SCORES

1	<i>Zhi</i> suite: <i>Zhaojian wo</i> 照见我 (Fifth section: <i>Niqu duoduo</i> 你去多多)	407
2	<i>Zhi</i> suite: <i>Duilinghua</i> 对菱花 (First section: <i>Duilinghua</i> )	412
3	<i>Yinsong gesao</i> 因送哥嫂	418
4	<i>Minhai yu'ge</i> 闽海渔歌 (Transnotation and handwritten score)	424
5	<i>Baihua qifang</i> 百花齐放	433
6	<i>Wang Beijing gengshi wozengtian liliang</i> 望北京更使我增添力量	438
7	<i>Yuanxiao shiwu</i> 元宵十五	442

8	<i>Si Langjun</i> Spring ritual music:	445
	• <i>Jinqianjing</i> 金錢經 (First section of <i>Wucaojinqianjing</i> (Wumian))	446
	• <i>Huatung caijie</i> 畫堂彩結	447
	• <i>Xiaocaicha</i> 小采茶 (Fifth section of <i>Wucaojinqianjing</i> )	451
9	<i>Si Langjun</i> Autumn ritual musi	452
	• <i>Meihuacao</i> 梅花操 (Fifth section: <i>Niangxuezhengchun</i> 酿雪争春)	453
	• <i>Jinlu baozhuan</i> 金炉宝篆	455
	• <i>Sishijing</i> 四时景 (Eighth section: <i>Jixuefeihua</i> 急雪飞花)	457
10	<i>Sandianjiu</i> 三奠酒 Funeral ritual music:	458
	• <i>Yuxiaosheng</i> 玉簫声 (First section: <i>Yuxiaosheng</i> 玉簫声)	459
	• <i>Sandianjiu</i> 三奠酒	463
	• <i>Meihuacao</i> 梅花操 (3 <sup>rd</sup> – 5 <sup>th</sup> sections)	468
11	<i>Qinyuanchun: Xue</i> 沁园春: 雪 (Transnotation and handwritten score)	472
12	<i>Qianjia luoqi guanxianming</i> 千家罗绮管弦鸣	476
13	<i>Zhiru huayuan</i> 直入花园	485
14	<i>Guozhiqu</i> 过枝曲: <i>Xing feng shi chuntian</i> 幸逢是春天	488
15	<i>Guozhiqu: Yizhentianse</i> 一阵天色	491
16	<i>Guozhiqu: Hengesao</i> 恨哥嫂	492
17	<i>Guozhiqu: Qiederuan</i> 切得阮	493
18	<i>Guozhiqu: Xintousixiang</i> 心头思想	494

## CD CONTENTS

- 1 *Zhi* suite (instrumental): *Zhaojian wo* 照见我 (Fifth section - *Niqu duoduo*). Field recording performed by Hong Kong amateur musicians: Cai Meichun (*pipa*), Lin Jinfeng (*dongxiao*), Huang Yingchang (*erxian*), Chen Zixiu (*sanxian*), 30 December 2012, Hong Kong.
- 2 *Zhi* suite (vocal): *Duilinghua* 对菱花. Three sections in one track: *Duilinghua* (0:00-20:48), *Fengxiao* (20:49-27:03), and *Yuchen* (27:04-37:22). Field recording performed by musicians of Licheng Quanzhou Nanyin Yanjiushe, Quanzhou, December 2010.
- 3 *Nanyin* ballad: *Yuanxiao shiwu* 元宵十五. Field recording performed by Quanzhou vocalist Yang Shuangying with her own *pipa* accompaniment, 2008.
- 4 *Nanyin* ballad: *Yuanxiao shiwu*. Xiamen vocalist Qiu Yumin. A piece selected from the private CD *Qing qu liufang: Selection of Fujian nanyin* recorded in 2005 for Hong Kong Fukien Athletic Club 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration.
- 5 *Guozhiqu*: *Xing feng shi chuntian* 幸逢时春天. Field recording, interpretation by Su Tongmou with his own *pipa* accompaniment, 8 July 2010.
- 6 *Guozhiqu*: *Yizhentianse* 一阵天色. Field recording, interpretation by Su Tongmou with his own *pipa* accompaniment, 8 July 2010.
- 7 *Guozhiqu*: *Hengesao* 恨哥嫂. Field recording, interpretation by Su Tongmou with his own *pipa* accompaniment, 8 July 2010.
- 8 *Guozhiqu*: *Qiederuan* 切得阮. Field recording, interpretation by Su Tongmou with his own *pipa* accompaniment, 8 July 2010.
- 9 *Guozhiqu*: *Xintousixiang* 心头思想. Field recording, interpretation by Su Tongmou with his own *pipa* accompaniment, 8 July 2010.

## DVD CONTENTS

- 1 *Yinsong Gesao: nanyin* ballad from opera *Chensan Wuniang* 陈三五娘 (*Lijinji* 荔镜记) interpreted in three versions:
  - *Nanyin* - Performed by the vocalist Zhou Chengzai of Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble. Undated DVD. In “*Nanyin: Quanzhou xianguan*”. *Renlei feiwuzhi wenhua yichan daibiaozuo* 人类非物质文化遗产代表作 [Representative works of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity]. Quanzhou Wenhuaaju (ed.). Vocalists: Zhou Chengzai 周成在, Zhuang Lifen 庄丽芬. ISRC CN-E17-09-301-00/V.J8.
  - *Liyuan* - Shanghai Dianying zhipianchang 上海电影制片厂摄制. 1998 [1957]. Excerpt. *Minnanxi: Chensan Wuniang* [Minnan opera: Chensan and Lady Wuniang]. VCD. Cai Ziqiang 蔡自强, Su Wushui 苏乌水, Su Ou 苏欧, Lin Yuhua 林玉花 (actors). Distributor: Beijing Dianying Luyin Luxiang Company. A08-97-0166-0/V.9.
  - *Gaojia* - Xiamenshi Jinliansheng Gaojia jutuan 厦门市金莲陞高甲剧团. 2008. Excerpt. *Chensan Wuniang: Gaojia jingdian chuantong lianbenxi: Lijingyuan* [Chensan and Lady Wuniang: Gaojia traditional opera *Liyuan*]. Performed by Hong Dongxi 洪东溪, Wu Jingjing 吴晶晶 and Lin Liya 林丽雅 of Xiamenshi Jingliansheng Gaojia Jutuan, reproduced in 2008. ISRC CN-E17-08-0060-0/V.J8.
- 2 *Si Langjun* 祀郎君 Autumn ritual and reunion of five affiliated *nanyin* societies held by Anhai Yasong Nanyin Society, Jinjiang, 30 September 2009. Recorded by Chen Rijin.
- 3 Stage etiquette – Excerpts from *Xianguan guozhi taoqu xuanji (sikongguan)*, vol. 2. Performers: Cai Yayi 蔡雅艺, Chen Kuizhen 陈奎珍, Chen Jinshan 陈锦, Chen Lijuan 陈丽娟 and Chen Huiying 陈辉影. Undated. Sole Distribution: Quanzhou City Yangguang Shengxiang Tuxu Youxian Gongsu. ISRC CN-E17-05-0132-0/V.J 8.

- 4 Contemporary *nanyin* composition: *Qianjialuoqi guanxianming* 千家罗绮管弦鸣. Internal recording performed by Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble.
- 5 Funeral ritual – two excerpts: *Sandianjiu* 三奠酒 recording provided by Gong's family, and funeral ritual recorded by Chen Rijin.
- 6 Baisha temple fair (30 April-2 May 2010), Baisha Village, Dongshi. Recorded by Cai Shujian, Xinying Video Production Company, Dongshi.
- 7 Child's *nanyin* vocal session demonstrated by Ding Shuilai 丁水来 and Ding Jialing 丁佳玲 in Chendai. Field recording, 14 November 2009.
- 8 Primary school *nanyin* class in Jinjiang. Field recording in Qingyang Xiaocong Zhongxin Primary School, 26 April 2010.
- 9 Shenhu children's *nanyin* vocal class taught by He Xiubi 何秀碧 at Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society, 8 October 2009. Recorded by Chen Rijin.
- 10 Shenhu children's *nanyin* percussion class taught by Chen Manying 陈曼迎 at Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society, 8 October 2009. Recorded by Chen Rijin.

APPENDIX 1

CLASSIFICATION OF GUNMEN FAMILIES

Mode Metrical Marking	<b>WUKONGGUAN 五空管</b> <b>G Mode</b>	<b>WUKONG SICHE GUAN 五空四尺管</b> <b>C Mode</b>	<b>SIKONGGUAN 四空管</b> <b>F Mode</b>	<b>BEISIGUAN 倍思管</b> <b>D Mode</b>			
<b>GUNMEN FAMILIES (TUNE FAMILIES)</b>							
<b>QUPAITI 曲牌体: Seven main branches (Qizitou 七枝头)</b>							
<i>Qiliao-pai</i> 七撩拍 8/2 or 16/4	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Zhongbei</b> 中倍</p> <p>4 <i>Neidui</i> 四内对<sup>i</sup> 4 <i>Waidui</i> 四外对<sup>ii</sup></p> <p>Others: <i>Yijiangfen</i> 一江风 <i>Zhumating</i> 驻马听 <i>Houtinghua</i> 后庭花 <i>Wunichang</i> 舞霓裳 <i>Qingbeixu</i> 倾杯序 etc.</p> <p>Ritual 祭祀: <i>Heimaoxu</i> 黑毛序</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Beigong</b> 倍工</p> <p>4 <i>Dadui</i> 四大对<sup>iii</sup> 4 <i>Xiaodui</i> 四小对<sup>iv</sup> 4 <i>Gu</i> 四孤<sup>v</sup></p> <p>Others: <i>Qifanzi</i> 七犯子 <i>Diezhishuang</i> <i>Daihuanzhuo</i> 玳环着, <i>Bayunmei</i> 八韵美 <i>Santailing</i> 三台令 <i>Biyuqian</i> 碧玉琼 etc.</p> <p><i>Shengdiyu</i> 生地獄</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Dabei</b> 大倍</p> <p>4 <i>Dabei</i> 四大倍: 1. <i>Erfanjiang-ershui</i> 二犯江儿水 2. <i>Shuidiyue</i> 水底月 3. <i>Poxiaolan</i> 泼晓兰 4. <i>Jiuqudongxiange</i> 九曲洞仙歌</p> <p>Others: <i>Shiduanjin</i> 十段锦 <i>Henxiaolang</i> 恨箫郎 <i>Changxiangsi</i> 长相思, etc.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Xiaobei</b> 小倍</p> <p>4 <i>Xiaobei</i> 四小倍: 1. <i>Hongna-ao</i> 紅衲袄 2. <i>Jiejiegao</i> 节节高 3. <i>Yizhijhua</i> 一枝花 4. <i>Qingxiuxie</i> 青綉鞋</p> <p>Others: <i>Qingna-ao</i> 青衲袄, <i>Hongxiuxie</i> 紅綉鞋, etc.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Shanpoyang<sup>vi</sup></b> 山坡羊</p> <p>4 <i>Shanpo</i> 四山坡: 1. <i>Shanpoyang</i> 山坡羊 2. <i>Shanpoli</i> 山坡里 3. <i>Shanpoli yang</i> 山坡里羊 4. <i>Shanpo-yangli</i> 山坡羊里</p> <p>Others: <i>Muyunjian</i> 暮云卷, etc.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Erdiao</b> 二调</p> <p><i>Jixianbin</i> 集贤宾 <i>Xiashanhu</i> 下山虎 <i>Erlangshen</i> 二郎神 <i>Mandijiao</i> 满地娇 <i>Xijiangyue</i> 西江月 <i>Yifengshu</i> 一封书 <i>Xiutingzhen</i> 綉停针 <i>Zaoluopo</i> 皂罗婆 <i>Jiesanxing</i> 解三醒 <i>Yichunling</i> 宜春令 <i>Kuchungui</i> 苦春归 <i>Sifantou</i> 四犯头 <i>Shisanqiang</i> 十三腔 <i>Zuifugui</i> 醉扶归, etc.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Qiliaobesi<sup>vii</sup></b> 七撩倍思 (<i>Da Chaoyangchun</i> 大潮阳春)</p> <p><i>Tangping-er</i> 汤瓶儿</p> <p>Others: <i>Quanbei</i> 全贝<sup>viii</sup> <i>Banbei</i> 半贝 <i>Quanzheng</i> 全正, etc.</p>

**GUNMENTI 滚门体 (in three metrical groups)**

<p style="text-align: center;">(1) <i>Sanliao-pai</i> 三撩拍 4/2 or 8/4</p>	<p><i>Wukong Dasizi</i> 五空大四子:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Shataojin</i> 沙淘金 (<i>Chang Fumalang</i> 长福马郎)</li> <li>2. <i>Beixiangsi</i> 北相思 (<i>Chang Shengshengnao</i> 长声声闹)</li> <li>3. <i>Zhumaer</i> 竹马儿 (<i>Chang Xugun</i> 长序滚)</li> <li>4. <i>Dieyunbei</i> 叠韵悲 (<i>Chang Shuanggui</i> 长双闺)</li> </ol> <p>Others: <i>Chang Jinban</i> 长锦板, <i>Xiangsiyin</i> 相思引, <i>Yeyunbei</i> 野韵悲, <i>Chang Miandaxu</i> 长绵答絮, <i>Chang Jiangshui</i> 长将水, etc.</p>	<p><i>Wukong Siche Dasizi</i> 五空四仪大四子:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Chang Yujiaozi</i> 长玉交枝</li> <li>2. <i>Sanliao changgua</i> 三撩长寡</li> <li>3. <i>Chang Wangyuanxing</i> 长望远行 (also known as <i>Chang Beigun</i> 长倍滚)</li> <li>4. <i>Chang Wugong</i> 长五供<sup>ix</sup></li> </ol> <p>Others: <i>Chang Yuxia</i> 长玉匣 <i>Chang Jinqiangua</i> 长金钱寡 <i>Chang Guadifeng</i> 长刮地风, etc.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">See footnote vii</p>	<p><i>Sikong Dasizi</i> 四空大四子:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Chang daotuochuan</i> 长倒拖船</li> <li>2. <i>Chang Shuiche</i> 长水车</li> <li>3. <i>Chang Zhushui</i> 长逐水流</li> <li>4. <i>Chang Wengyi</i> 长翁姨</li> </ol> <p>Others: <i>Changgun</i> 长滚 <i>Chang Yinliusi</i> 长银柳丝, etc.</p>	<p><i>Chang chaoyangchun</i> 长潮阳春 <i>Sanjiao Chaoyangchun</i> 三脚潮阳春</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">(2) <i>Jinsanliao</i> 紧三撩 4/4 (also known as 1, 2 <i>Pai</i>)</p>	<p><i>Wukong Zhongsizi</i> 五空中四子:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Fumalang</i> 福马郎</li> <li>2. <i>Dulanxiang</i> 杜兰香 / <i>Shengsheng-nao</i> 声声闹</li> <li>3. <i>Xugun</i> 序滚</li> <li>4. <i>Shuanggui</i> 双闺</li> </ol> <p>Others: <i>Jinban</i> 锦板 <i>Duan Xiangsi</i> 短相思 <i>Miandaxu</i> 绵答絮 <i>Jiangshuiling</i> 将水令 <i>Mapozi</i> 麻婆子, etc.</p>	<p><i>Wukong Siche Xiaosizi</i> 五空四仪小四子:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Yujiaozi</i> 玉交枝</li> <li>2. <i>Zhong Yugua</i> 中玉寡</li> <li>3. <i>Wangyuanxeng</i> 望远行 (Also known as <i>Beigun</i> 倍滚)</li> <li>4. <i>Wugongyang</i> 五供养<sup>x</sup></li> </ol> <p>Others: <i>Jinqiangua</i> 金钱寡 <i>Guadifeng</i> 刮地风 <i>Guabei</i> 寡北 <i>Yu Yuchan</i> 玉翼蝉 <i>Kunbei</i> 昆北 <i>Jinqiangua</i> 金钱寡, etc.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">See footnote vii</p>	<p><i>Sikong Zhongsizi</i> 四空中四子:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Daotuochuan</i> 倒拖船</li> <li>2. <i>Shuichege</i> 水车歌</li> <li>3. <i>Zhushuiliu</i> 逐水流</li> <li>4. <i>Wengyige</i> 翁姨歌</li> </ol> <p>Others: <i>Zhonggun</i> 中滚 <i>Duangun</i> 短滚 <i>Yinliusi</i> 银柳丝 <i>Beiqingyang</i> 北青阳, etc.</p>	<p><i>Zhong-chaoyangchun</i> 中潮阳春 <i>Wangwuxiang</i> 望吾乡 <i>Sibianjing</i> 四边静 <i>Sikaihua</i> 四开花 <i>Wukaihua</i> 五开花 <i>Miyangguan</i> 蜜阳关 <i>Zuifenglei</i> 醉蓬来, etc.</p>

<p>(3) <i>Die-pai</i> 叠拍 2/4</p>	<p><i>Wukong Xiaosizi</i> 五空小四子: 1. <i>Fumalangdie</i> 福马郎叠 2. <i>Shengshengnaodie</i> 声声闹叠 3. <i>Xugundie</i> 序滚叠 4. <i>Shuangguidie</i> 双闺叠</p> <p>Others: <i>Jinbandie</i> 锦板叠 <i>Duan Xiangsidie</i> 短相思 叠 <i>Miandaxudie</i> 绵答絮叠 <i>Jiangshuilindie</i> 将水令叠 <i>Mapozidie</i> 麻婆子叠, etc.</p>	<p><i>Yujiaozhidie</i> 玉交枝叠 <i>Guadie</i> 寡叠 <i>Wangyuanxengdie</i> 望远行叠</p>	<p>See footnote vii</p>	<p><i>Sikong xiaosizi</i> 四空小四子: 1. <i>Dao-Tuochuandie</i> 倒拖船叠 2. <i>Shuichegedie</i> 水车歌叠 3. <i>Zhu shuiliu die</i> 逐水流叠 4. <i>Wengyidie</i> 翁姨歌叠</p> <p>Others: <i>Duangundie</i> 短滚叠 <i>Yinliusidie</i> 银柳丝叠 <i>Bei Qingyangdie</i> 北青阳叠, etc.</p>	<p><i>Duan Chaodie</i> 短潮叠 <i>Sanjiaochao</i> 三脚潮 <i>Wangwuxiang-die</i> 望吾乡叠 <i>Sibianjingdie</i> 四边静叠</p>
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<sup>i</sup> The Four Neidui in *Zhongbei* are:

1. *Fengshuang buluoye* 风霜不落叶 (Spring 春景: a. *Zhengshi Chuntian* 正是春天 b. *Yourenshuochu* 有人说处)
2. *Yufudiyi* 渔夫第一 (Summer 夏景: a. *Yiwanjunling* 一望峻岭 b. *Zhizengshichuru* 值曾识出路)
3. *Jiuchuanzhu* 九串珠 (Autumn 秋景: a. *Qingren fensan* 情人分散 b. *Zhuoshi wuyi* 拙时无意)
4. *Guluntai* 古轮台 also known as *Putianle* 普天乐 (Winter 冬景: a. *Emaoxue* 鹅毛雪 b. *Xuehuafei* 雪花飞)

<sup>ii</sup> The Four Waidui 四外对 in *Zhongbei* are each represented by flower names:

1. *Qiangweihua* 蔷薇花 (Spring 春景: a. *Fangqing Jiaqi* 芳卿佳期 b. *Hehanguangwanli* 河汉光万里)
2. *Shiliuhua* 石榴花 (Summer 夏景: a. *Zanshuangren* 咱双人 b. *Luesode* 略所得)

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3. *Chuipaizhi* 催拍子 (Autumn 秋景: a. *Zhuorenzhi* 做人子 b. *Yindangzhu* 因当初)
  4. *Baishaoyao* 白芍药 (Winter 冬景: a. *Jumuwuqin* 举目无亲 b. *Toushenzhulai* 偷身出来)

iii The Four Dadui 四大对在 *Beigong* are songs composed with melody derived from *qupai Wusan Shierfeng* 巫山十二峰 8/2 which is a medley of tunes from twelve different *qupai*:

1. *Duilinghua* 对菱花 (Zhitao)
2. *Yiruxing* 一路行 (Zhitao)
3. *Zhuleichui* 珠泪垂
4. *Biyunhe* 碧云合

iv The Four Xiaodui 四小对在 *Beigong* are songs composed with melody from *qupai* namely Santailing 三台令:

1. *Jiaoxingren* 侥幸人
2. *Xingchuanren* 行船人
3. *Dietuoren* 迭道人
4. *Taoyuren* 讨鱼人

v The Four Gu 四孤 in *Beigong* consists of four single songs:

1. *Shuangtian Xiaojiao* 霜天晓角 (*Kunshouhanchuang* 困守寒窗)
2. *Babaozhuang* 八宝妆 (盘山过岭)
3. *Shiba xueshi* 十八学士 (*Kundobude* 睏都不得)
4. *Yujiaao* 渔家傲 (*Buhuagongpo* 卜画公婆)

vi In *Shanpoyang* 山坡羊, the songs are only in *qiliaopai* (8/2 or 16/4) meter and they are usually followed by songs in *Wukongguan* (G mode) and sometimes by songs in *Beisiguan* (D mode) but not *Sikongguan* (F mode). It does not continue in other metrical groups.

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<sup>vii</sup> *Qiliaobesi* 七撩倍思 is also known as *Da Chaoyangchun* 大潮阳春, and its major *qupai* is *Tangping-er* 汤瓶儿. There are four well known songs in this musical source which is called 4 *Da Chaoyangchun* 四大潮阳春. These four songs are:

1. *Henmeifei* 恨梅妃
2. *Ruanzhichu* 阮只处
3. *Zhiyuangku* 只冤苦
4. *Weiyigediao* 为伊刈吊

<sup>viii</sup> Other *qupai* such as *quanbei*, *banbei* and *quanzheng* are variations of *Tangping-er* in terms of modulations.

<sup>ix</sup> *Chang Wugong* 长五供 consists of melodies from five different *qupai*, namely: *Chang Wangyuanxing* 长望远行, *Chang Jiangshui* 长将水, *Zhuma* 竹马, *Sanliao* 三撩长寡, and *Chang Yujiaozhi* 长玉交枝.

<sup>x</sup> *Wugongyang* 五供养 in 4/4 consists of melodies from *Wangyuanxing* 望远行, *Jiangshui* 将水, *Xugun* 序滚, *Guabei* 寡北, and *Yujiaozhi* 玉交枝.

## APPENDIX 2

### THE FIFTEEN FREQUENTLY PERFORMED SUITES FROM THE TRADITIONAL *PU* REPERTORY<sup>1</sup>

#### 1) G mode – *Wukongguan* 五空管

Six suites in total: (1) *Qishoban* 起手板 (six sections), (2) *Meihuacao* 梅花操 (five sections), (3) *Zouma* 走马 (eight sections), (4) *Bainiaoguicao* 百鸟归巢 (six sections), (5) *Sishijin* 四时景 (eight sections) and (6) *Sijingban* 四静板 (eight sections).

#### 2) F mode – *Sikongguan* 四空管

Seven suites: (1) *Sanmian Jinqianjing* 三面金钱经 also called *Santailing* 三台令 (three sections). (2) *Wucuo Jinqianjing* 五操金钱经, also called *Wumian* 五面 or *Wuhuyou* 五湖游 (five sections). (3) *Bamian Jinqianjing* 八面金钱经 also called *Bazhanwu* 八展舞 (eight sections). Each of these three suites starts with the same first section: *Jinqianjing* 金钱经 (also called *shengping song* 升平颂). (4) *Sanbuhe* 三不和 (six sections), which requires re-tuning of *pipa*, *sanxian* and *erxian*. (5) *Kongquekaiping* 孔雀开屏 (seven sections). (6) *Kouhuangtian* 叩皇天 (two sections). (7) *Wujinjiao* 舞金蛟 (six sections).

In the above *pu* repertory, structural and musical similarities are found in three pieces: (1) *Sanmian Jinqianjing* 三面金钱经 [3-sections golden scripture] – *Santailing* 三台令, (2) *Wumian Jinqianjing* 五面金钱经 [5-sections golden scripture] – *Wuhuyou* 五湖游 and *Bamian Jinqianjing* 八面金钱经 [8-sections golden scripture] – *Bazhanwu* 八展舞. They all start identically, with the same prelude *Xijiang Yueyin* 西江月引 and the first section *shengping song* 升平颂 (or *Jinqianjing* 金钱经 [golden scripture]). Though religious titles are used in these three suites, the sub-titles of each section are programmatic and secular. If any two of these three pieces are played successively, the prelude is played once only with the first piece. The titles of these

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<sup>1</sup> Source: *Xianguan zhipu daquan* 2005b.

suites also imply their structure, e.g. three [*san*] sections in *Santailing*, five [*wu*] sections in *Wuhuyou* and eight [*ba*] sections in *Bazhanwu*; each section is written with one labelled melody.

3) C mode – *Wukong siche guan* 五空四仪管 or *Wuliu siche guan* 五六四仪管

The only suite in C is *Sibuying* 四不应 (eight sections), and the re-tuning of all *shangsiguan* instruments, except *dongxiao*, is required. As tuning would interrupt the progress of a recital, this piece together with *Sanbuhe* in *sikongguan* is only played during the regular gathering of the musicians.

4) D mode – *Beisiguan* 貝士管

*Yangguan sandie* 阳关三叠 (also called *Yangguanqu* 阳关曲) (eight sections) is the only suite in D.

## APPENDIX 3

### BILINGUAL (MANDARIN AND MINNANESE) NANYIN VOCAL PIECES

The following bilingual songs exemplify *Gunmenti* labelled melodies with northern influences. Such songs form only a small minority of the huge corpus of *nanyin* ballads.

1. ‘Hear the Wild Geese Howling Sadly’ (*Tingjian Yanshengbei* 听见雁声悲):

Labelled melody – *Yujiaozhi* 玉交枝. C mode, 4/4.

Story: Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 was being sent as a bride for a barbarian prince, and she was escorted by the soldiers. In this song, Wang lamented her fate in Minnanese and the soldiers sang in Mandarin trying to console her.

2. ‘Snow flakes’ (*E'maoxue* 鹅毛雪):

Labelled melody – *Guabei* 寡北. C mode, 4/4 – 1/4.

Story: Zheng Yuanhe 郑元和 met the beautiful lady entertainer Li Axian 李阿仙 in Hangzhou on his way to take an examination. After having spent all his money on Li's services in the bawdy house where she lived, he was booted out by the housemistress. He then sang this song on that snowy night. The whole song is sung in Mandarin.

3. ‘Informing the General’ (*Baigao Jiangjun* 拜告将军):

Labelled melody – *Fumalang* 福马郎. G mode, 4/4.

Story: The husband of Meng Jiangnü 孟姜女 was sent to build the Great Wall, and Meng went to look for him. She met the General and expressed her determination to find her husband. The General persuaded her to go home. In this ballad, Meng sings in Minnanese and the General sings Mandarin.

4. ‘Punishment’ (*Xingfa* 刑罚) – from opera *Lijingji*:

Labelled melody – *Duan chaodie* 短潮叠. D mode, 1/4.

Story: The maid Yichun was accused of assisting her lady Wuniang to elope with Chensan, and the judge threatened to punish her. The maid's vocal part is in Minnanese whilst the judge's is in Mandarin.

## APPENDIX 4

### MODEL PROGRAMMES OF *GUOZHI LIANCHANG* NANYIN PERFORMANCE

The tradition of *guozhi lianchang* [continuous singing recital] is discussed in Chapter 7.3.2. According to Ding Shibin, who authored *Introduction to Nanyin* (2009), there are five ways through which singers can pass songs from a tune family or mode to another in order to facilitate transitional singing in a formal recital (*guozhi lianchang*). The following model programmes exemplify the rules and conventions of the transitional (*guozhi*) processes in such a performance context and in accordance with the traditional recital sequence of *zhi*, *qu* and *pu* (instrumental-vocal-instrumental). These examples were chosen by me as a result of my field learning, and I showed my working draft to Ding Shibin and to Su Tongmou, editor of *Xian guan guo zhi guqu xuan ji* (2011), who confirmed its accuracy.

Each of the following model programmes is based on a *xiaozhi* 箫指 performance by an ensemble with *dongxiao* end-blown flute as the main melodic instrument. The supporting CD recordings of some of the transitional songs discussed here are interpretations by Su with his own *pipa* accompaniment (Scores 14-18; CD tracks 5-9).

#### 1. *Quanguo* 全过- Full transition

A formal *Guozhi lianchang* recital adopting a full transition (*quanguo*) performance model involves a complete transitional process linking all the selected pieces of the recital together within the restraints of the *guozhi* conventional framework. A full transitional process first starts with a piece in 8/2 meter and transits from a *qupai-ti* tune family (8/2 meter) to a *gunmen-ti* (4/2) tune family. The transition is then continued by linking songs from several tune families within the same mode and follows the slow-to-quick progression in the metrical marking of 8/2 – 4/2 – 4/4 – 2/4 to finally complete a full transitional process (see model 1 below). Assuming that C mode (*wukong siche guan*) is the designated mode for the recital, transitions between various tune families within the C mode are allowed. Following the recital sequence in this model, the *xiaozhi* ensemble starts the recital by playing the instrumental suite entitled *Yizhixiangsi* 一纸相思 from the *zhi* repertory. The melody of this piece borrows the pre-existing melodic elements of

*Chang Xiangsi* 长相思 in 8/2 meter from the category of *Dabei* 大倍 in C mode (see Classification of *Gunmen* Families in Appendix 1).

After the instrumental piece, the vocal section begins with a starting song (*qiqū* 起曲) by the *zhitou*. This song must be in 8/2 and with a slow introduction. In the model programme, a song in C mode is chosen from the *qu* repertory: *Fangqingzichang* 放情自畅, with the pre-existing melody *Shuidiyue* 水底月 of the same tune family, *Dabei*. If recital time allows and another song of the same meter is to be sung, it can be a piece without a slow introduction. After the 8/2 songs are sung, a transitional song (*guozhiqu*) is needed to facilitate the transition to the next song in 4/2 metre. Thus the song *Xing Feng Shi Chuntian* 幸逢是春天 (Score 14; CD track 5) is chosen. The beginning of this song features the tune of *Shuidiyue* (8/2), and the later part is the tune of another pre-existing melody *Chang Yujiaozhi* 长玉交枝 (4/2). This foretells that the next song *Ruanxiucai* 阮秀才 is of the same tune and meter. The number of transitions and songs performed in the recital are flexible as long as they are in the framework of the *guozhi* convention. It should be noted that when there is a slow introduction in the starting song, then the final vocal piece must have a slow ending to complement the vocal part of the recital.

In accordance with the traditional recital programme, the concluding piece is an instrumental piece from the *pu* repertory. It must be in the same mode as the piece played at the beginning of the recital by the *xiaozhi* ensemble. The traceable *pu* repertory has only one piece in C mode: *Sibuying* 四不应. To play it involves complicated tuning of instruments, so it is rarely played during the recital; instead, a suite in G mode is usually chosen since C and G modes are musically compatible. In this model programme, *Sishijing* 四时景, a suite of eight sections depicting the sceneries of four seasons, is chosen. Considering the recital's duration, the musicians will decide whether to play the whole suite or only some sections.

Model 1. *QUANGUO* 全过 PROCESS IN *GUOZHI LIANCHANG* PERFORMANCE

Sequence in Performance process	Mode	Meter	Musical source	<i>Qupai/gunmen</i>	Title of song
<b>ZHI</b> – <i>Xiaozhi</i> 箫指 ↓	<i>Wukong Siche guan</i> C	8/2	<i>Dabei</i> 大倍	<i>Chang Xiangsi</i> 长相思	<i>Yizhixiangsi</i> 一纸相思
<b>QU</b> – <i>Qiqu</i> 起曲 ↓	C	8/2	<i>Dabei</i>	<i>Shuidiyue</i> 水底月	<i>Fangqingzichang</i> 放情自畅 <sup>1</sup>
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (i) 过枝曲 ↓	C	8/2 – 4/2	<i>Dabei</i> –	<i>Chang Yujiaozhi</i> 长玉交枝	<i>Xing Feng Shi Chuntian</i> 幸逢是春天* <sup>2</sup>
<i>Qu</i> ↓	C	4/2	<i>Dabei</i>	<i>Chang Yujiaozhi</i>	<i>Ruanxiucaai</i> 阮秀才
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (ii) ↓	C	4/2 – 4/4	<i>Dabei</i> –	<i>Chang Yujiaozhi</i> – <i>Guabei</i> 寡北	<i>Tingjianjisheng</i> 听见鸡声
<i>Qu</i> ↓	C	4/4	<i>Dabei</i>	<i>Guabei</i>	<i>Wo Ming</i> 我命
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (iii) ↓	C	4/4	<i>Dabei</i> – <i>Xiaobei</i>	<i>Guabei</i> – <i>Wangyuanxeng</i> 望远行	<i>Yiluxenglai</i> 一路行来
<i>Qu</i> ↓	C	4/4	<i>Xiaobei</i>	<i>Wangyuanxeng</i>	<i>Shuzhongshuo</i> 书中说
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (iv) ↓	C	4/4	<i>Xiaobei</i> – <i>Dabei</i>	<i>Wangyuanxeng</i> – <i>Yujiaozhi</i> 玉交枝	<i>Yizhentianse</i> 一阵天色* <sup>3</sup>
<i>Qu</i> ↓	C	4/4	<i>Dabei</i>	<i>Yujiaozhi</i>	<i>Yanleichuguan</i> 掩泪出关
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (v) ↓	C	4/4	<i>Dabei</i> – <i>Xiaobei</i>	<i>Yujiaozhi</i> – <i>Jinqiangua</i> 金钱寡	<i>Gengshenlushuidi</i> 更深露水滴
<i>Qu</i> ↓	C	4/4	<i>Xiaobei</i>	<i>Jinqiangua</i>	<i>Chibishang</i> 赤壁上
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (vi) ↓	C	4/4	<i>Xiaobei</i> – <i>Dabei</i>	<i>Jinqiangua</i> – <i>Guadie</i> 寡叠	<i>Hendiedie</i> 恨爹爹

<sup>1</sup> The starting song in *quanguo* process must be one that starts with a slow introduction, such as this *Fangqingzichang*.

<sup>2</sup> Score 14; CD track 5.

<sup>3</sup> Score 15; CD track 6.

Sequence in Performance process	Mode	Meter	Musical source	<i>Qupai/gunmen</i>	Title of song
<i>Qu</i> ↓	C	4/4	<i>Dabei</i>	<i>Guadie</i>	<i>Zhongqiujie</i> 中秋节
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (vii) ↓	C	2/4	<i>Dabei</i>	<i>Guadie – Yujiaodie</i> 玉交叠	<i>Hengesao</i> 恨哥嫂* <sup>4</sup>
<i>Qu</i> ↓	C	2/4	<i>Dabei</i>	<i>Yujiaodie</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>Louluo</i> 喽啰
<b>PU – Zoupu</b> 奏谱	G	Whole suite or any section			<i>Sishijing</i> 四时景 <sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Score 16; CD track 7.

<sup>5</sup> The starting song *Fangqingzichang* has a slow introduction, thus this final vocal piece has to have a slow ending.

<sup>6</sup> The *pu* suite *Sishijing* in *Wukongguan* G mode is used to conclude the recital because *Wukongguan* is musically compatible with *Wukong Siche guan*.

## 2. *Banguo* 半过 – Half transition

*Banguo* refers to half-transition. The process of *banguo* is practised during a smaller-scale recital with fewer vocalists and/or with shorter performance time.

In a *banguo* process, the ensemble may start with a slow piece in 8/2 meter and the starting song may also be in 8/2, but this is a rare practice. The starting instrumental is usually in 4/2 because the first song chosen for a half-transition process is very often in 4/4 (*jinsanliao*); a 4/2 instrumental piece enables a smoother transition to a 4/4 song. The following model programme for *banguo* is in F mode (*Sikongguan*), and the first instrumental piece *Chunjinbofan* 春今卜返 with the pre-existing melody of *Changgun* 长滚 is in 4/2 (see model 2 below). At the beginning of the vocal section, a song *Lanxiutingzhen* 懒绣停针 with a slow introduction in 4/4 is chosen as a seamless continuation piece to the previous instrumental piece (4/2). In the category of F mode 4/4 meter, there are pre-existing melodies of *Zhonggun* 中滚, *Duangun* 短滚 and *Beiqingyang* 北青阳 from which songs can be chosen but must be linked up with a transitional song. The vocal section ends with a song *Quangao Niangniang* 劝告娘娘 of *Beiqingyang-die* 北青阳叠 which also has a slow ending. *Banguo* may begin with any tune family and in any metrical marking group, as it does not necessarily start with a slow piece (8/2) nor end with a faster song (2/4 meter, *diepai*). If the starting song is in 4/2, it is not necessary to choose one with a slow introduction, but if it is in 4/4, it must have a slow introduction. In the transitional process of a recital, if the first song has a slow beginning, then the final song must also have a slow ending. As one of the *guozhi* conventions, the concluding instrumental piece in this *banguo* process model entitled *Sanmian Jinqianjing* 三面金钱经 is also in F mode.

Model 2. *BANGUO* 半过 PROCESS IN *GUOZHI LIANCHANG* PERFORMANCE

Sequence in Performance process	Mode	Meter	Tune family	Pre-existing melody	Title of song
<i>ZHI</i> – <i>Xiaozhi</i> 箫指 ↓	<i>Sikongguan</i> F	4/2	<i>Gunmen-ti</i>	<i>Changgun</i> 长滚	<i>Chunjinbofan</i> 春今卜返 <sup>7</sup>
<i>QU</i> – <i>Qiqu</i> 起曲 ↓	F	4/4		<i>Zhonggun</i> 中滚	<i>Lanxiutingzhen</i> 懒绣停针 <sup>8</sup>
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (i) 过枝曲 ↓	F	4/4		<i>Zhonggun</i> – <i>Duangun</i> 短滚	<i>Xinneihuanxi</i> 心内欢喜
<i>Qu</i> ↓	F	4/4		<i>Duangun</i>	<i>E-maoxue</i> 鹅毛雪
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (ii) ↓	F	4/4		<i>Duangun</i> – <i>Beiqingyang</i> 北青阳	<i>Fengshengzhi</i> 奉圣旨
<i>Qu</i> ↓	F	4/4		<i>Beiqingyang</i>	<i>Tingdieshuo</i> 听爹说
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (iii) ↓	F	4/4 – 2/4		<i>Beiqingyang</i> – <i>Bei Qingyangdie</i> 北青阳叠	<i>Qiederuan</i> 切得阮* <sup>9</sup>
<i>Qu</i> ↓	F	4/2		<i>Bei Qingyangdie</i> <sup>10</sup>	<i>Quangao Niangniang</i> 劝告娘娘
<i>PU</i> – <i>Zoupu</i> 奏谱	F	Whole suite or any section			<i>Sanmian Jinqianjing</i> 三面金钱经

<sup>7</sup> Choose any section from 4/2 meter of the piece as it is too abrupt to link 8/2 with the 4/4 metre in the next song.

<sup>8</sup> This starting song must be a piece with a slow introduction.

<sup>9</sup> Score 17; CD track 8.

### 3. *Shijinguo* 什錦过 – Mixed transition

A song from any mode and tune family can be chosen as the starting song in a mixed transitional system (*Shijinguo*) but must be in a meter faster than 8/2. The starting and final songs must be of the same tune family; e.g. if the starting song has a *Jinban* 锦板 pre-existing melody, the ending song must also use *Jinban*. There is however an exception when a song of a different mode transits to D mode (*Beisiguan*); see model 3 below. If a song in D is sung, it implies that it is the final song in the recital because musically it is not compatible with the other modes. The model programme of *Shijinguo* suggested here offers a very flexible and interesting *guozhi* transition. The process involves alternate changes of meter: 4/2 – 4/4 – 4/2 – 4/4 – 4/2, and transitions between different modes: F – G – D. It ends with a song in D, therefore leaving no choice but to play the only D mode piece in the *pu* repertory, *Yangguansandie* 阳关三叠.

This *guozhi* model here defies the traditional convention of slow-to-quick meter progression: the final piece is not in *diepai* 2/4, and it does not end with a concluding instrumental piece in the same mode as the first ensemble piece.

Model 3. *SHIJINGUO* 什锦过 PROCESS IN *GUOZHI LIANCHANG* PERFORMANCE

Sequence in Performance process	Mode	Meter	Tune family	Pre-existing melody	Title of song
<i>ZHI</i> – <i>Xiaozhi</i> 箫指 ↓	Sikongguan F	4/2	<i>Gunmen-ti</i>	<i>Changgun</i> 长滚	<i>Chunjinbofan</i> 春今卜返 <sup>11</sup>
<i>QU</i> – <i>Qiqu</i> 起曲 ↓	F	4/4		<i>Zhonggun</i> 中滚	<i>Buliangxinyi</i> 不良心意
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (i) 过枝曲 ↓	F – G	4/4		<i>Zhonggun</i> – <i>Jinban</i> 锦板	<i>Jidangchu</i> 记当初
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/4		<i>Jinban</i>	<i>Xinzhongbeiyuan</i> 心中悲怨
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (ii) ↓	G	4/4 – 4/2		<i>Jinban</i> – <i>Xiangsiyin</i> 相思引	<i>Xinglaidaozhi</i> 行来到只
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/2		<i>Xiangsiyin</i>	<i>Wangmingyue</i> 望明月
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (iii) ↓	G	4/2 – 4/4		<i>Xiangsiyin</i> – <i>Jinban</i>	<i>Jideqianri</i> 记得前日
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/4		<i>Jinban</i>	<i>Telaibao</i> 特来报
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (iv) ↓	G - D	4/4 – 4/2		<i>Jinban</i> – <i>Chang chaoyangchun</i> 长潮阳春	<i>Xintousixiang</i> 心头思想* <sup>12</sup>
<i>Qu</i> ↓	D	4/2		<i>Chang chaoyangchun</i>	<i>Tingjiandujuan</i> 听见杜鹃
<i>PU</i> – <i>Zoupu</i> 奏谱	D	Whole suite or any section			<i>Yangguansandie</i> 阳关三叠

<sup>11</sup> Any section from 4/2 metre of the piece is chosen as it is too abrupt to link 8/2 metre with the next song in 4/4 metre.

<sup>12</sup> Score 18; CD track 9.

#### 4. *Siziyu* 四子遊 – Transitions between the ‘Group-of-four’

*Siziyu* 四子遊 literally means transitions between the ‘group-of-four (*Sizi* 四子)’ tune families (see Appendix 2). In G mode, the ‘group-of-four’ tune families (*sizi*) appear in 4/2, 4/4 and 2/4 respectively. The *Siziyu* process facilitates to link the tune families within the *Wukong Dasizi* in 4/2 only. In the 4/2 meter, the group consists of tune families entitled *Wukong Dasizi* 五空大四子 which comprises: 1) *Shataojin* 沙淘金, 2) *Beixiangsi* 北相思, 3) *Zhumaer* 竹马儿, and 4) *Dieyunbei* 叠韵悲. If performance time does not allow, it is not necessary to transit to all four tune families. The first ensemble piece in the *Siziyu* model programme below starts in 4/2, which suggests that a piece in 8/2 is not necessary in the *Siziyu* process (see model 4 below). Though the starting song has a slow introduction and the final song has a slow ending, these are optional.

Model 4. *SIZIYU* 四子遊 PROCESS IN *GUOZHI LIANCHANG* PERFORMANCE

Sequence in Performance process	Mode	Meter	Tune family	Pre-existing melody	Title of song
<i>ZHI</i> – <i>Xiaozhi</i> 箫指 ↓	<i>Wukongguan</i> G	4/2	<b><i>Gunmen-ti</i></b>	<i>Beixiangsi</i> 北相思	<i>Xiugeluowei</i> 绣阁罗帏
<i>QU</i> – <i>Qiqu</i> 起曲 ↓	G	4/2		<i>Beixiangsi</i>	<i>Zhanzhuansansi</i> 辗转三思 <sup>13</sup>
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (i) 过枝曲 ↓	G	4/2	<i>Beixiangsi</i> – <i>Dieyunbei</i> 叠韵悲		<i>Weizhuosange</i> 为着三哥
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/2		<i>Dieyunbei</i>	<i>Jianquan-a-niang</i> 嫺劝阿娘
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (ii) ↓	G	4/2	<i>Dieyunbei</i> – <i>Shataojin</i> 沙陶金		<i>Gengshenjijing</i> 更深静寂
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/2		<i>Shataojin</i>	<i>Xintouchoumen</i> 心头愁闷
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (iii) ↓	G	4/2	<i>Shataojin</i> – <i>Beixiangsi</i> 北相思		<i>Jidedangchu</i> 记得当初
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/2		<i>Beixiangsi</i>	<i>Lianyuanweisui</i> 良缘未遂
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (iv) ↓	G	4/2	<i>Beixiangsi</i> - <i>Shataojin</i> 沙陶金		<i>Zhuoshiwuyi</i> 拙是无意
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/2		<i>Shataojin</i>	<i>Xindaohuaqian</i> 行道花前
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (v) ↓	G	4/2	<i>Shataojin</i> – <i>Zhumaer</i> 竹马儿		<i>Jicongfenkai</i> 自从分开
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/2		<i>Zhumaer</i>	<i>Weisiqing</i> 为私情
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (vi) ↓	G	4/2	<i>Zhumaer</i> – <i>Dieyunbei</i> 叠韵悲		<i>Henyanshou</i> 恨延寿
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/2		<i>Dieyunbei</i>	<i>Bielihangong</i> 别离汉宫

<sup>13</sup> With slow introduction.

Sequence in Performance process	Mode	Meter	Tune family	Pre-existing melody	Title of song
<i>Guozhiqu</i> (vii) ↓	G	4/2	<i>Dieyunbei – Zhumaer</i> 竹马儿		<i>Ganxiexiaomei</i> 感谢小妹
<i>Qu</i> ↓	G	4/2		<i>Zhumaer</i>	<i>Gaoxiangong</i> 告相公 <sup>14</sup>
<b>PU</b> – <i>Zoupu</i> 奏谱	G	Whole suite or any section			<i>Meihuacao</i> 梅花操

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<sup>14</sup> With slow ending.

## 5. *Sizichuan* 四子串 – Free transitions

The *Sizichuan* system allows more flexibility and free order of transitions within the ‘group-of-four’ (*sizi*). It is compulsory that the piece from *zhi* suites played by the small shawm and/or end-blown flute must be from one of the *sizi* tune families. The choice of songs is very flexible and without any *guozhi* process; e.g. with the ‘group-of-four’ in G mode (*Wukong Dasizi*), if the first vocalist sings song with *Shataojin* labelled melody, the second one can continue with a song of *Zhumaer* melody and so forth without singing a *guozhiqu*. This free style is very similar to the practice nowadays except that in *sizichuan* all songs chosen must be within the *sizi* group.

### Summary

The recital scale, the performance duration and the number of participating vocalists are major issues determining the style of transitional process. *Quanguo* model was adopted in a formal and large-scale recital because it configures a complete transitional process. A formal recital lasts longer and thus provides ample time for such full transitions. *Banguo* is a traditional style for a smaller scale recital; the other three kinds of transitions, *shijinguo*, *siziyu*, and *sizichuan* provide interest and flexibility suitable for gatherings and rehearsals. The transition guideline suggests that transitions between different tune families is permitted but must be within the same mode, and tempo progression must be strictly followed. As for the concluding *pu*, the choice of the piece to conclude any style of *guozhi* recital must correspond with the mode of the first instrumental piece except in the *shijinguo* if the last song was in D mode.

## APPENDIX 5

### LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

(M = male; F = female)

**Cai Weibiao** 蔡维鏢 (b.1952; M) – *nanyin* master of Dongshi origin, currently director of Shishi City Shenghe Nanyueshe 石獅市声和南乐社.

**Cai Yayi** 蔡雅艺 (b.1980; F) – a Dongshi-born *nanyin* musician. She was recruited by Siong Leng Musical Association, Singapore as music instructor (2000-3), then continued her studies at Quanzhou Normal University. She went back to Singapore in 2008, where her last position was Artistic Director of Sheng Hong Arts Institute. She returned to Minnan in 2012 and is currently Director of the *nanyin* research centre of Xiamen University Arts Research Institute (Xiamen University Yishu Yanjiusuo).

**Cai Yixiang** 蔡宜相 (b.1925; M) – born of a very poor family in a village in Dongshi. A *nanyin* teacher discovered his musical talent and offered to teach him *nanyin*. As a teenager, he escaped from forced conscription in the mid-1940s and joined a *gaojiaxi* troupe as a performer. In the early 1950s, he worked on a merchandise ship and regularly visited Xiamen to further his *nanyin* practice with masters who worked for the *gaojiaxi* troupes. Cai is now an important member of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society and sings and plays for major ritual events.

**Cai Chunxiang** 蔡纯香 (b.1969; F) – an illiterate raised in a poor family, she became a successful businesswoman who runs her own apparel business in Dongshi. She joined Dongshizhen Nanyin Society and became one of the vocalists who represent the Society in performance.

**Cai Baixue** 蔡白雪 (b.1968; F) – an illiterate but financially independent, fashionable and successful businesswomen in the rural community of Dongshi; a vocalist with Dongshizhen Nanyin Society and an award-winner in open competitions.

**Cai Changping 蔡長平** (undisclosed; M) – principal of Qingyang Xiaocong Zhongxin Primary School, Jinjiang 青陽曉聰中心小学, where *nanyin* learning is compulsory.

**Cai Huadan 蔡华丹** (b.1984; F) – graduate of Quanzhou Normal University *nanyin* department, music teacher in Qiaosheng Secondary School, Dongshi 东石侨声中学, and an advocate of modernization of *nanyin*.

**Cai Huarong 蔡华容** (b.1989; F) – graduate of Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School and an award-winner in *nanyin* open competitions; currently an elementary school *nanyin* teacher in Jinjiang.

**Cai Changrong 蔡长荣** (b.1951; M) – respected director of Dongshizhen Nanyin Society, successfully running the Society since 1991 with humility and respect for equality.

**Chen Manying 陈曼迎** (b.1981; F) – elementary school music teacher and member vocalist of Shenhu Hujiang Yubin Nanyin Society; teaches *nanyin* in school and in the Society.

**Chen Hanqing 陈汉清** (b.1926; M) – a Buddhist layman in Shenhu. In the 1940s, Chen was a seaman and *dongxiao* player. He used to sail between Taiwan and Minnan and participate in cross-strait *nanyin* activities.

**Chen Yuxiu 陈玉秀** (1936-2013; F) – the first female *nanyin* student in history. She started studying *nanyin* at the government Quanzhoushi Nanyin Yanjiushe when it opened in the early 1950s and was officially allowed to perform in public. She was a vocalist and was always invited to be the judge in *nanyin* competitions.

**Chen Risheng 陈日升** (b.1943; M) – retired government official who held several posts in Quanzhou, including Deputy Director, Quanzhou Bureau of Culture (1987-97); also chairman of Quanzhoushi Nanyin Yishujia Xuehui 泉州市南音艺术家学会 (2004-) and Quanzhoushi Minzu Minjian Wenhua Baohu Gongzuo Yanjiuhui 泉州市民族民间文化保护工作研究会 (2004-). An advocate of preservation of local traditional arts, he helped push through the launching of *nanyin* teaching in elementary and secondary schools.

**Ding Shibin** 丁世彬 (1948-2013; M) – a Chendai master and a respected *nanyin* teacher. He was recruited to teach in Taiwan in 1995. He also taught *nanyin* in Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School and Quanzhou Normal University from 2003-11. He participated in the preparation work for *nanyin* to be considered as a Masterpiece of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

**Ding Shuilai** 丁水来 (b.1934; M) – a well-known veteran *nanyin* vocalist in Chendai and an enthusiast in cultivating children's *nanyin* learning.

**Gong Wenpeng** 龚文鹏 (1952-2011; M) – a *nanyin* master who devoted his whole life offering free *nanyin* teaching. Resident teacher of Shenhu Hujian Yubin Nanyinshe (1991-93). Established the Shishi City Youth Nanyin Training Centre 石狮市青少年南音培训中心 and was said to have transmitted *nanyin* to over a thousand pupils.

**He Xiubi** 何秀碧 (b.1942; F) – chairwoman of Shenhu Hujian Yubin Nanyinshe (2002-12) who contributed to the cultivation of the children's *nanyin* group in Shenhu.

**Lee Zhongrong** 李中荣 (b.1947; M) – a *nanyin pipa* player in Quanzhou. After migrating to Hong Kong in 1996, he joined Hong Kong Fukien Athletic Club as their core *pipa* player. He returned to Quanzhou in 2013 as deputy director of Licheng Quanzhou Nanyin Yanjiushe.

**Li Jiaqin** 李佳勤 (b.1994; F) – currently a 2<sup>nd</sup>-year *nanyin* student at Quanzhou Normal University.

**Shi Xinyi** 施信义 (b.1972; M) – retired instrumentalist of Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble.

**Su Shiyong** 苏诗咏 (b.1946; F) – a national-level ICH Representative Transmitter in Quanzhou. In the 1960s, Su was one of the students of the newly formed Quanzhou Minjian Yuetuan [Quanzhou Folk Music Ensemble] who were known to be experts in 8/2 repertoire. She taught *nanyin* in the Philippines from 1992 to 2005, then was recruited as a resident teacher of the Oriental Music Association in Jakarta (2005-12). She returned to Quanzhou in 2012 to teach at Quanzhou Normal University.

**Su Tongmou 苏统谋** (b.1939; M) – A Shenhui-born *nanyin* master; a retired director of Jinjiangshi Muou Jutuan [Jinjiang City String Puppet Troupe] (1978-99); former head of Jinjiang Regional Bureau of Culture (1988-99) and a designated national-level *nanyin* Representative Transmitter/heritage bearer; editor and compiler of all the *nanyin* publications in Jinjiang since 2005. Su is also the vice-chairman of Jinjiang Shi Nanyin Xiehui 晋江市南音協會 (Jinjiang City Nanyin Association), established in 1982 and the centre for organising all large-scale annual government *nanyin* activities in Jinjiang County.

**Wang Lizhen 王丽珍** (b.1944; F) – started learning new *nanyin* at age 22 during the Cultural Revolution. She worked in the Propagandist Unit of Quanzhou City Bureau of Culture and helped promulgate government policies with performances of *yangbanxi* [model revolutionary plays]. It was after migrating to Hong Kong in 1978 that she started singing traditional *nanyin*. Wang is now chairwoman of Hong Kong Jinjiang Clans Association.

**Wong Leina 王丽娜** (b.1957; F) – former member of Ji An Tang Nanyin Society, Xiamen and student of Ji Jingmu. She migrated to Hong Kong in 1981 and has since been an active core member of the *nanyin* section of Hong Kong Fukien Athletic Club.

**Wu Shaochuan 吴少传** (b.1953; M) – joined Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble in 2008 as its Head.

**Wu Wanpin 吴婉嫔** (b.1985; F) – graduated from Quanzhou Normal University *nanyin* department; *nanyin* vocal teacher in Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School.

**Wu Yanzhao 吴彦造** (b.1926; M) – a retired prolific award-winning *nanyin* composer. He was a composer for Jinjiang Gaojia operatic troupes from 1952 and a well-respected national-level *nanyin* heritage bearer.

**Xiao Peiling 萧培玲** (b.1966; F) – performer with Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble, specializing in *sanxian* and *sibao*.

**Xie Xiaoxue** 谢晓雪 (b.1970; F) – one of the first batch of graduates from Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School and a popular *nanyin* vocalist in Minnan. In the 1980s she became the first female to learn and perform *aizi*. In 1994 she migrated to the Philippines.

**Xie Qianhong** 谢千红 (undisclosed; F) – principal of Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School since 2013.

**Xu Runshen** 许润身 (b.1925; M) – veteran *nanyin* musician in Dongshi, and an expert *erxian* player.

**Zeng Jiayang** 曾家阳 (b.1963; M) – provincial-level ICH Representative Heritage Bearer/Transmitter; deputy director and principal *pipa* player, Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble. Currently teaching *pipa* in Quanzhou Normal University and Fujian Province Quanzhou Arts School.

**Zhang Yikun** 張貽坤 (1922-2009; M) – prominent virtuosic *nanyin* musician in Jinjiang, specializing in *aizi*.

**Zhou Yidian** 周贻典 (b.1941; M) – member of a *nanyin* family which was known for sustaining *nanyin* performance for four generations in Baisha, Dongshi.

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## SCORE 1

### *NIQU DUODUO* 你去多多

Fifth section of *zhi* suite *Zhaojian Wo* 照见我

Source: Field recording transcribed by the author based on *gongchequ* of *Xianguan zhipu daquan* (2005) and field recording.

SCORE 1

NIQU DUODUO  
你去多多

Qupai: Jinban

Fifth section of *zhi* suite *Zhaojian Wo*

♩ = 84

Transcription and scoring by Cloris Lim

The musical score consists of four systems, each with four staves. The instruments are Pipa, Sanxian, Dongxiao, and Erxian. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. Measure numbers 4, 7, and 10 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, trills (tr), and accents (w). The Dongxiao part features several trills and accents. The Erxian part has a 7-measure rest at the beginning of the second system. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

(8<sup>va</sup> = an octave lower)

10

Pipa 

Sanxian 

Dongxiao 

Erxian 

13

Pipa 

Sanxian 

Dongxiao 

Erxian 

16

Pipa 

Sanxian 

Dongxiao 

Erxian 

19

Pipa

Sanxian

Dongxiao

Erxian

22

Pipa

Sanxian

Dongxiao

Erxian

25

Pipa

Sanxian

Dongxiao

Erxian

28

Pipa

Sanxian

Dongxiao

Erxian

31

Pipa

Sanxian

Dongxiao

Erxian

34

Pipa

Sanxian

Dongxiao

Erxian

## SCORE 2

### **ZHI SUITE: *DUILINGHUA* 对菱花**

First section: *Duilinghua*

(A medley of tunes from twelve different labelled melodies)

Source: *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* (1979)

## DUILINGHUA

## 对菱花

## FIRST SECTION - DUILINGHUA

Wukongguan Beigong 五空管倍工

Qupai: Wushan Shierfeng 巫山十二峰

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

Qupai: 1. Yijiangfeng 一江风

16 (於) 对

2 (於) 菱 (於)

3 花 (於) 照 见 阮 只

4 形 (不 汝) 容

5 减 颊 腮 高 低 (於)

6 双 (不 汝) 目 (於)

7 塌 云

8 鬓 (於) (不 汝)

9 乱 (於)

10 脂 3. Jiuchuanzhu 九串珠

11 冷 (於) 淡

12 (不 汝) 泪 满 (於)

13 秋 江 (不 汝)

14 愁 锁 (於) 春 (不 汝)

15 山 (於) 瘦 減 阮

16 朱 颜 恰 (於) 似

17 4. Muyunjuan 暮云卷  
換 除 (於) 一 (於) (不 汝)

18 (於) 为 (不 汝)

19 人 谁 阮 亦 那

20 为

21 5. Daihuanzhuo 玳环着  
(於) 薄 (於) 情 (於)

22 冤 家 贼 冤 家 你 饶

23 幸 (於) 汉

24 6. Shuidiyue 水底月  
伊 今 别 处

25 迎 新



9. Baishaoyao 白芍药

37 (不 汝) 变

38 除 (不 汝) 面 反 做 一

39 亏 心 负

10. Shiliuhua 石榴花

40 义 汉

41 思 (於) 量 起 阮 骂 伊 勿 会 得

42 伊 听 卜 写 封 书 泪 滴 纸 淡

43 恶 写

11. Wujiezun 五节樽

44 今 但 (於)

45 得 小 心 强 写

46 几 句 寄 去 薄 情 人 (於)

47 知 说 阮 当 初 曾 发 海 山

12. Wujiqi 误佳期

48 盟 誓 割 恩 共

49 断 义 句 亦 未 (於)

50 成 (於) 说 阮 当 初 曾 发 海 山

51 盟 (於) 誓 割 恩 共

52 断 义 句 亦 未 (於)

53 成

## SCORE 3

***YINSONG GESAO*** 因送哥嫂

(Ballad from opera *Lijinji* 荔镜记)

Source: *Quanzhou nanyin jichu jiaocheng* (2009)

SCORE 3

# 因送哥嫂

1=C 4/4

短相思 五空管 紧三撩



思 - 六 工 六 一 似 一 思 思  
因 送 哥 嫂 於



一 六 一 六 一 似 一 思 工 六 六 思 思 六 工  
卜 去 广 南 城 才 到 潮 州 喜 遇



又 六 六 思 六 工 工 下 似 下 下 思 六 工 六  
上 元 灯 於 月 明 偶 然



一 似 一 思 思 工 似 一 思 六 六 十 似 一 似 一 思  
灯 下 遇 见 阿 娘 有 只 绝 群 娉 婷

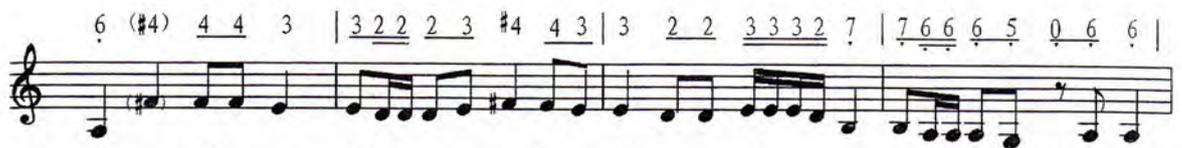


十 六 似 一 一 思 六 思 六 思 工 六 书 口 思 六 工 思 六 工 又 工 六 思 六 工  
见 恁 娇 姿 绝 色 女 於 即 会 惹 动 我 只 一 种 相





你掠荔枝投 落卜来共 我眼里偷情



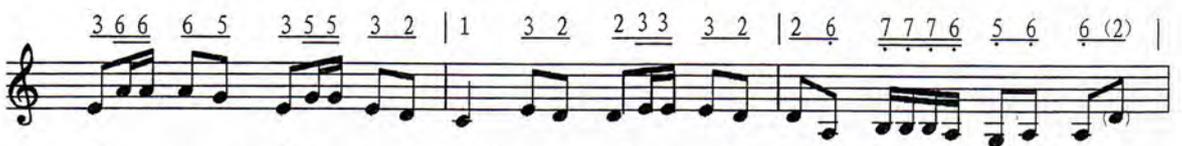
我估叫



估叫恁有真心 我即故意打破宝镜



愿甘心於捧盆水共恁扫厅堂 我一心望卜



共恁喜会荔枝姻盟



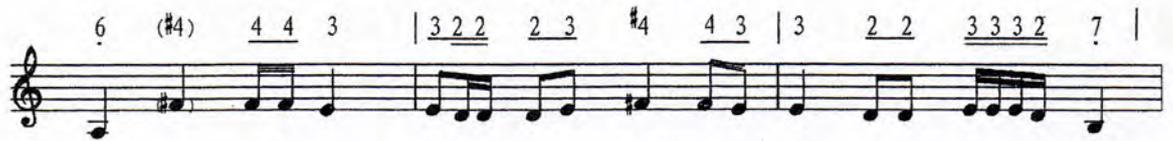
谁知今於旦说是错手於无



定 既然 那是 错手 罗帕 夙世



前 於 缘 都是 阿 娘 你 今 亲 手 绣 成



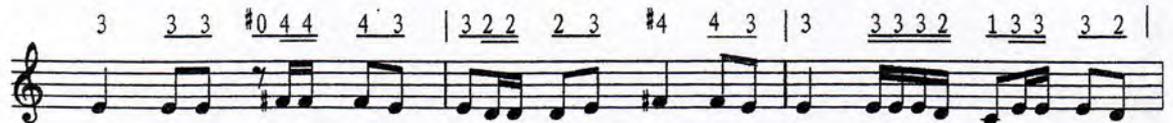
你 今 日



今 日 那 卜 亏 心 何 卜



骗 我 恁 厝 空 行 相 思



一 病 了 会 送 不 女 南 幽



## SCORE 4

### *MINHAI YU'GE* 闽海渔歌

Source: Undated handwritten score by Ji Jingmu provided by Ji Antang, Xiamen

## SCORE 4

## MINHAI YU'GE

## 闽海渔歌

First section: Chenxiyangfan 晨曦扬帆

Wukongguan 五空管

Composer: Ji Jingmu 纪经亩

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

Intro

5 10 5

5 5 15

20 Free tempo

25 30

35

40 45

50

55 60

65 70



Second section: Haishelinguang 海色鳞光



145 150

155 160

165

170 175

180

185 190

195 200

205

210

215 accel.

Third section: Manzaiguilai 滿載歸來

Musical score for the third section, 'Manzaiguilai' (滿載歸來), in G major. The score consists of ten staves of music, each starting with a measure number. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The staves are numbered as follows:

- Staff 1: Measures 220-225
- Staff 2: Measures 230-235
- Staff 3: Measures 240-245
- Staff 4: Measures 250-255
- Staff 5: Measures 260-265
- Staff 6: Measures 270-275
- Staff 7: Measures 280-285
- Staff 8: Measures 290-295

295 300

305

310 315

320

325 accel.

The image shows a musical score for five staves in G major. The first staff begins at measure 295 and ends at measure 300. The second staff begins at measure 305. The third staff begins at measure 310 and ends at measure 315. The fourth staff begins at measure 320. The fifth staff begins at measure 325 and includes the instruction 'accel.' followed by a fermata over the final note. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and repeat signs.







**SCORE 5**

***BAIHUA QIFANG* 百花齐放**

Source: *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* (1979)

## SCORE 5

BAIHUA QIFANG  
百花齐放

## (1) Chunfengpuoxiao 春风破晓

Wukongguan 五空管  
Jindie 紧叠Anonymous Quanzhou composers  
10 Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

Musical score for 'Chunfengpuoxiao' (春风破晓) in G major, 4/4 time. The score consists of six staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The music features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the lower register and a melodic line in the upper register. Measure numbers 20, 30, 40, 50, and 60 are indicated above the staves. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of the sixth staff.

## (2) Xuridongsheng 旭日东升

Musical score for 'Xuridongsheng' (旭日东升) in G major, 4/4 time. The score consists of five staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The music features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the lower register and a melodic line in the upper register. Measure numbers 80, 90, 100, 110, 120, 130, and 140 are indicated above the staves. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of the fifth staff.



(3) Qunfangdouyan 群芳斗艳



(4) Manyanchunse 满园春色



270 280

290

300

310

This section of the musical score consists of five staves of music in G major. The first staff starts at measure 270 and ends at 280. The second staff starts at 280 and ends at 290, featuring a series of eighth notes with accents. The third staff starts at 290 and ends at 300. The fourth staff starts at 300 and ends at 310. The fifth staff starts at 310 and ends with a double bar line.

(5) Baihuaqifang 百花齐放

320

330 340

350

360

370 380

390

400

This section of the musical score consists of ten staves of music in G major. The first staff starts at measure 320 and ends at 330. The second staff starts at 330 and ends at 340. The third staff starts at 340 and ends at 350. The fourth staff starts at 350 and ends at 360. The fifth staff starts at 360 and ends at 370. The sixth staff starts at 370 and ends at 380. The seventh staff starts at 380 and ends at 390. The eighth staff starts at 390 and ends at 400. The ninth staff starts at 400 and ends with a double bar line.



## SCORE 6

*WANG BEIJING GENSHIWO ZENGTIAN LILIANG*

望北京更使我增添力量

Source: Undated handwritten score from a private collection provided by an anonymous musician in Jinjiang.

## WANG BEIJING GENGSHIWO ZENGTIAN LILIANG

## 望北京更使我增添力量

《龙江颂》唱段

Excerpt from Longjiang Song

Composer: Yao Jiayan 姚加衍

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

Sikongguan 四空管

Free tempo



51



站堤上 想旱区心 馳

55 *rit.* *Fast*



神 往 恨 不 能 (啊) 恨 不

60 *rit. subito* *Moderato*



能 (啊) 九 万 亩

65



稻 谷 飘 香

69



堵 江 来 出 现 了 可 疑

73



迹 象 一 件 件 细 分 析 事 非

77



寻 常 黄 国 忠 怎 熟 悉

81



后 山 情 况 出 主 意 烧 柴 草 是

85



何 心 肠 今 夜 晚 合 龙 口 关 键 一

90 *Moderato* *rit.*



战 风 浪 要 征 服 暗 礁 尤 须 防 风 浪 要 征

98 *Animato* *molto rit.*

服 暗 礁 尤 须 防

106 *molto rit.* *accel.*

望 北 京 更 使 我 增 添 力 量

115 革 命 豪 情 盈 胸 膛 纵 然 有 千 难

124 万 险 来 阻 挡 为 革 命 挺 身 闯 心 如

133 铁 志 如 钢 心 如 铁 志 钢 定 叫 这

139 *secco*

巍 巍 大 坝 锁 住 龙 江

## SCORE 7

**YUANXIAO SHIWU** 元宵十五

(Ballad from opera *Lijinji* 荔镜记)

Source: *Quanzhou nanyin jichu jiaocheng* (2009)



2 2 3 2 2 3 3 2 1 | 2 6 6 6 1 6 (6) | 6 6 7 7 6 6(6) | 6 6 7 7 6 6 5 |

工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 下<sup>0</sup> 下<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup>  
手帕荔枝伊来阮厝

3 3 7 6 6 7 7 6 5 | 6 3 3 3 5 3 3 2 | 2 (5) 5 5 3 2 | 2 3 3 3 2 6 1 2 |

六<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 十<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 下<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup>  
为奴三年忍心不过

2 2 2 3 5 5 2 5 | 3 3 3 2 3 3 2 1 | 6 6 2 2 3 3 2 1 | 2 6 6 6 1 6 (6) |

十<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 下<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 下<sup>0</sup> 下<sup>0</sup>  
不女心忍那障不过即会共君私结连理

6 6 7 7 6 6(6) | 6 6 7 7 6 6 5 | 3 3 7 6 6 7 7 6 5 | 6 3 3 3 5 3 3 2 |

一<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup>  
恨煞林於大毒心行止

2 (5) 5 5 2 | 2 3 3 3 2 3 1 2 | 2 2 2 5 5 3 | 2 2 3 3 3 2 1 6 6 |

十<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 十<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 下<sup>0</sup>  
买嘱知州不女买嘱知州掠伊

2 2 3 2 2 3 3 2 1 | 2 1 6 (7) 7 6 6 6 7 | 6 5 6 5 3 3 2 3 | 3 6 6 6 5 6 3 5 |

工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 下<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 仅<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 工<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup> 一<sup>0</sup> 六<sup>0</sup> 思<sup>0</sup>  
发配崖州你掠阮双人拆散那障分开

5 6 6 5 3 5 | 3 (7) 7 6 6 6 7 | 6 5 6 5 3 3 2 3 | 3 6 6 6 5 6 3 5 |

<sup>0</sup>十 一 一 十 思 六 思 六 <sup>0</sup> 似 一 一 思 一 思 六 工 六 卩 一 一 思 一 六 思  
 做 二 边 你 掠 阮 双 人 拆 散 那 障 分 开

5 6 7 6 5 3 5 | 3 (3) 3 6 6 6 5 | 5 3 3 5 3 3 3 2 | 2 ||

<sup>0</sup>十 一 似 一 思 六 思 六 <sup>0</sup> 一 一 思 卩 六 思 六 工 卩  
 做 二 边

## SCORE 8

### *SILANGJUN* 祀郎君 Spring ritual music

*Pu*: First section: *Jinqianjing* 金钱经 of *Wucaojinqianjing* 五操金钱经 (also entitled *Wuhujou* 五湖游, or *Wumian* 五面)

Source: *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* (1979)

*Qu*: *Huatangcai jie* 画堂彩结

Source: *Nanqu xuanji*, vol.4 (1985)

*Pu*: Fifth section: *Xiaocaicha* 小采茶 of suite *Wucaojinqianjing*.

Source: *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* (1979)

SCORE 8

JINQIANJING  
金钱经

Mansanliao 慢三撩  
Sikongguan 四空管

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

1

3

5

7

9

11

13

15

17

19

# HUATANGCAIJIE

## 画堂彩结

Sikonguan 四空管

Qiliaopai 七撩

Erdiao Jixianbin 二调 集贤宾

Slow intro 慢头

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

1  
画 堂 彩 结 赛

蓬 (於) 莱 仙 翁 座 上 笑 颜

开 琴 弦 笙 箫

齐 唱 彩 愿 得 年 年 福 寿

康 金 杯

2  
寿 (不 汝) 酒 集 (於)

3  
贤 (於)

4  
宾

5  
南 极 老 人 在

6  
锦 堂

7  
颂 欢

8  
庆 (於) 王 母 晋

9  
仙 桃 尽 都 来

10  
祝 (於) 寿 (不 汝) 恭

11  
敬

12  
献 龟

13  
献 伏

14  
庆 祝 (不 汝)

15  
千

16  
秋

17  
实

18  
罕

19 得

20 鼓 乐

21 齐 整

22 唱 出 (不 汝)

23 道

24 情

25 真

26 富

27 贵 愿 得 福 寿 (於) 卜 同

28 彭 祖

29 乐 天

30

真

# WUMIAN 五面

Fifth section: Xiaocaicha 小采茶

Jinsanliao 紧三撩  
Sikongguan 四空管

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

5

9

13

17

21

## SCORE 9

### *SI LANGJUN* 祀郎君 Autumn ritual music

*Pu*: First section: *Niangxuezhengchun* 酿雪争春 of suite *Meihuacao* 梅花操

Source: *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* (1979)

*Qu*: *Jinlubaozhuan* 金炉宝篆.

Source: *Nanqu xuanji*, vol.4. *Fujiansheng yishuxuexiao nanyin jiaocai* (1985)

*Pu*: Eighth section: *Jixuefeihua* 急雪飞花 of suite *Sishijing* 四时景

Source: *Quanzhou zhipu daquan* (1979)

## MEIHUACAO

## 梅花操

## First Section: Niangxuezhengchun 酿雪争春

Mansanliao 慢三撩

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 3/4. It consists of 22 measures of music, organized into 11 staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and dynamic markings such as  $8^{va}$  (octave up). The piece is titled 'Mei Huacao' (梅花操) and the first section is 'Niangxuezhengchun' (酿雪争春). The tempo/mood is indicated as 'Mansanliao' (慢三撩).

24

26

28

30

32

# JINLUBAOZHUAN

## 金炉宝篆

Qupai: Jiangshuiling with slow intro 将水令带慢头

Wukongguan 五空管

Jinsanliao 紧三撩

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

1

金 炉 宝 篆 香

正 (不 汝) 香 银 台 上 红 烛 光 辉

齐 来 庆 (不 汝) 贺 喜 得 (於) 高 堂

富 (不 汝)

贵 福 寿 成 (於) 双 福 (於) 寿 高

堂

5

捧 金 杯 来 斟 寿 酒

10

诸 弟 子 都 来 祝 寿

愿 得 (於) 寿 山 福 海 添 寿

15

子 孙 犹 如 螽 斯 悠 久

V

20  
 后 裔 (於) 显 耀 荣 华 锦 綉

25  
 掠 只 琼 (於) 花 来 做 寿 酒

30  
 舞 斑 衣 舞 斑 衣 殷 勤 敬

酒 且 开 怀 且 怀

35 *rit.*  
 沉 醉 (於) 一 场 今 (於) 且 是 幸 逢 庆 寿 蟠 桃 佳 会 乐

(於) 如 是 愿 得 年 年 福 寿 再 得 加 添

# SISHIJING 四时景

## Eighth section: Jixuefeihua 急雪飞花

Jindie 紧叠

Wukongsicheguan 五空四义

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang



## SCORE 10

### **SANDIANJIU 三奠酒 funeral ritual music**

*Zhi: Yuxiaosheng 玉箫声* – First section of suite *Yuxiaosheng*

Source: Quanzhou *zhipu daquan* (1979)

*Qu: Sandianjiu 三奠酒*

Source: Handwritten score provided by Ding Shuilai, vocalist of Chendai

Minzu Nanyin Society

*Pu: Meihuacao 梅花操* (3<sup>rd</sup> section *Dianshuiliuixiang 点水流香*; 4<sup>th</sup> section

*Lianzhupoe 联珠破萼*; 5<sup>th</sup> section *Wanhuaajingfang 万花竟放*)

Source: Quanzhou *zhipu daquan* (1979)

## SCORE 10

## YUXIAOSHENG

## 玉箫声

Wukongguan 五空管

Qupai: Beigong Wuyuanmei 倍工 五圆美

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

(於) 玉 箫

声 和 因 也 会

吹 出 双 调

倍 (於) 旧 弦 虽 换 了

新 丝 想 你 俩 弹 俩 弹 得

到 尾

(不 汝) 伯 喈 坐

琴 堂 掠 父 母 共

妻 儿 不 顾

寻 亏 得 真 女 一 身 即

行 到

12 (不 汝) 只

13 玉 (於) 堂 身 富

14 贵 误 阮 青 春 虽

15 易 过 你 俩 通 误 除

16 爹 妈 有 只 八 十 老 年

17 岁 阮 生

18 在 深 闺

19 女 儿 阮 苦 苦

20 痛 痛 跋 涉 千 里 来 只 处 相

21 寻 (於)

22 真 情 付 流

23  
水

24  
恩 爱 趁 风

25  
吹 (於) 除 非 着 見 情

26  
人 (於) (不 汝) 面 掠 拙 旧 恨

27  
新 愁 从 头 共 伊 人 细

28 Main melody of *qupai Shengdiyu* in lower register

29 说 阮 抱 琵

30 琶 弹

31  
卜  
和 未 知 知 音 伊 人

32  
去 (不 汝) 值

33  
处 未 知 知 音 阮 知 心 情 人

34



去 (不 汝) 值

35



处

Detailed description: The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major (one sharp). The first staff, labeled '34', contains a melodic line with lyrics '去 (不 汝) 值'. There are two 'V' marks above the staff, one above the first measure and one above the eighth measure. The second staff, labeled '35', continues the melody with the lyric '处'. It features a 'V' mark above the fifth measure and ends with a double bar line.

# SANDIANJIU

## 三奠酒

Qupai: Shengdiyu 生地狱

Qiliaopai with Slow Intro 七撩慢头

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

16

举起金杯酒(於)满斟

再启再拜表(於)情衷

纪念生前

好(於)性德 今且

虔诚祭(於)酒筵

(於)初奠

2 V 酒献

3 V (於)先

4 tr V 人殷勤敬奉(不汝)

5 V V 来降

6 V V Main melody of *qupai* Shengdiyu in lower register

临(於)今且虔诚来

祭 酒 筵 悲 呼  
 痛 哭 (不 汝) 愁 双  
 眉 算 見 人 生 一 命 总 由  
 天 注  
 定 算 見 人 生 一 命 总 由  
 天 注  
 定 (於) 再 奠  
 酒 闷  
 (於) 悠  
 悠 掠 只 香 烟 (不 汝)  
 來 奉

18 V

祀 (於) 纪 念 生 前 是

19

好 性 德 春 秋

20 V

二 祀 (不 汝) 悲 欢

21 tr

合 爱 卜 相 见 除 非 着

22 V

南 柯 梦

23 V

里 (於) 三 奠

24

酒 苦

25 V

(於) 伤

26 V

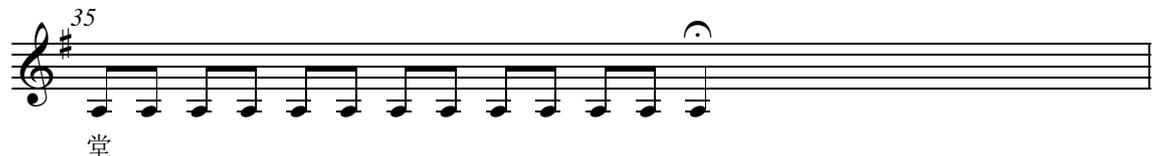
悲 说 着 起 来 目 淬 只 处

27 V

珠 泪

28 V

滴 (於) 生 死 一 般 是



40

夺 利 无 (於) 几 时

# MEIHUACAO

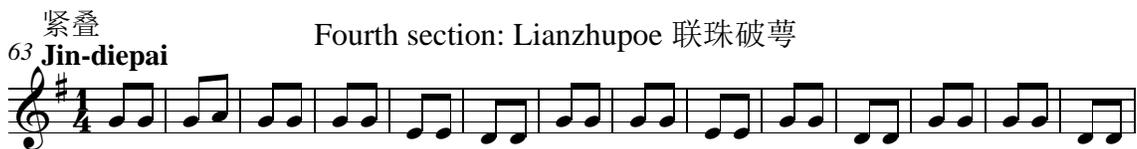
## 梅花操

Jinsanliao紧三撩 Third section: Dianshui liuxiang 点水流香

Wukongguan五空管

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang







**SCORE 11**

***QINYUANCHUN XUE* 沁园春.雪**

Source: Undated handwritten score by Ji Jingmu provided by Ji Antang, Xiamen

SCORE 11

QINYUANCHUN XUE

沁园春.雪

Composer: Ji Jingmu 作曲: 纪经亩

Lyric: Mao Zhedong 词: 毛泽东

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

Intro



北 国 风 光 千 里 冰 封



万 里 雪 飘 飘 望 长 城



内 外 惟 余 莽 莽



Interlude 1

大 河 上 下



顿 失 滔 滔 山 舞 银 蛇



原 驱 蜡 象 欲 与 天 公

Interlude 2



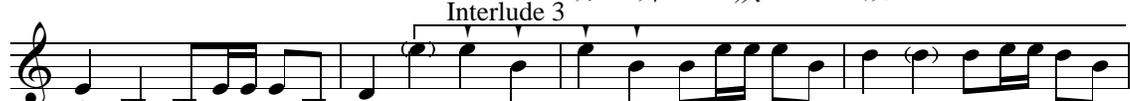
试 比 高



须 晴 日 看



红 装 素 裹 分 外 妖 娆



Interlude 3

38  
江山如此多娇引无数英雄竟折

43  
腰惜秦皇汉武

48  
略输文采唐宗宋祖

53  
稍逊风骚一代天骄成吉思汗只识

Postlude  
58  
弯弓射大鵬俱往矣数风流

61  
人物还看今朝



**SCORE 12**

***QIANJIALUOQI GUANXIANMING* 千家罗绮管弦鸣**

(Contemporary work with modified *nanyin* ensemble writing)

Source: Score provided by Quanzhou Nanyin Ensemble

SCORE 12

千家罗绮管弦鸣  
QIANJIA LUOQI GUANXIANMING

作曲 王丹红

♩=52

笛1

低音箫

碰铃

木鱼

南琶1

南琶2

小三弦

大阮

女声

男声

二弦1

二弦2

当年巧匠制茶亭,台馆映飞霞,都城万灶貔貅戈甲散,千家罗绮  
可节奏自由的演唱(吟唱的感觉)

柳腰舞罢 香 风 度

管 弦 鸣

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is for a traditional Chinese ensemble. It includes parts for Di 1 (Flute), Di 2 (Bass Flute), Pengling (Cymbals), Muyu (Woodfish), Nanpa 1 and 2 (South Guqin), Xiao Sanxian (Small Three-stringed Guqin), Daryan (Dapian), Female and Male Vocals, and Erxian 1 and 2 (Erhu). The tempo is marked as quarter note = 52. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The vocal parts have lyrics in Chinese. The male vocal part includes a section for '吟唱' (吟唱) with a note about '可节奏自由的演唱(吟唱的感觉)' (Free rhythm singing, feeling of recitation).

14

歌1

歌2

响盏

木鱼

南笛1

南笛2

小三弦

大阮

女声

男声

二弦1

二弦2

按照传统演奏法

3

花脸妆匀酒量生， 试问亭前花与柳 几番衰谢

几 番 荣

笛1 *p*

笛2 *pp* *pp*

响盏 *p*

木鱼

南篪1 *pp*

南篪2 *pp*

小三弦 *pp*

大阮 *pp*

女声  
当年 巧匠 制 茅 亭

男声  
台 馆 吹 飞 雁 郡 城

二弦1 *p* *p*

二弦2 *p* *p*

37  $\text{♩} = 63$

笛1 *p*

笛2 *p* 换普通笛

响盏

木鱼

南琶1 *p*

南琶2 *p*

小三弦 *p*

大阮 *p*

女声  
万 灶 貔 貅 戈 甲 散 下 家 罗 绮

男声  
管 弦 鸣

二弦1  $\text{♩} = 63$  *p*

二弦2 *p*

48  $\text{♩} = 72$

笛1

笛2

Flute

响盏

木鱼

*p*

南笛1

南笛2

小三弦

大阮

女声

花 脸 妆 匀 酒 伞 生

男声

柳 腰 舞 罢 香 风 度 试 问 亭 前

$\text{♩} = 72$

二弦1

二弦2

56

笙1

笙2

响盏

木鱼

南笛1

南笛2

小三弦

大阮

女声

男声

二弦1

二弦2

儿 番 衰 谢 儿 番 荣

花 与 柳

65

笛1 *f*

笛2 *f* 换低音谱 *p*

响盏 *f*

木鱼 *f*

南笙1 *f* *p*

南笙2 *p*

小三弦 *f* *p*

大阮 *f* *p*

女声 *f* 斤家罗 绮 千家罗 绮 管 弦 鸣

男声 *f* 斤家罗 绮 千家罗 绮 管 弦 鸣 儿

二弦1 *f*

二弦2 *f*

76

笛1

低音箫

唢笛

木鱼

南琶1

南琶2

小三弦

大阮

女声

男声

二弦1

二弦2

儿 番 衰 谢 儿 番 荣

番 衰 谢 儿 番 荣

**SCORE 13**

***ZHIRU HUAYUAN* 直入花园**

Source: *Quanzhou nanyin jichu jiaocheng* (2009)

SCORE 13

ZHIRU HUAYUAN

直入花园

1=F 2/4

翁姨叠 四空管 叠拍

(3) | 3 5 | 3 5 02 2 | 3 2 1 2 | 3 3 3 2 1 1 | 3 1 0 2 |

直入花园是花味香直入酒店都

6 1 2 3 | 1 6 1 (2) | 2 3 | 3 3 02 2 | 1 2 1 1 6 1 | 2 2 3 1 |

面於带红田蝶飞来都真於成阵尾蝶

2 3 01 1 | 2 1 6 6 | 1 1 (3) | 3 5 | 5 2 02 2 | 3 5 3 2 |

飞来都真成双冥阳岭上是好跳

3 3 2 | 1 2 03 3 | 1 3 01 1 | 2 3 2 1 | 1 6 1 (3) | 3 3 3 3 |

蹊阮今过只冥阳都心於欢喜掀开

2 3 02 2 | 3 2 1 1 6 1 | 2 2 3 2 | 1 2 2 2 3 3 | 1 3 01 1 | 2 1 6 6 |

罗巾都拭汗去不女走得阮头茹都髻又

1 1 (3) | 3 5 | 5 2 3 3 | 3 3 3 3 3 | 2 3 2 1 | 1 6 01 1 |

歌急急走来嘞嘞嘞嘞嘞嘞急急行走



思六 工六 思一 思六 六工 六、一、 仅六 口六 思一 一仅  
市上 共恁 说拙 分明 六角亭上 是六角



一六 思六 六六 口六 思六 工六 工六 义义 下六 思六 思一  
砖 六角亭下 都好 茶汤 六角亭上 六角石六角



六思 口六 工六 思一 六工 六、 仅六 一思 口思 六思 一思  
亭前 都好 於 蓼 叶 素馨不如 是茉莉



一六 工六 口六 思一 思六 六工 六、 一思 仅思 一  
香尾 蝶成阵 都采於 花丛 连啊 柳来 嘢



仅思 思一 一思 一思 六工 工六 思一 一思 六思 思六  
柳连 来 嘢 脚踏 草一个 脚踏 草 嘢 真个



工六 思一 六思 思一 思六 工六 思一 六工 六、 口  
好 勃 桃 嘢 阿 真个 都是 好 勃 桃

## SCORE 14 – 18

### *GUOZHILU* 过枝曲

**SCORE 14:** *Xing Feng Shi Chuntian* 幸逢是春天

Source: *Xianguan guqu xuanji* (2011)

**SCORE 15:** *Yizhentianse* 一阵天色

Source: *Xianguan guqu xuanji* (2011)

**SCORE 16:** *Hengesao* 恨哥嫂

Source: *Xianguan guqu xuanji* (2011)

**SCORE 17:** *Qiederuan* 切得阮

Source: *Xianguan guqu xuanji* (Vol. 6, 2010)

**SCORE 18:** *Xintousixiang* 心头思想

Source: *Xianguan guqu xuanji* (Vol. 2, 2007)

SCORE 14

XINGFENGSHICHUNTIAN

幸逢是春天

Dabeo Shuidiyue to Chang Yujiaozhi

大倍水底月过长玉交枝

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

3 幸 逢 (於) 是 春 天 见 许

4 千 (於) 紅 共 万 (於) 紫

6 (不 汝) 相 邀 (於)

7 行 (不 汝) 到 百 花

8 亭 上 (於) 好 景 (於)

9 致

10 暂 (於) 消 遣 些 情

12 意 莫 得 辜 负

14 (於) 障 般 样

16 春 (於) 天 咱 今 轻 (於) 移

18

(不 汝) 蹶 步 忽 然 一 阵

20

风 送 (不 汝) 香

22

味 栏

25

杆 外 尽 是 牡 丹 (於) 间 蓄 (於) 薇 真 可

29

吝 引 惹 黄 蜂 来 障 采 花 (於) 伊 都 不 离

33

一 对 尾 蝶 飞 来 同 宿 (不 汝) 花 枝 穿 花

37

身 采 花 心 看 (於) 起 来 是 实 (於) 生 意 看

41

你 (不 汝) 行 谊

45

共 许 薄 (於) 情 都 是 一 般 (不 汝) 情 意

49

贪 花 情 恋 故 掠 只 花 心 穿 采 采 了 掠 只

53



殘 花 (於) 弃 覓 过 别 枝 见 景

Detailed description: This is the first line of musical notation, starting at measure 53. It features a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes, with a fermata over the note '於'. A 'V' mark is placed above the first measure. The lyrics are: 殘 花 (於) 弃 覓 过 别 枝 见 景.

57



伤 情 我 越 自 恨 伊 对 景 伤 情 我 今

Detailed description: This is the second line of musical notation, starting at measure 57. It continues the melody with eighth and quarter notes. The lyrics are: 伤 情 我 越 自 恨 伊 对 景 伤 情 我 今.

61



越 自 只 处 恨 着 伊

Detailed description: This is the third line of musical notation, starting at measure 61. It includes a double bar line with a repeat sign and a key signature change to two flats. The melody continues with eighth and quarter notes. The lyrics are: 越 自 只 处 恨 着 伊.

63



Detailed description: This is the fourth line of musical notation, starting at measure 63. It continues the melody with eighth and quarter notes, ending with a double bar line. There are no lyrics for this line.

SCORE 15

YIZHENTIANSE  
一阵天色

Wangyuanxen 望远行 to Yujiaozhi 玉交枝

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

6 一阵天色 望面做鸟 雷声

10 霹雳 (不汝) 雷声 霹雳 (於) 风来雨就

14 到 衣裳沃耽 无处通逃

18 避走到走到 只山

22 边 恐畏歹人 (於)

26 来相牵缠须着紧行莫得延

29 迟须着紧行莫得延

迟

SCORE 16

HENGESAO

恨哥嫂

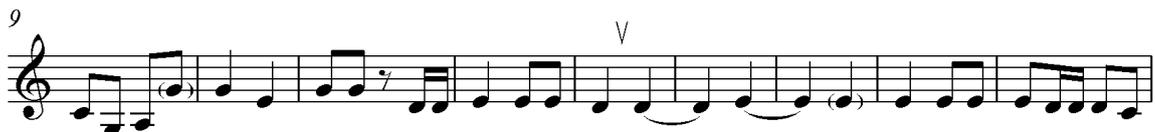
Guadie to Yujiaodie

寡叠过玉交叠

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang



恨哥嫂毒心意迫我看羊来到



只羊今失落来寻不见



想我一命是难脱离想我性命会归阴司想我



性命会归阴司

SCORE 17

QIEDERUAN  
切得阮

Beiqingyang to Beidie 北青阳过北叠

Sikongguan 四空管

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

6 切

11 切 得 阮 泪 淋 滴

15 想 着 起

19 来 红 颜 薄 命

24 劝 娘 娘

32 莫 得 伤 心 珠 泪 滴

39 千 方 百 计 着 将 延 寿 斩 除 千 希

万 (於) 望 着 将 延 寿 泉 尸 (不 汝)

## SCORE 18

## XINTOUSIXIANG

## 心头思想

Jinban to Chang Chaoyangchun 锦板过长潮阳春

Wukongguan to Beisiguan 五空管转倍思管

Transnotated by Zeng Jiayang

心 头 思 想

6

10 (不 汝) 心 头 (於) 思 想

15 忆 着 伊 从 君

20 去 后 并 无 封 书

24 (於) 寄 返 亏 得 阮

28 (於) 那 亏 阮 独 守 (於) 孤

32 帏 阮 一 身

35 恰 亲 像 许 天 边 雁 孤 单 (於) 无

37 伴 全 望

39 阴 公 相 保 庇

(不 汝) 保 庇 我 君 早 (於) 相

41  
见 除 非 见 我 君

43  
面 亲 像 缺 月 再 (於) 团

45  
圆 免 阮 暝 日

48  
(不汝) 只 处 思 想 十 (於) 二 时 免 得 阮 暝

52  
日 (不汝) 只 处 思 想 得 相

55  
见

