

**TRANSLATION OF AESTHETICS: LOCAL PERFORMANCES
IN COLONIAL TAIWAN, 1895-1945**

A Dissertation

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This dissertation examines “the multitude” and “the local” in Jingju and Gezaixi in Colonial Taiwan, looking into the way in which how local performances of such transcend colonially political boundaries, colonized intellectuals’ imagination of people, and identity politics embedded in the Xiqu epistemology. By analyzing the transformation of “the theatrical” from the colonial period to the postwar period, the dissertation also argues that cultural materiality matters in looking at aesthetics, and asserts that aesthetical imagination derives from epistemological discourse.

The Xiqu epistemology is formed in racialization in relation to imperialism and colonialism. This is to say that colonial modernity “creates” traditional drama by distinguishing from modern drama. The dissertation begins with critiquing colonial modernity by locating xiqu performances in the regime of cultural translation, and suggests an episteme and political imagination that are not subject to colonial modernity by looking into Baizixi and Gezaixi. It follows to analyze the way in which local performances transcend the limits of ethnicity and language by discussing the relationship between Jingju and Taiwanese islanders. The dissertation argues that two concepts of ethnic performance and local identity emerge along with nationalist discourse that reacts against yet paradoxically

reproduces the colonialist-modern episteme by examining the transformation of Jingju in the postwar Taiwan. I conclude the dissertation with questioning the imagination of subjectivity of Taiwanese culture that come into being in the formation of colonial modernity by investigating the Reformed drama of Gezaixi in relation to national realism in the wartime period.

The dissertation challenges colonial modernity that functions as an epistemology that is at the same time colonial and anti-colonial, imperial and national. By redefining xiqu as local performances that do beyond national/racial/ethnic identity, I map out a picture of the discursive relation between nation and aesthetics, history and knowledge, and performance and ethical-politics since 1895 when Taiwan is incorporated in the modern structure of the global.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Chun-Yen Wang was born in Taipei, Taiwan in 1976. He received a B.A. degree in Chinese literature in 1999 and a M.A. degree in Drama and Theatre in 2004 both from National Taiwan University. He was a recipient of J. William Fulbright Scholarship and Taiwan Merit Scholarship in 2005. Before entering Cornell University in 2008, he studied Critical Studies in performance at University of California, Los Angeles. His chosen fields of study within theater and performance were Critical Theory, Post-colonialism and Transnationalism. Chun-Yen earned his Ph.D. in Theater Arts in May of 2012.

For my mother, Hui-Yuan Huang

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Chapter 1

How Local Performances Become Xiqu? :The Epistemological and the Translational

*Theirs is not in fact a transcendent identity. It is rather one which is shown to have been empirically constructed by external social determinants and which is now being defiantly re-defined through a dialectical discursive interaction with us as interlocutors. ---Robert Crawshaw, Translating the In-Between*¹

In the 1989 Venice Film Festival Golden Lion Winner “A City of Sadness” directed by Hou Hsiao-Hsien, an episode depicts the dumb male protagonist Wen-Ching, who remembers Xiqu performances (戲曲 aka. Chinese music drama or Chinese opera) in his childhood. He writes:

*There was sound when I was eight.
I remembered the sound of sheep, and the voice of female characters in Xiqu.
I loved imitating her gestures.
My tutor reproached, Saying I would become an actor.*²

The time that Wen-Ching remembers is a period under Japanese colonization before the Second Sino-Japanese War begins in 1937. It is a period that historians name the “Doka” period, which began around the middle of the 1910s and ended in the year when the Second Sino-Japanese War erupted and the Kominka Movement was launched. Before he is eight years old, Wen-Ching can hear. He has an experience of listening to and watching a Xiqu performance. He imitates and

¹ Robert Crawshaw, "Translating the in-Between: Suandi's "the Story of M" or Reflections on Sociological Approaches to Literary Analysis," *Translating society: A Commentator's Conference* (University of Konstanz: 2009), vol.

² 「八歲時有聲音/我記得羊叫/子弟戲旦角唱腔/喜學其身段/私塾先生罵我/將來是戲子」 Xiaoxian Hou, Nianzhen Wu, Tianwen Zhu, Dengkui Yang, Tianlu Li, Songyong Chen, Jie Gao, Tony Chiu Wai Leung, Shufen Xin, Yifang Wu, si Nian dai ying shi shi ye gu fen you xian gong and she Hou Xiaoxian dian ying, *Bei Qing Cheng Shi a City of Sadness, Nian dai ying shi shi ye gu fen you xian gong si*, Taipei Shi.

learns from it. The period in which Xiqu performances are popular among native islanders of Chinese ancestry (“hont ōjin” in Japanese, “bendaoren” 本島人 in Chinese,³ “the islanders” hereafter) is one of the major research focal periods in this dissertation.

1.1 Colonial Politics and the Islanders

Before the war breaks out, Taiwan has been under Japanese colonization for forty two years since 1895 when the Qing Empire is defeated by Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War. In 1937, Taiwan enters the stage in which colonization intertwined with war affairs. Scholars of history have named this time “the Kominka period.” The Komin literally means “royal citizens.” The Komina-ka is a process as well as a way by which the colonizer Japanese attempts to transform the colonized Taiwanese into royal citizens of the Japanese nation/empire. It consists of a set of political acts and orders, in which aspects of the educational, cultural, juridical, and social institutional, etc. were included. By this set of transformations, the islanders are expected to be turned into Japanese. In other words, Kominka’s explicit goal is to make the islanders become Japanese. The explosion of the war changes the fundamental ruling policy of Japanese over the colony Taiwan. Before the war, Taiwan used to serve as a colony that supports metro Japan economically by exporting goods and resource. After the war erupts, besides financial support, the colonized islanders are expected to preserve their lives and devote their bodies to the colonizer.

³ Islander inhabitants are later generally called “Taiwanese” after Taiwan is restored under the Chinese sovereignty with the end of the Second World War in 1945. “Islander inhabitants” are contrasted to residents with “Japanese ethnicity,” who are usually called “naichijin” in Japanese or “neidiren” 內地人 in Chinese.

The change of the governing is a discursive transformation of the body. In order to make the governance succeed, the colonizer however needs to start to change the mind of the colonized. The Japanese cuts off long-lasting relationships and connections between colony Taiwan and its “fatherland” China in concern of the way in which the islanders would go hand in hand in the war with Chinese, who share the same historical legacy and the same racial identity (同文同種) with the Taiwanese islanders. In an attempt to Japanize as well as modernize the islanders, anything associated with “Chinese” tradition is forbidden. Xiqu performances thus become a target under this colonial and wartime policy. With regard to warfare, culture and society need to be well controlled by the state. Royal citizens need to be cultivated with modern knowledge towards embracing a Japanese national identity. In the violently survival race of war, particularly in colonies, any everyday-life activity is expected to show loyalty to the nation and is harshly and severely examined by the state. A daily behavior that used to be normal can be seriously seen as being disloyal to the nation in the wartime. For example, Xiqu performances, which were once permitted to be performed, are treated as a cultural and traditional tie with China, the enemy of Japan during the war. They hence need to be banned. The Japanese empire is eager to cut off any connection between Taiwan and China because China is understood by the Japanese to be the only country that was able to remain at least partially sovereign during its transformation into a republican nation-state after extensive imperial and colonial threats developing from the mid-19th century onward. China not only exists in the memory of the islanders, but now functions as a living and developing nation state that used to own the Japanese colony Taiwan. In this view, all memories about China need to be erased, converted, or say, transformed. Islander’s cultural legacies

that link back prior to Japanese colonization thus become “inter/nationalized” as “Chinese tradition” and need to be cleansed.

The Kominka policy needs to be understood as a part of mobilization in Japan’s total war. It is also an actualization of modernization, nationalization, and severe racialization. To have citizens serve the nation in the war, the state apparatus infiltrated every detail of everyday life. For the islanders, who are not Japanese by nature, a consciousness of their incomplete-national identity is reminded and intensified in everyday performance/behavior. For the colonial regime, the masses of the islanders who used to be seen as the mob or waiting-to-be enlightened people- now need to be transformed with an added sense of urgency into qualified citizens of Japan and the nation’s royal subjects. That is to say, the masses of the islanders are actually not qualified citizens of the Japanese empire before the war starts. Ironically, the islanders are able to enjoy “their tradition and culture,” for example Xiqu performances are very popular in the 1920s and the early 1930s, because of the “incomplete” political identity of the islanders. In other words, the islanders are under colonization yet not completely nationalized and “modernized” in the sense of colonial modernity. This process of nationalized modernity begins in full force only under the Kominka policy of the Japanese empire.

This dissertation looks into Xiqu performances in the Doka period of Taiwan and investigates the way in which Xiqu performances transcend colonial modernity inherent in colonial regimes.

1.2 Dramas in Colonial Taiwan

Various Xiqu performances, in which audiences participate in the dramatic action, and can be charted from the beginning of the twentieth century in colonial Taiwan, provide abundant archives and repertoires regarding the critical re-examination of the masses in relation to the concept of colonial modernity. A variety of theatre genres and performances are popular in Taiwan under Japanese occupation until the burst of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Nanguanxi (南管戲) based on the Chuan-zhou language (泉州話) and Benguanxi (北管戲) on Luantan (亂彈) music had long existed since Qing dynasty rule; Gaojiayi (高甲戲) and Sipingxi (四平戲) are derivatives of mixed different genres in the Yue language (粵語); Gezaixi (歌仔戲) and Kejiayi (客家戲), which do not appear until the 1920s, are new genres. In the same period, Jingju (aka “Peking opera,” 京劇), which crossed the Taiwan Strait from Shanghai (上海) and Fuzhou (福州) also win the islanders’ attention. These Xiqu forms performed in many languages with various styles are documented in the newspaper and intellectuals’ diaries of the time. According to archives of theatre and performance in the colonial period, these performance genres include: Baizi (白字), Jiujia (九甲), Siping (四平), and Nantan (難單) in 1915. Gexi (歌仔) is added to the previous four in 1921. Different categorizations regarding performance genres also include “Darenxi (大人戲),” “Chamoxi (查某戲),” “Nanzixi (囡仔戲),” “Zidixi (子弟戲),” “Caichaxi (採茶戲),” “Cheguxi (車鼓戲),” etc. In 1928, there become eight kinds of major performance genres, including “Zhenyingxi (正音戲),” “Sipongxi (四

棚),”“Luantanxi (亂彈),”“Jiujiaxi (九甲),”“Baizixi (白字戲),”“Gezaixi (歌仔戲),”“Budaixi (布袋戲),”“Kuileixi (傀儡).”

How do we understand these various Xiqu performances in the colonial period in relation to the islanders? How do we interpret the difference in categorization attributed to the various Xiqu performances? Who are the audiences of these performances? Are the performances ethnic? Do languages decide audiences? How do the audiences provide a way to understand colonial politics as well as beyond? How can the performances expose important relationships which exist between colonialism and nationalism?

I look into these questions by theorizing three important themes in relation to my study of Xiqu performances in colonial Taiwan. First, the performance’s collective politics of the masses, which I later call “the multitude” in differentiation from conventional reading of folk, the masses, people, or citizen; Second, an epistemological revisit of the concept regarding the relationship between aesthetics and the nation state by redefining “the local/difangxing” in the relationships between ethnicity, language, and performance; Third, “theatricality” in a critical examination of cultural materialism as well as an attempt at the historicization of theatricality., Finally, I will come to terms with the body imagination of colonial modernity in national realism and the post-colonial subject formation in multiculturalist Taiwan. The dissertation is an attempt in response to colonial modernity as a regime of the episteme in both sides of the colonial/imperial and the postcolonial/national. By (re)articulating “the multitude,” “the local,” and “the theatrical,” the dissertation argues that the Xiqu performances challenge the

political concept of “people and citizen” of modern politics in relation to the nation state, expose the epistemological conspiracy between the ethno nation-state and racial aesthetics, and act beyond “the regime of translation,” a critical concept shed light by Naoki Sakai in criticizing cultural politics of (inter-)nationality.⁴

1.3 Art and Modernity: Nation-State

Before going into the three focuses of this dissertation, I want to examine the discursive formation of the modern concept of art by looking into the understanding of “humanity” in the age of Enlightenment, in which the position of the humankind in relation to God is reevaluated. It is mostly stated that the human being becomes the center which determinates how to perceive and experience the world, thus defining the Value after the Enlightenment. To put it simply, the human being, replacing God, is the subject of the universe thenceforth. In this section, I draw attention to the sense of Art in the Enlightenment, thinking about the way in which this sense attributes to a modern understanding of Art, that is, aesthetics, with both the emergences of individualism and universalism. I will then discuss the theoretical relationships between the nation-state, universalism, and particularism. By pointing out the significance of “communication” that plays an important role in the modern concept of Art, I argue that theatrical art was a carrier of imagined communities, which is the theoretical prototype of the nation-state. With this engagement between theatrical art and nation, I then focus on China and Taiwan under imperialist invasion beginning in the 19th century, delving into the capability of communication of the modern art, which turned out to be an

⁴ Naoki Sakai, "Translation," *Theory, Culture & Society* 23.71 (2006).

enforcing aesthetics in working with the nation-state. In this regard, I contend, on the one hand, that a collective imagination on the nation and the people, as I call it “an universal particularism,” dominates the interpretation of theatrical art since the 19th century; on the other hand, interpretations against the state control over theatrical art claim that art has its universality, according to which “a particular universalism” is in formation with reference to the Enlightenment. The ghosts of the age of the Enlightenment, in this regard, seem to keep hunting around in the national theatre.

“If you have to paint a flower, and it’s all the same to you which one to paint, take the most beautiful among the flowers; if you have to paint a tree and your subject does not require it to be an oak or an elm that is withered, broken, blasted, pruned, select the most beautiful tree; if you have to paint a natural object and you are indifferent about which to choose, take the most beautiful.”⁵

Above is quoted from Denis Diderot, an Enlightenment thinker, about his description on beauty and perception. In the paragraph, we see the way in which the painter is the subject, as an active observer, who perceives, experiences, and judges the beauty. The painter’s eyes, thus his mind, determinate what parts of natural objects that form the beauty. This understanding of the beauty, which later becomes the modern concept of Art, has a huge distinction from that of the convention that believes in art mimesis. Immanuel Kant, another Enlightenment thinker, also indicates a similar point of view by the concept of “the sublime,” in which he distinguishes between the remarkable differences from the Beautiful.⁶

⁵ Paul Mattick, *Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics and the Reconstruction of Art* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 243.

⁶ Kant notes that “the aesthetic judgment is not only related as a judgment of taste to the beautiful, but also as springing from a spiritual feeling is related to the sublime; and thus the Critique of the aesthetic Judgment must be

That is to say, the intervention of the human being crucially matters in evaluating art. To put it simply, the interpretation and appreciation of art now can be named as “aesthetics” in which values and meanings are generated by the involving human. Art becomes a mediation, which communicates between observers and observed, and reflects human activities. These human activities, to a great extent, are based upon Reason as intelligibility. In other words, the “pure,” “objective” beautiful now relies upon and is central to the knowledge of subjective, intelligible experiences. This knowledge emphasizes the capability of the human being. As Anne Becq states, “an essential and characteristic theme of the Enlightenment from the 1740s on, the unifying principle tends to be located in expression, in the manifestation of thought, an invisible act by which the unity of the subject is produced and manifested.”⁷ Put differently, this creativity of subjective knowledge experience develops with the sense of human beings as the Subject.

Individuality is thus stemmed from this concept of subjectivity in art perception, for each independent subject is given with the artistic creativity as well as the capability of perceiving art. This fundamental belief in the subjectivity of the human being is the premise of another significant proposition of the Enlightenment: seeking to base universally valid rules on the analysis of human nature. Kant believes that Common sense is instinct in all the human beings. Common sense is given to everyone, therefore leading to a belief in universal validity. In this regard, the enlightenment individual is born in concern with universality. Art serves as a means of communication among human beings in

divided into two corresponding sections.”I. Kant. "Critique of Judgment. 1790." Trans.Werner S.Pluhar.Indianapolis: Hackett (1987): 6-7. Print.

⁷ Mattick, *Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics and the Reconstruction of Art* 246.

intelligible activities. This concept of art is in formation on the basis of a fundamental belief in human reason of individuals on the one hand and on the basis of a validity of communicability among human beings on the other.

How do we then look at the nation-state in relation to the individualistic-cum-universalistic modern concept of art? The birth of the nation-state has to do with competitions and distributions, particularly in/of capital, among countries internationally; as a result, nations on the one hand differentiate one another with an emphasis of particularity, while, on the other, consolidating domestically with that of universality. With reference to the way in which B. Anderson understands the nation-states that are based on the development of print-capitalism, theatrical art, in which audiences are accommodated and stories are told publicly, seems to be qualified to serve as a carrier of imagined communities. The capability of communication in theatrical art helps develop theatre as an important space in which imagination can be shaped. That is to say, every Enlightenment subject is able to appreciate performances individually while exchanging and communicating each other in the humanistic activities of theatrical art. Here, maybe I should look into the relationship between the nation-state and theatrical art in two correlated aspects of nation and state in function respectively.

First, the state. Giorgio Agamben has a clear description on the communicability in relation to the modern state. He argues that, in the modern politics, individuals communicate with each other through the state by two means of citizenship inwards and sovereignty outwards.⁸ That is to say, the state is the

⁸ G Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics* (Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2000) 58-9, 96-7.

dominant mediator of modern human activities. In the modern state, “politics is the exhibition of a mediality: it is the act of making a means visible as such. Politics is the sphere neither of an end in itself nor of means subordinated to an end; rather, it is the sphere of a pure mediality without end intended as the field of human action and of human thought.”⁹ In this regard, theatrical art meets the modern state’s need for communication.

Second, the nation. Theatrical art carries more possibilities as well as responsibilities as a space in which to develop and communicate imagination when the nation is in the tendency of being built upon an imagination toward the sameness of race or ethnicity in an imagined people. This kind of collective imagination intensifies more strongly, particularly in the framework of a bourgeois nation. The imagination of nationality is itself a surrogation of universalism. It is the claim for universalism on which a homogeneous imagination toward a nation can be justified by universalizing all kinds of varieties and uncategorized possibilities. This homogeneous imagination in the nation seeks for assistances from tradition: an invention of tradition as Hobsbawm proposes. (Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger ed.) This invention of tradition operates in the name of “Culture.”

It is worth noting here that the formation of the market also has to do with the birth of the nation-state. Art cannot avoid the important factor of the market. The way in which the image of consumers is getting clearer more or less influences the development of art. In the market, the inter-exchangeability of art, as capital,

⁹ Agamben, Means without End: Notes on Politics 116-7.

forces artistic production to be finalized by exchange. Theatrical art is no exception. It is the market that decides the life of staged performances. In considering that the nation-state plays not only a role of sovereignty but also is itself a huge market of art, theatrical art in line with the construction of nationhood emerges when citizens are in fact consumers. That is to say, a seemingly subjective aesthetics of art actually evolves under the gaze of the capital and the collective.

In this regard, theatrical art can no longer be a pure imitation or representation, but an aesthetical human activity. This human activity is actualized on the desire for communication and on the value of capital exchange. Seen in this vein, it is then imaginable how a phenomenon of the collective may emerge. In other words, both a universality of art that is concerned with subjectivity, and a collectivity of nation that goes with individuality are given to birth altogether.

Other than the bourgeois nation, theatrical art has another dimension in the construction of nationhood: an imagination on the masses, about which themes on the lower classes, labors in representative, are what to be performed. A naturalistic body of social representation is in high demand by means of realistic performances. This is another dimension of the nation represented by another kind of imagination on the concept of people. Through intellectuals' observation, imagination and mediation, a real people in totality is presented as the subject of nationhood in theatrical art, in which Realism or Naturalism is the forms. In this sense, not only an imagination toward tradition but also that toward the masses is altogether involved in the construction of nationhood.

To deal with the way in which the interpretation of theatrical art was involved in the politics of aesthetics in China and Taiwan in the twentieth century, I think it necessary to begin with the historical background in which China was under imperialist invasion in the disguise of universalism. Beginning the nineteenth century, China, particularly among reformists and revolutionists, has an increasing demand in solidifying its people by a nation in the peril of survival. In “the Colonizer and the Colonized,” Albert Memmi argues that the liberation of the colonized has to be done through the rediscovery of self in dignity. He continues to argue that the colonized imitates the colonizer in the way of self-negation, and to be rejected by the colonizer is the beginning of self-discovery. However, “there can be *no unconditional desire for assimilation* if there is to follow a complete rejection of the model”¹⁰ In other words, the colonizer value is being cherished by the colonized in order to regain their dignity. The colonial discourse regarding value is thus formulated even after liberation.

Given the discourse, the invaded resists against imperialist universalism, but also inherits, paradoxically, what imperialists hold with regard to values, which are mostly from the Enlightenment. In considering the universal validity, the intellectuals of the invaded/the colonized are eager for turning the invaded people into Enlightened subjects while they insist on their difference with regard to particularism in considering differentiating from imperialist invaders. In other words, the resistance of the invaded is built upon the same ambiguity of the nation-state with universalism on the one hand and particularism on the other. Nevertheless, I would argue that the intensity of the nation-state regarding the

¹⁰ A. Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Beacon Pr, 1991) 128-9.

ambiguity is much more heightened in the invaded nations, for nations in Europe might compete for the control over colonies and capital, but it was a life/death survival that China and other subaltern nations faced under imperialist invasion. In the development of Chinese modern theatre, intellectuals were very concerned with theatrical art's capability in communication, with which to convey the enlightenment thoughts. They wanted to transform the folks into people, and to build a nation composed of "universalistic" citizens. On the flip side with respect to particularism, an invention of particular tradition named national essence was eagerly created for the invaded nation. Any of the existent theatrical arts were categorized as the traditional. The process of transforming and re-naming the "traditional arts" mediated by the nation is to be infused with national subjectivity. I also want to mention that it is also during the nationalization in which the arts were deposed from their contexture in relation to aesthetics, actors, and audiences. To sum up, I contend that the demand for national culture is aggravated; at the same time, solidarity in imagining a people and a differentiation in claiming particularism are also more strengthened.

1.4 Chinese Music Drama or Xiqu? The Imperial-cum-National Epistemology

Chinese music drama, xiqu, can be seen as one of the battlefields involved in the politics of aesthetics. Xiqu, regardless of its varieties, is only represented in the face of national essence. The nationalization of Jingju, aka Peking opera, is one example in which the nation universalizes its citizens by a singular national drama, which can turn extremely particular on the international stage. In the Republican era, critic Qi Zou-shan theorized Jingju as national drama through working with a famous Jingju actor, Mei Lang-fang. Two instances in Mei's performance career

provide a good illustration on the way in which Jingju and Mei's body were treated as the Chinese nation. Mei gave several international performance tours in the 1930s. In February 1930, he visited the United States and left in June of the same year after performing for more than five weeks in New York, toured Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles. During his visit in America, he caught attention from not only of the American audiences and theater critics but the American society in general. In theatre circles, Mei's performances received high admiration; outside the theatre, the press also made detailed reportages of him. He was warmly received by many societies and organizations, both in China and America, and in governmental and non-governmental circles. He represented the Chinese nation to an American public eager to experience the "exquisite tradition and culture of the real China." This American tour explains how Mei and Jingju well elaborated on the Chinese particularism in representing the Chinese nation internationally.

The other instance is that during eight years of the Japanese occupation in China, Mei refused to perform for Japanese. This instance shows the way in which Mei's theatrical body also symbolized the Chinese sovereignty, representing the imagined collective of Chinese people. This example also supports my observation that an invaded nation needs an even stronger particularism in defending itself, and theatrical art offers an excellent space and mediation, in which and through which the nation substantiates its imagined community.

Xiqu performances are conventionally deemed to be part of the racial, national, and ethnic culture of the Chinese people. The dissertation starts with a critical examination of the discursive formation of Xiqu along with imperialism and colonialism in the late 19th and early 20th century, during which Xiqu

performances are being treated, imagined, and constituted as a genre of performance that is ontologically and aesthetically self-referential. Xiqu performances are first racialized in imperialism and later nationalized with regard to cultural independence in the post-colonial era. The double-layered formation of imperialist racialization and postcolonial nationalization turn Xiqu performances to a racialized art. Here Xiqu is formulated in an enclosed, self-perpetuating bond between aesthetics and cultural tradition. Xiqu performances thus provide important examples by which to illustrate the co-relation between aesthetics and nation.

The double-layered formation is represented in the classification of difference between the so-called Modern drama¹¹ (xiandai xiju 現代戲劇) in the form of Western realism and Tradition drama (chuantong xiju 傳統戲曲) in the form of Xiqu. This classification is attributed to the episteme of colonial modernity, according to which colonialism formulates violent differentiation by racial difference in defining the modern. Modernity, a driving force toward progress and development, is inherent in the mentality of any coerced people, particularly late-developing capitalist nations and nationalist intellectuals. Speaking of drama, modernity can be only imagined and actualized in modern drama in contrast to tradition drama seen as an obstacle to national progress that needs to be cleansed on the one hand and as culture of the nation that needs to be preserved on the other.

¹¹ “Modern” drama is capitalized here to show that the denotation and connotation of “Modern drama” is discursively different in the Chinese context from “modern drama” as a general reference in the “Western” context.

1.5 Modern Drama and the Invention of Xiqu

The so-called Xiqu today generally refers to an integrated theatrical performance describing various genres of Chinese music drama, which share similar aesthetic particularities. Xiqu used to be the only aesthetic style of theatrical performance for people in the age before Xiju (Modern drama) becomes dominant in the Chinese society. Nowadays, Xiqu performances are usually regarded as a particular Chinese-style performance, which contains particular performing styles such as facial make-up, high-pitch voice, audience-participation, etc. Xiqu performances, which look different from Xiju of modern drama today and can sometimes feel strange, is actually a normal activity in the everyday life and is a taken-for-granted theatre experience for Chinese people a hundred years ago.

In the early twentieth century, Wang Guowei pioneered research on Chinese music drama by theorizing Xiqu performances. Published in 1913, *Song Yuan Xiqu Kao* (宋元戲曲考) is the first academic book that systematically analyzes performances in China. A particular style different from the West appears in the concern of Chinese intellectuals for saving the nation. Along with national painting, national music, etc., Jingju, aka Peking opera, which later became national drama, is one of the examples that reflect the intellectual's concern. In other words, the concept of Xiqu performances is coerced to be initiated in modern China under imperialism.

While the subjectivity of Xiqu performance is formed along with the Chinese nation under the threat of imperialism, Xiqu performances in Taiwan undergo a similar process of racialized subjectification during which Japanese colonialism

governs Taiwan in the early twentieth century. Xiqu performances are very popular in Taiwan among common people at the time. In 1898, three years after Taiwan is annexed, the Taiwan Governor-General, which had legislative, administrative, judicial, and military power over colony Taiwan, started a set of research on islanders' old customs. In 1901, the Institute of Temporary Taiwan Old Manners and Custom (臨時舊慣調查會) was set up by Civil Affairs official Goto Shinpei (後藤新平), who believed that colony Taiwan must be ruled by following biological principles. It is by the Institute of Temporary Taiwan Old Manners and Custom that a series of researches and investigations on Taiwan are launched. The Old Customs Investigation can be seen as the first anthropological report, on which folk habits, juridical and economic systems, and racial and ethnic conventions are included by research of modern scientific methods. In the investigation, islanders' theatre activities are seen as old customs, and are "respected and preserved" due to a policy regarding the racial gap between the islanders and the Japanese in the early stage of colonization. The attitude toward which old customs are respected and preserved, however, actualized a definitive borderline by which racial distinction is illustrated in colonialism. Since then, activities and behaviors are given clear definitions under the rubric of scientific categories with racial identification.

The aesthetic subject of Xiqu performances, which is formulated in either imperialism in China or colonialism in Taiwan, is inscribed in the discursive formation of imperialism and colonialism, which constructs an epistemological correlation of the political and the aesthetic. This epistemological configuration is substantiated as a distinctive violence of modernity in categorizing theatrical

performance and aesthetics. In this sense, all Xiqu performances are a-priory configured by the epistemic violence, in so much as Xiqu performances can be never seen modern given their definitive racial and “traditional” particulates.

Modernity turns out to be a principle by which to examine any behaviors and performances which themselves used to be normal. With regard to Naoki Sakai in discussing the co-formation of “the West and the Rest,” which is an ambivalent and fluid concept in a mode of relocation, modernity that works on theatrical performances has similar effects. Examples could be found in Xinju (New Drama 新劇), Jiuju (Old Drama 舊劇), Wenmingxi (Civilized Drama 文明戲), Wenhuxi (Cultural Drama 文化戲), etc, the titles of which symbolized clearly all kinds of imaginary representations by the principle of modernity. Since the end of the nineteenth century, theatrical performances in China and Taiwan, epistemologically speaking, are no longer what they used to be: they have now been re-organized epistemically under the principles of colonial modernity. Theatrical performances in China since then start to be known as “Chinese music drama” or Xiqu.

1.6 National/Nationalized Drama and Local/Localized Drama

Difangxi (local drama) is a Xiqu concept, which theoretically assumes that local Xiqu genres populate domestically with characteristics of dialects, folklores, and ethnic specialty. It is a concept in contrast to the so called national drama, Jingju. It is presumed that all of the local dramas share similar aesthetic patterns and formats within the territory of the Chinese nation state. This understanding explains the way in which local dramas with domestic characters are categorized under and synthesized within a national culture. This notion of categorization-cum-

synthesization of local drama however is very problematic without historicizing the concept of “the local,” which connotes differently in different historical contexts with regard to political institution. As argued, the appearance of the nation state, to which domestic regions are subjected, is a modern creation of political configuration, which imagines people sharing culture, tradition, languages, or ethnic identity in a racial or cultural community. Nationalist configuration has been found problematic by critical theorists with regard to its underlying reliance on the concepts of the universal and the particular. As far as China as a modern nation state is concerned, the concept of the local in the configuration and imagination of national community undergoes a seemingly continuous process with epistemological ruptures, in which a discursive formation of the local needs to be articulated.

Local dramas in the pre nation-state period used to be those distinguished from widely-spread performances, such as Kunqu (崑曲), by an abstract and indefinite conception. The competition between different local dramas and Kunqu is called “Hua Ya Zhi Zheng” (花雅之爭). The difference between Hua (local drama) and Ya (Kunqu) is basically posited with regard to popularity as well as tastes in relation to class distinction. This kind of performance popularity over all the entire empire can be called as a sort of generality. Generality is discursively different from universality, which is formed in conspiracy with particularity in modernity. I argue that local drama forms a sort of particularity in relation to national universality, in other words, nationality. Through the operational mediation of ethnic categorization of nationality, different local languages and particulates constitute an interpellated relationship to reformulate local identity by

connecting the local with the national via ethnicity. Just as the national requires a shared culture, language, ethnic identity, etc., in creating itself, the local calls for a singular imagination on a common language, which is called “dialect,” in correspondence to ethnic groups. Local people of a nation are seen compartmentally as people who are born with a capability of speaking an ethnic language/dialect and a national language at the same time. My investigation will lay on historicizing the notion of local drama by criticizing the relationships and analyzing the discursive formation between local drama, language, and ethnic audiences in both colonial and postcolonial Taiwan.

My thesis will look into the rupture of the concept of local drama in colonial Taiwan: did local dramas imply an epistemological rupture and transformation in the discursive process of the creation of the modern Chinese nation state? This question indicates the way in which dramas undergo an epistemological process of nationalization and localization simultaneously, at the same time as it seeks to come to terms with historicizing the idea of “the local” in the colonial period. To reformulate local dramas in colonial Taiwan, I start with historicizing the audience in relation to the way in which “people” and “the colonized” are theorized in colonial politics.

1.7 Materialist or Discursive?

Xiqu performances are popular in the common people, or the so-called “the masses” from intellectuals’ perspective. As well as shedding light on the Subaltern Studies in response to the narrative of the nation and intellectuals’ history, this dissertation also draws attention to the non-elite/non-intellectuals participation of

world history or, in other words, transnational history. However, in contrast to the Subaltern Studies- whose scholars rewrite history from a materialist perspective by looking into the peasants in an attempt to create an emancipatory politics,-this dissertation sees the masses in Xiqu performances both from a materialist and discursive perspective. In other words, I argue that, in order to rewrite history, we by no means presume materialist subalternity without regard to a critique of the representation of the nation and intellectuals' history. Archives of the subaltern may not provide any authentication of the subaltern history since the archives by no means are immune to the possibility of being nationalized or intellectualized. That is to say, the work of listening to the subaltern cannot be done without first criticizing colonial modernity.

Representation of the masses is shown in archives left by the colonial regime and colonized intellectuals in colonial Taiwan due to the reason that the regime and the intellectuals actively participate in the modernity project of transforming the masses. The project of transforming the masses emerges with modernity, the formation of which is intensified through the development of colonial institutions in early twentieth century Taiwan.

1.8 Translation and Colonial Modernity

In early twentieth century Taiwan, colonialism is one of the major forces and drives that intensify the formation and the constitution of modernity. If we regard the formation of modernity in the Taiwan as an act of translation, the colonial regime and colonized intellectuals play two significant roles in shaping and carrying out their ideal translational projects of modernity. The colonial regime and

colonized intellectuals take charge of the translational project in imagining the way in which modernity should be. The translation project of the colonial regime is a colonial project of configuring “the modern,” in which colonized intellectuals play a definitive role.¹² Everything that is treated “modern” represented the colonizer and should be translated actively in progress, while that of the colonized is treated “traditional” and is excluded from the translation project.

It is through the translation project of modernity dominated by the colonial regime and colonized intellectuals that the only collective imagination of modern subjectivity, the nation, is created on a basis of racial difference under imperialism and colonialism. It is also the practice of the project during which an absolute disparity of identity between two ends is created along with an assumed commensurability of translation. The disparity is usually in shape on a conceptual basis of racial difference and national boundaries that are taken for granted. Take theatre as an example, a theatrical performance is a universal idea and practice in which Western drama and Chinese drama are two different kinds. Western drama and Chinese drama are seen as two kinds of cultural/racial representation, thus forming an absolute disparity under the rubric of the translation project. Yet it is due to an assumed commensurability of theatrical performance that creates an exchangeable value, a capability of (inter-) replacement. That is, Chinese drama is replaceable by modern theatre performance in pursuit of modernity in the translation project. The violence of colonial modernity is inherent in the translation project, which at all times values absolute disparity along with commensurability, by

¹² It is paradoxical that colonized intellectuals believe that the colonized can be improved in progress if they pursue modernity as the colonizer, while the intellectuals are opposed to racial superiority.

the representational system of the national. This project is set up as a regime of translation in Naoki Sakai's word.

Yet, I would argue that, in fact, all sorts of cultural property are undergoing a process of translation through the impact of colonial governance in early twentieth century Taiwan- yet not all of them are included in the translation project. What the colonial regime and colonized intellectuals considered modern may only depict a part of the whole picture of the cultural impact. I argue that what used to be viewed "traditional" needs to be re-examined from the perspective of the regime of translation . In other words, the translation project, which used to be dominated by the colonial regime and colonized intellectuals, is actually a project of colonial modernity, which turns the colonial as a complete discourse of modernity by correlating the two. The translation project of colonial modernity is helpful for providing a picture in which the complexity of the construction of colonial identity is portrayed. It is, however, easy to foreclose other imaginations of translational work that goes beyond the regime and that does not fit into the formation of colonial modernity. As such, it ignores the complexity of multiple and simultaneous translational activities. It is also the dominant project and regime that sets what needs to be translated and what needs not, as well as what can be translated and what cannot. This preset continues in the postcolonial period and, as a result, other modern imaginations continue to be ignored.

Revisiting all sorts of cultural property in translation is an act that seeks to re-investigate the discursive formation of modernity in colonial Taiwan. It is also to emphasize the nontransparent and unbalanced process of power in translation and the translation project by historicizing and criticizing colonialism. To expose the

discursive formation of the modernity translation project provides us with a chance to delve into the way in which those elements that are untranslatable and those which need not be translated are removed from intellectual history. It also provides a chance to look into the way in which “the traditional,”- that which has been long excluded from the translation project- is involved in a project of modernity translation and is indeed a product of modernity in redefinition.

This dissertation focuses on three concepts of the multitude, the local, and the theatrical, which in my articulation of them are beyond the translation project. In response to the translation project of colonial modernity, which constructs the colonial and the anti-colonial by the same token, my aim is not to shun away from critique of colonialism and colonial modernity. Instead, it is through drawing attention to the concepts that the relationships between nation and aesthetics, history and knowledge, and performance and ethic-politics might be exposed and later demystified in the current Taiwan context of (post-) colonial politics.

1.9 Global Citizen: Intellectuals’ Expectation of the Islanders

As mentioned, the birth of Xiqu is a result of colonialism by which performance is racialized, as well as a result of imperialism against which a national culture is evoked. The concept of Xiqu is born in the institutional formation and discursive imagination of racialization and nationalization. The idea of theatrical performance as a national or racial representation is also embodied in the consciousness of Chinese intellectuals, who believe that theatre signifies a nation, a society, and solidarity of a new China. As such, Xiqu, as a form of theatrical performance, is imagined and used as a tool by which to re-shape the general public

of the nation. An urge of theatre reformation in Xiqu performances is being demanded by intellectuals during the period when China is in peril.

The concept of “people” emerged in a close relationship with the formation of the nation, too. Agamben’s discussion on modern nation and people charts the way in which the masses are turned into people in the formation of the nation. In Agamben’s theory, sovereignty and citizenship master two main concepts that define modern politics. Through the political form of the modern state, sovereignty serves to consolidate the collective and citizenship functions to embody the individual. Every unit of people is an individual that the modern nation-state governs and manages by a scientific system of statistics. Statistics of the state practices through a system of classification, which categories people by sex/gender, ethnicity, skin color, age, height, weight, etc., by converting incommensurability into scientific units that can be easily managed. One of the most important tasks for the modern nation-state is to govern people that are collective yet individualized. Agamben argues that the nation-state is the dominant mediator that manages communication between individuals in the modern society.

As far as a nation state is a modern political apparatus, which governs people by means of scientific statistics and shapes ideal citizens by means of educational institution, a state of a colony, which a metro colonizer remotely controls, is an “uneven” one, composed of “different” people. Under colonization, colonized people receive different treatments and cultivation from the colonial regimes by distinction of racial difference. In other words, people in the colony live with an artificial difference that is deemed natural under colonial regimes.

Leo Ching's discussion of the discursive differences between the Doka and the Kominka period opens a field where we further display relationships between the colonizer and the colonized. As developed by Ching, it is not until the Kominka period that the islanders are to become "Japanese." It is the war which engenders this change in the discourse and practice of colonial management. In the Doka period, the islanders are not yet nationals that the Japanese colonial regime actively intends to build up. It is when the war erupts and the colonial regime needs the islanders to participate in the war effort that the islanders gain a chance to be Japanese nationals in service of the nation. In the Doka period, a period before the war, Taiwan serves as one of the Japanese colonies by economically supporting its metropolis. In other words, the islanders are de jure colonized citizens, who are yet never truly national citizens. The colonial regime does not fully put into practice a project of turning the islanders into Japanese nationals until the onset of Japan's Total War.

1.10 The Masses

Most current scholarship tends to understand colonial Taiwan by organizing research along the axis of a foundational dichotomy: of looking at the colonizer or the colonized. By breaking the dichotomy, few recent studies draw attention to short fictions and novels in the newspaper. Scholars argue that it is the emergence of popular culture of the islanders in the 1930s, and the popular culture provides a chance to explore voices beyond the restriction of colonial politics. Nevertheless, I argue that a lack of general education of the populace in reading and writing, both in Japanese and Chinese, in the Doka period restrain colonized intellectuals from creating ideal qualified readers and modern citizens in an imagined community.

According to a research on reading capacity, most the islanders were not able to read, and only 20 percent of the islanders spoke and read Japanese by 1941, four years after the Kominka movement was launched.

That the islanders are not completely shaped into nationals is a lack of a popularity of a common written language attributed to incapacity of shaping a unified community of the colonized masses. This incomplete identity however does not keep colonized intellectuals from expecting, imagining, and building a common language for the general public. This expectation and imagination is embodied in the Debate of Old and New Literature (Xinjiu Wenxue Lunzhan) in the 1920s and the Vernacular Debate (Baihua Wenxue Lunzhan) in the early 1930s. The vernacular language, or Baihua in Chinese, becomes a tool for intellectuals to enlighten and re-shape the masses into modern people. By the popularity of the vernacular language, the colonized people are expected to be consolidated on the one hand and to be capable of having access to the modern world as a global citizen. Baihua, the vernacular language, embodies an image of the islanders as global citizens in contrast to that of the islanders as mass audience of Xiqu audiences.

1.11 Or, the Multitude? Baizixi and Gezaixi's Audience

A number of reports and records of Xiqu performances during the colonial period are left in the newspaper. They depict a picture in which the islanders are highly attracted by all sorts of Xiqu yet the picture also shows the performances are harshly criticized by intellectuals. Colonized intellectuals, who are either from the traditional bureaucratic-cum-educational background or the modern civic-cum-

national training, leave their observations of the masses in the newspaper. In the newspaper, we see how the colonized masses are represented by colonized intellectuals, who have distinct backgrounds and attitudes towards colonial regimes yet share similar perspectives towards the masses: chaotic, immoral, disorderly, erotic, etc. The perspectives with which colonized intellectuals regard the masses are actualized in the images that represent fears toward lower classes. Yet the masses do not only carry the images of distinctions of class. Rather, they become “the mob” with a distinction of race under the regime of colonial modernity.

The way in which the masses are represented in the newspaper in the colonial period provides us a vision of Xiqu audiences by colonial regimes and colonized intellectuals. The discourse explains how colonial regimes and colonized intellectuals work hand in hand to install a set of ethical value by criticizing and judging the masses. Yet, if we look beyond the discourse of colonial modernity, Xiqu performances present a different picture. My dissertation starts with a chapter concerning the paradoxical image of “the masses” in newspaper reports of Xiqu performances. Can they only be read as the outdated masses even if they are portrayed as such? Can they speak for themselves from the archive, or how can the image be read critically with regard to a critique of colonial modernity?

Baizixi (白字戲 Vernacular drama) and Gezaixi (歌仔戲 aka. Taiwanese opera) are two of the popular Xiqu performances during the colonial period. Commercial performances of these forms of drama began around the 1920s, and receive welcome in the populace yet gained harsh criticism from intellectuals. Colonized intellectuals condemned the two forms of performance for their erotic content, immorality, indecency of actors, disorder of theatre troupes, etc. I will

examine the way in which old-school intellectuals understood the moral depravity of class distinction in the performances as well as how new-school intellectuals' projected tremendous anxiety over social unrest onto the mob. Furthermore, I will examine the general criticisms of political unrest in relation to the performances' harm to society and the nation.

Intellectuals' participation in Xiqu performances in tea houses can serve as a contrasting example to look into the way in which the masses are imagined and represented as immoral. As far as intellectuals go to tea houses for actresses' performance, eroticism is never an issue that can be disconnected from the theatre experience. Many of intellectuals even regard it a refined taste seeing actresses' enticing performance and many of them also have romantic affairs with actresses. The two sets of attitude towards the relationship of eroticism and performance between theatre appreciation of intellectuals' and that of the masses' provide a perspective to look into how Baizixi and Gezaixi performances can be seen as a field in which a discourse of the masses is shaped by intellectuals.

1.12 Baizixi and Gezaixi in a New Articulation

To further argue Baizixi and Gezaixi represent a new theatrical performance in which a new collective of the general public/people gather and emerge, I focus on the audience of the performances by distinguishing the difference between Baizixi and Gezaixi, and Benguanxi, which has existed as a ritual performance in the pre-colonial period. Following the difference, I argue that Xiqu performances such as Baizixi and Gezaixi should be historicized and rearticulated as new performances with regard to and in relation with colonial modernity.

Current scholarships believe that Xiqu performances originate in rituals. In the folk society, Xiqu performances are programmed along with worships for spirits in yearly festivals. Xiqu performances used in a religious manner in honor of ancestors and natural spirits are important entertainments for the folk. Beiguanxi is one of the representatives of the ritual theatre. In Taiwan, different ethnic groups have different spirits and gods to worship. Yet Beiguanxi is one of the most ceremonious ritual performances in villages of various ethnic groups. It is usually performed in front of temples, which used to be a center of village life. Repertoires of Beiguanxi are mostly adaptations of history stories and legends. Audiences usually enjoy Xiqu performances during festivals since ritual performances purported to serve spirits and gods.

Baizixi and Gezaixi by contrast appear in colonial Taiwan in a way that has nothing to do with rituals. Temples were no longer the limited locations for Xiqu performances in colonial Taiwan. New-style theaters that were designed according to the standards of modern Western theatre built in great number during this period. The new theaters accommodate most Baizixi and Gezaixi performances. In contrast to religious performance such as Beiguanxi in service of gods and spirits, Baizixi and Gezaixi performances profess entertainments for people. As far as audiences are concerned, they are no longer the folk, who can only experience performances during festivals. The audiences are professional theatre-goers, who are able to pursue performances on their own with mobility of traveling across cities and counties.

To investigate the representations of Baizixi and Gezaixi theatre-goers in archives provides a way to look into the audiences that are neither the citizens of

colonial regimes, nor the expected “people” culled in the minds of intellectuals. They are not the folk of the feudal society, nor, I argue, the masses, either. I call them “the multitude,” who are not yet defined by current scholarship with regard to colonial modernity.

By historicizing Baizixi and Gezaixi, I attempt to show the way in which Xiqu performances are constructed as a generally enclosed cultural and aesthetic system. Xiqu performances are a racialized performance, which is foreclosed from any potential of being “modern” with regard to imperialism, colonialism, and nationalism. I however intend to interrogate this problematic and re-articulate the emergence of the Baizixi and Gezaixi audience as an alternative to imagining the modern. I re-visit the two performances embodied with a yet-to-be defined and theorized modernity by relocating the multitude, who are not citizenized nor completely colonized.

Connotations of the traditional and the modern have been decided by the violence of colonial modernity, according to which a practice of a discourse is prior to any practice itself. Speaking in terms of aesthetics, the form has determined what the modern is while the traditional has registered a cultural identity by the determination. The formation of the aesthetic of Xiqu performances is a process of being determined and thus traditionalized. My response to the problematic of the determination is that it is invalid to inquire the way in which a traditional Xiqu performance may adopt modern theatrical elements. In other words, I do not argue or try to analyze the way in which new performance styles or modern techniques are used and adopted in Baizixi and Gezaixi. Doing so is to reinforce the dichotomy of the modern and the traditional, further enclosing us within a

theoretical dead end which should be the task of a critical cultural studies to push beyond and explode. Instead, I reinvestigate the audiences of Baizixi and Gezaixi via the concept of the multitude in an effort to criticize the colonial modernity that is inherent in colonial regimes and colonized intellectuals.

1.13 Xiqu or Local Performances?

In 1937, colony Taiwan enters a colonial stage in which colonizer Japan intends to enforce a nationalizing project of the Kominka Movement on Taiwan. Yet, before the beginning of the Kominka, the Doka period is a time in which Xiqu performances are prosperous. It is a time when the national discourse is yet to be completely formulated in theory and practice. The following chapter focuses on the way in which Jingju (京劇 aka. Peking opera) performance, which is popular everywhere in Taiwan in the Doka period, goes beyond an ethnic and linguistic boundary, that is, I claim, a post-colonial-cum- national construction of Chinese theatricality.

Current scholarship usually sees Jingju as a national/nation-wide genre, and Gezaixi as a local genre that serves ethnic groups of Min-nan people. Some critics have unfolded the problematic of Jingju as a national drama during the creation of the Chinese nation. Post-colonial drama places high emphasis on the issue of nationalization of theatre or national drama in the twentieth century. This articulation clarifies the way in which a modern nation highly participates in the process of inventing tradition. As discussed, Xiqu performance are roughly theorized, which needs to be questioned, as a particular Chinese music drama style that encompasses various local and ethnic Xiqu performances in different areas of

China. The third chapter intends to look into the way in which the process of the so-called local Xiqu performances in colonial Taiwan is developed in response to the theory of nationalization of theatre.

1.14 Trans-ethnic or Ethnic Performance: Dialect and Ethnicity

Current scholarship regarding the notion of local Xiqu genres is insufficient in understanding Xiqu performances in colonial Taiwan. A lack of articulation in the national/local configuration of Xiqu performances leads to an uncritical assumption of ethnic identity verifying local Xiqu genres. As such, Gezaixi is theorized as a local genre for people speaking a dialect of Southern-Min (閩南話) from the Southern-Min (Min-nan 閩南) area, and Kejiayi is for Kejia people (客家人), who spoke Kejiahua (客家話) and emigrated from the Kuandong (廣東) area. This theorization can be put in another way, saying that Gezaixi is a local performance genre of Chinese music drama or Gezaixi is Chinese music drama locally grown in Taiwan. This theorization, I argue, also corresponds to an identity formation in relation to nationality. In other words, this is also to say that “someone is Chinese from Sichuan when he identifies himself as Sichuanese, a province of China.” To articulate the problematic of local genres in relation to ethnicity and language, I want to propose two similar yet distinct concepts. I argue that ethnicity is an indefinite and yet-to-be formed concept that opens to any communities before the regime of colonial configuration in ethnicization and racialization is installed by colonial regimes and the nation state. By showing the way in which Jingju performance, which receives welcome in the colonial period, later becomes alienated from Benshengren (“the islanders” in the postwar Taiwan,

used to be distinguished from the Mainlanders, Waishengren) in the postcolonial period, I intend to argue that a conceptual formation of ethnic performance emerges along with a completion of nationality. In other words, ethnic performances are always a result of ethnicization that is in conspiracy with nationality. The ethnic performance works an unequivocal concept that grants and locates identity of every national by categorizations of race/ethnicity, sex/gender, etc. Jingju performances in the colonial period provide a conceptual field in which a community of the collective remains in continuous re-configuration before ethnicity, language, and local performance are correlated. By contrast, Jingju in the postwar/postcolonial period is associated with a fixed identity of nationality and ethnicity along with Gezaixi and other “local genres.”

The formation of ethnic localization begins with the formation of the regime of colonial configuration in the form of racism. Yet, the Doka period is a historical stage, during which a thorough execution of colonization/nationalization had not yet been enforced. In other words, a community that is regulated by ethnicity is being formed, yet not completed. In this sense, local Xiqu genres should by no means be seen as an ethnicized theatre but a kind of local performance that is beyond the ethnic aesthetics. Newspaper reports of Xiqu performances, particularly Jingju, help verify my hypothesis. The islanders who speak the Southern-Min language as a communicative language for everyday life are strong followers of Jingju. The islander audiences even organize societies for Jingju amateurs called “Jingdiao Piaofang” (京調票房), which continued to operate among Benshenren in the post-war period. Speaking of actors and theatre troupes, various people who are deemed as ethnically Kejia or Min-nan also participate in Jingju performances.

In addition, Jingju troupes traveling from China give tours in colonial Taiwan for over 20 years.

By bringing in a concept “difangxing” (the local 地方性) in contrast to “local identity,” I attempt to describe an openness of local performance in Xiqu performances of colonial Taiwan. Difangxing delinks the constraint of nationality by lived experience shared and participated in local politics, yet without being constrained by violence of identity politics. It is a/an (pre-) identity concept that is popular before ethnic performances regarding Xiqu are taken for granted. It is also a linguistic concept that does not regulate people who can speak a native language, which is dialect, in every activity of life. In other words, I intend to demonstrate that any audiences with different heritages used to be able to participate in local Xiqu performances in colonial period. It is a period in which the multitude share lived experience via theatrical performance, rather than being shaped by ethnic performance in the subjugation of nationalization.

I will provide my analysis of the way in which the formation of ethnicization of local performances proceeds in two stages, first in the Kominka period by Japanese nationalization and later in the post-war period by the Nationalist party’s Chinese nationalization. It is by local identity that a border between the local and the foreign can finally be drawn. A foreignness recognized by people between each other is defined through the deployment of local identity in the relationship with ethnicity. To look into local performances in colonial Taiwan is also to expose the discursive formation in which two forms of nationalization intervene in the relationship between local performance, language, and ethnicity.

1.15 Historicizing Theatricality

To discover this discursive formation is also to understand a proper transformation of theatricality. The discursive alteration of difangxing from the local to local identity changes the relationship between audience and performance. In other words, ethnicizing local performance by local identity changes audiences' recognition and feeling toward theatricality. To investigate the transformation in which audiences imagine and feel their connection with local performances is to understand the transformation of theatricality. This transformation of theatricality in the context of Taiwan provides a clear example that theatricality is never aesthetic but historical.

1.16 The Transnationals

I want to suggest that to introduce difangxing by redefining the local is to look into the way in which nationalism is inherent transnational. The nation-state is intrinsically "trans-national" from its inception. If we basically accept Benedict Anderson's notion on nations as imagined communities,¹³ the process during which various kinds of yet-to-be-categorized persons or groups are homogenized as a people is then crucial in the formation of the nation-state. The nation-state itself could be understood as a form transcending differences domestically. Internationally speaking, the formation of the nation-state is also trans-national in the sense that the distribution of the capital market assists the nation in negotiating with and thus differentiating from each other. In this regard, the nation-state is

¹³ Anderson B.R.O.G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 2006) 2-7.

formed by international politics trans-nationally. I will briefly introduce the ideas of the two transnationals and their problematic by giving examples of theaters and performances in China and Taiwan.

Imperialism developed from Europe has to do with this “trans-national” form of the nation-state. Imperialism operated by the nation-state is trans-national in the sense as to gain more resources from places outside the nation, on the principle of capitalist development. This trans-national imperialism developing with capitalism and the nation-state functions closely with the creation of “the West” in humanity, in which Naoki Sakai argues that the conceptual separation of *humanitas* and *anthropos* is constituted. The regime of separation in humanity is conceptualized in two kinds: *humanitas*, that designates Western or European humanity, and *anthropos*, that indicates “the Rest.”¹⁴ The separation can be also seen as the discourse that distinguishes the civilized from the uncivilized in terms of the progress of civilization, or those who colonize from those who are colonized in terms of colonization.

In this regard, the transnational concept upon which the nation-state and imperialism are formed is in instinct subject to the regime of the separation. While this regime of the separation develops with imperialist invasions, resistances that cannot take this scheme of humanity categorizations as well as economic exploitations along with violent dominancy are never absent in history.

While resistances against imperialism or imperial empires differs and develops in different space and time, theories and practices of the resistances are more or

¹⁴ Naoki Sakai, "Dislocation of the West and the Status of the Humanities," *Traces.1* (2001): 75.

less regarded as a reaction to the deformedly trans-national nation-state and imperialism. Insomuch that the resistances in the name of transnationalism are constitutive of discrete discourses, as Haiping Yan says, they can be all regarded as challenges or responses against the empire, the center, the regime of the separation, the ethnic categorization, etc., under the rubric of the formulation of the nation-state. Some of these challenges in practices and theories come from the experiences and struggles of the colonized, some stem from self-reflections of “the West,” and others are impacts upon conventional national boundaries in the globalization period. They might be in shape with different historical resources, yet all of which are central to imperialist dominancy and the form of the modern nation-state.

Different practices and theorizations of the transnational provide a way in which people try to go beyond visible or invisible national boundaries with efforts. Postcolonialism and interculturalism have been discussed and encouraged in scholarship and practices of performance in the past twenty years. Postcolonialism of performance studies talks about resistance of the colonized and of nationalism, yet this resistance in the form of nationalization usually gives birth to a nationalism that shares similarities with the imperialist nation-state. Interculturalism responds to the convention Eurocentric gaze upon other cultures and advocates a universal human culture by fusing cultures, particularly between “Western culture” and other cultures. Nevertheless, interculturalism could be formed as another form of imperialism, which, on the one hand, ignores international imbalance in reality, and, on the other hand, inherits the imperialist legacy of the regime of the separation. This kind of intercultural practices and concepts are not limited to Euro-American

nations which had imperialist experiences. A similar universalistic interculturalism can also happen in “Asia” nowadays by means of economic capitals.

*Insofar as it was a science of incorporation and inclusion by virtue of which the Orient was constituted and then introduced into Europe, Orientalism was a scientific movement whose analogue in the world of empirical politics was the Orient's colonial accumulation and acquisition by Europe. The Orient was therefore not Europe's interlocutor, but its silent Other.*¹⁵

In his notion of Orientalism, Said argues that seeing the Orient as the other of Europe is intrinsically embedded in the knowledge of the formation of Europe in imagination. The necessary Other, the Orient in Said’s sense, along with the Self, Europe, is included altogether in this discourse. Not until the middle of the twentieth century, most places of the earth had been deeply inscribed in this discourse of imperial structure for centuries. The rude, harsh, and dominant imperialist binary system determined what the civilization is as well as how people live. This violent imperialist order along with its unequal governance nevertheless faced continuous rebellions and resistances from all over the world. Fanon, C.L.R. James, W.E.B. Du Bois, etc. were thinkers who provided abundant resources of post-colonialism. In Algeria, we see the way in which Fanon insisted the necessity of resisting against French colonizers by violence while warning “the unconditional affirmation of African culture has succeeded the unconditional affirmation of European culture.”¹⁶ C.L.R. James was another influential figure in the post-colonialist thoughts. He was conscious of the importance of striving for autonomy in the 1930s. In delving into the way in which the British colonization established

¹⁵ Said E., "Orientalism Reconsidered," *Race and Class* 27.2 (1985): 1-15, 93

¹⁶ F. Fanon and R. Philcox, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Grove Pr, 2004) 212-3.

the connection between colonial governance and superiority in relation to civilization and race, he said “the advocate of Colonial Office trusteeship would have you believe that the average Negro is a savage fellow, bearing beneath the veneer civilization and his black skin, viciousness, and criminality which he is losing but slowly, and which only the virtual domination of the European can keep in check.”¹⁷ For W.E.B. Du Bois, who was born as African American, also experienced unequal treatments due to racial difference and later demanded black people’s dignity and cultural subjectivity under what can be understood as “double-consciousness.”¹⁸

All these critiques and responses to colonialism are legacies and recourses of post-colonialism. It is like the way in which Gilbert and Tompkins theorize postcolonialism in their book “Post-Colonial Drama that the postcolonial is never a temporal explanation about the time after colonial dominancy, but rather “an engagement with and contestation of colonialism’s discourse, power structures, and social hierarchies.”¹⁹ That is to say, postcolonialism cannot discursively slide from the colonial discourse left by the colonizer.

Postcolonialism as a way to resist against colonization and imperial violence has its powerful effects in an attempt to seek out the voice of the colonized and building up subaltern subjectivity. In order to fight against colonial inequality, a coerced nationalism or culturalism is effective in consolidating people and

¹⁷ C. L. R. James, and A. Grimshaw., *The CLR James Reader* (Blackwell, 1992) 49.

¹⁸ WEB Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*. (USA: Oxford University Press, 2007) 183-99.

¹⁹ Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins, *Post-Colonial Drama : Theory, Practice, Politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996) 2.

integrating nation. Olaniyan in “Scars of Conquest/ Masks of Resistance” however argues that, in considering the discursive formation of post-imperial dramatic subjectivity, “an anticolonialist, Afrocentric counterdiscourse” is not conscious of falling into a repetitive essentialist pattern as “a hegemonic, colonialist, Eurocentric discourse”²⁰ , while it is powerful by requesting an invention of tradition and a solidarity of the oppressed. In other words, a very similarly coercive and dominative identity of the colonized is constructed and operated in the same way as that of the colonizer, one that Olaniyan calls “the expressive” nationalism.²¹

In Said’s words, if the way that European imperialism violently colonizes is founded upon essentialist universalism,²² this anti-imperialist nationalism that appeals for resistance and reformation of subjectivity can be possibly seen as essentialist particularism. It is by essentialist particularism that the used-to-be-foreclosed and thus invisible culture of the colonized can emerge, yet it is also essentialist particularism that forms inherently with a kind of exclusion by oppressing “different” ethnicities and cultural imaginations or by categorizing as well as rearranging positions of differences within a nation.

The way in which Jingju, aka Peking opera, was legitimized as national drama can serve as an example. Republic of China was established in 1911 as a modern nation-state after about a-hundred-year imperialist invasion. As mentioned, a nation under the imperialist invasion usually has high demands in seeking for solidarity.

²⁰ Tejumola Olaniyan, *Scars of Conquest/Masks of Resistance : The Invention of Cultural Identities in African, African-American, and Caribbean Drama* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 4.

²¹ Olaniyan, *Scars of Conquest/Masks of Resistance : The Invention of Cultural Identities in African, African-American, and Caribbean Drama* 30-2.

²² E., "Orientalism Reconsidered," 1-15, 102.

Jingju as national drama was a product of nationalization in response to imperialist and international pressure. Mei Lanfang's visit in the U.S. in the 1930s provides a perspective to examine the way in which Jingju became a national drama both domestically and internationally. After many successful performances of Mei, a saying in China at that time was very popular: "There are three 'musts' for foreign guests visiting China: the world famous Great Wall, the Temple of Heaven, and a visit to a Chinese playhouse to see Mei Lan-fang"²³. Mei Lanfang's performance was symbolized as a representative of China in such a way that is as the same as the Great Wall and the Temple of Heaven, which represented Chinese culture and the continuity and legitimacy of the Chinese nation-state. Qi Rushan, a Jinju scholar, who dedicated his life to the promotion of guoju (national drama), theorized that the particular strength of guoju lies in the various forms and movements,²⁴ by asserting that the crucial difference between Western and Chinese drama is not that one is spoken and the other musical but rather that the former is "realist" and the latter "aestheticist."²⁵ During his visit in America, Mei caught the attention not only of American audiences and theater critics, but American society in general. In this regard, he was not only an actor, but a cultural representative of the Chinese nation to an American public eager to experience the "real" China, which is different from the Western civilization and the U.S. Also in this regard, a national drama was meant to create for international equality and in defense for national and cultural subjectivity. The formation of national drama announced the birth of a

²³ Qtd. from M. Cosdon. "'Introducing Occidentals to an Exotic Art': Mei Lanfang in New York." *Asian Theatre Journal* (1995): , 177. Print.

²⁴ Joshua Goldstein. "Mei Lanfang and the Nationalization of Peking Opera, 1912-1930." *East Asia Cultures Critique* 7.2 (1999): , 386-7. Print..

²⁵Goldstein.

united China under international politics, under which the particularity of Jingju was imagined and created to be the Other from other cultures. In terms of aesthetics, realist performance, which was seen by Chinese people as the Western modern drama, turned out to be the Other that fitted Jingju's "abstractness and aesthetics."

In "The Production and Consumption of Chinese Theatre in Nineteenth-Century California," Daphne Lei mentions that a contrast between cultures serves well for a claim for cultural and national differences. "While the Americans needed it (Chinese theatre) to preserve an American frontier in the old west and Chinese actors visit to a Chinese playhouse to see Mei Lan-fang" . Mei Lanfang's performance was symbolized as a representative of China in such a way that is as the same as the Great Wall and the Temple of Heaven, which represented Chinese culture and the continuity and legitimacy of the Chinese nation-state. Qi Rushan, a Jinju scholar, who dedicated his life to the promotion of guoju (national drama), theorized that the particular strength of guoju lies in the various forms and movements, by asserting that the crucial difference between Western and Chinese drama is not that one is spoken and the other musical but rather that the former is "realist" and the latter "aestheticist." During his visit in America, Mei caught the attention not only of American audiences and theater critics, but American society in general. In this regard, he was not only an actor, but a cultural representative of the Chinese nation to an American public eager to experience the "real" China, which is different from the Western civilization and the U.S. Also in this regard, a national drama was meant to create for international equality and in defense for national and cultural subjectivity. The formation of national drama announced the

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I argue that the development of Chinese theatres in the past hundred years itself can be seen from the perspective of the discourse of struggles and dialogues between nationalism and postcolonialist transnationalism. This discourse is again and again relocated in various kinds of performances, seen in Jingju, later Gezaixi, and the Cloud Gate. Coerced nationalism is being formed and evoked in resistance to various forms of colonization and imperialist invasions. It, however, is also trapped into the same discourse of imperialist nationalism. The problematic of

²⁶ D. Lei, "The Production and Consumption of Chinese Theatre in Nineteenth-Century California," *Theatre Research International* 28.03 (2003): 289-302.

postcolonialism lies in the structural repetition central to the myth of race and ethnicity regardless of other dimensions such as gender, class, etc.

I will continue to discuss interculturalism, by which a new cultural imagination intends to be created. I will argue that the contrast of cultures is again emphasized in interculturalism.

For Richard Schechner, intercultural performances mean “between or among two or more cultures.” “They may emphasize the integrative or the disjunctive.”²⁷ Schechner also argues that before intercultural theatre was experimented and later accepted by many directors, lots of works under intercultural influences can be also seen as intercultural performances, such as the Chinese spoken drama influenced by Western theatre.²⁸ Nevertheless, the well-know intercultural theatre as a theatrical concept needs to be traced back to directors, such as Peter Brook, Grotowski, Eugenio Barba, Ariane Mnouchkine, etc., who left “Western” theatrical tradition, added “different cultures” to their performances, and experimented new theatrical works after the 1970s.

As seen in colonization, imperialist modernity with the disguise of advance and progress leads to the dominance of Western culture and to the ignorance of other civilizations. Seen in the vein of the regime of the separation, so-called non-Western civilizations under imperialism have been long suppressed or treated in backwardness. In contrast to imperialist mindset centered on Euro-American tradition, intercultural theatre should be understood as reflections mostly by

²⁷ Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies : An Introduction* (London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2003) 226.

²⁸ Patrice Pavis, *The Intercultural Performance Reader* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996) 43.

Western directors. Non-Western civilizations that used to be treated as the Other of Western culture were used as “the source culture”²⁹ from which Western culture was eager to understand limits of Western culture. For the directors, it was the reality that different cultures were more popular everywhere in the West’s encounter with others.

Pavis expresses his regard of the intercultural theatre “that other cultures have gradually permeated our own leads (or should lead) us to abandon or relativize any dominant western (or Eurocentric) universalizing view.”³⁰ Another intercultural theatre scholar, Fischer-Lichte, also believes that contemporary intercultural theatres is in “the creation of a world culture in which different cultures not only take part, but also respect the unique characteristics of each culture and allow each culture its authority”³¹ This attitude towards seeking for cultures of difference and further exploring human beings in sameness made intercultural performance possible. However, this attitude from the outset is problematic. First of all, misunderstandings and imaginations exist in the “Western” directors who stood at the position in the Western humanity tradition, in which the separation of *humanitas* and *anthropos* has never vanished. In response to *Mahabharata* directed by Peter Brook, Rustom Bharucha points out that intercultural theatre inherits colonialist legacies and keeps representing the Other in the neo-colonialism. He thinks that a global period further actuates this somebody’s Other more possible and more real.³² Bharucha also reads intercultural performance in a way that

²⁹ Pavis, *The Intercultural Performance Reader* 11.

³⁰ Patrice Pavis, *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992) 5-6.

³¹ Pavis, *The Intercultural Performance Reader* 38.

³² Pavis, *The Intercultural Performance Reader* 196-211.

Western culture cannot be satisfied with its own culture, and instead looks for raw material from other cultures.³³ In other words, this form of intercultural performance was never built on equally cultural exchanges and respects for different cultures that intercultural practitioners claim and expect. The point of view, from which Bharucha criticizes, however, is also to claim the authenticity of Indian culture. This claim for authenticity intensifies a discursive difference from two cultures, and once again repetitively falls into the discourse of the separation.

In an essay in 2004, Bharucha in addition explicates that the Eurocentric agenda of interculturalism can also apply to intercultural performances in New Asia, which is built on capital. By warning that “Asiacentricity is the other side of Eurocentricity.”³⁴ He clearly indicates that any adaptations that claim to apply to essentialist, traditional Asian theatre, or any ahistorical, de-historized performances may continuously reinforce the imbalance of cultures.

That is to say, the problematic of intercultural performance is never on the point that if a performance is directed by Western or non-Western directors. It is due to the way that interprets other cultures on the basis of unequal reality as well as due to the way that accepts cultural absoluteness without questioning and that simplifies complexities in theatrical and cultural translation.³⁵ It is “this process of translation counters the overly normative, linear, and implicitly Eurocentric model provided by Patrice Pavis, who proceeds all too precisely from the original text in

³³ Pavis, *The Intercultural Performance Reader* 207.

³⁴ R. Bharucha, "Foreign Asia/Foreign Shakespeare: Dissenting Notes on New Asian Interculturality, Postcoloniality, and Recolonization," *Theatre Journal* (2004): 4-8.

³⁵ Bharucha, "Foreign Asia/Foreign Shakespeare: Dissenting Notes on New Asian Interculturality, Postcoloniality, and Recolonization," 25-7.

the source culture- through the textual, dramaturgical, and stage concretizations of the mise en scene- into the reception of the “target culture.”³⁶

Founded in 1993, the Golden Bough Theatre usually claims that it works on a modern theatre , which is influenced by Richard Schechner, to be incorporated with traditional Gezaixi. The work “Troy, Troy...Taiwan” is considered an attempt to adopt the notion and practice of intercultural and environmental theatre. Inspired by Homer's Troy in Iliad, “Troy, Troy...Taiwan” intended to affect audiences “by singing songs of our hometown and our old country.” As a trial of environmental theatre introduced by Richard Schechner, it was performed outdoors, and emphasized interactions between actors and audiences in an attempt to break an illusion of staged performance. In the attempt to combine “Western culture and Taiwanese culture,” it featured conventional performances of the Gezaixi style by the Taiwanese dialect (Southern Min) and rituals on the one hand, and applied to experimental theatre experiments and ancient Western stories on the other. The production claimed to “envisage a new outlook of Taiwanese modern theatre.”³⁷

While the performance intends to present a Taiwanese modern theatre through an intercultural approach, it is apparent that the idea of “how Taiwanese theatre can be modern” fixedly follows the colonial discourse, or say, the regime of the separation, in which anthropos can become modern through the work of humanitas. It is only through “Western culture,” with regard to both modern

³⁶ Bharucha, "Foreign Asia/Foreign Shakespeare: Dissenting Notes on New Asian Interculturality, Postcoloniality, and Recolonization," 27.

³⁷ http://www.goldenbough.com.tw/2006/en/theatre_1.htm

theatrical theories and ancient stories, that Gezaixi becomes modern. I further argue it is also this becoming process during which a local performance is nationalized and then essentialized. Seen in the performance, firstly, a relationship between Gezaixi and Taiwan was emphasized; secondly, a connection between Taiwanese culture and the destiny of the Taiwanese nation is intensified through the juxtaposition of Western culture and Taiwanese culture. In other words, the cultures on the two sides of the performance are both essentialized and authenticized, and Taiwanese culture in the form of the Taiwan nation is placed to be with an intercultural link to Western culture.

Seen in this vein, while interculturalism is concerned with respect to different cultures, it is problematic in (1) inequality of internationally political reality; (2) so called traditional or Asian culture is the other side of modern or European culture; (3) the extent of essentializing culture and fixing difference deepens in interculturalism. In a word, the point is not “how many different cultures exist outside Western culture,” but rather “how the differences of cultures are imagined and constituted.” Transnationalism is recently highly promoted in globalization. In the globalization period, propositions of the nation-state mostly based on ethnic units and cultural specificities are largely altered with more mobile capital flows. Economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a globe-spanning network of communication. In the period, various perspectives, such as gender, class, hybridity, cross-cultural living experience, etc. keep challenging the nation-state as the only dominant institution. With different compositions and decompositions of the perspectives, more and more transnational stories are being told.

With regard to the relationship between gender and globalization, by a production “Indians” in Berlin, Katrin Sieg suggests that “globalization needs an asymmetrical gender system and concomitant notions of heterosexual desire, in order to function at full throttle.”³⁸ Neo-liberalists claim that globalization emancipates women from tradition while culturalists suppress women in the name of preserve cultural differences. In discussing Chicano theatre, Yvonne Yarbrow-Bejarano has similar observations on the relationship between gender and nation. She said “the conditions of poverty and economic exploitation were perpetuated through the daughter’s offspring.” Revolutionary narratives usually decipher women as supporter but not revolutionary subjects. Nevertheless, more and more work calls attention to the relationship between gender and national, ethnical boundaries. Alicia Arrizon in dealing with Latina performance reminds that gender provides a perspective of continuously deconstructing hegemonic discourses in “queering Mestizaje,” by means of which to “rearticulate subaltern identities produced in processes of transculturation, emphasizing how such identities are marked, affected, and transformed.”³⁹ The way in which Arrizon focuses on queering hybridity also responds to what Olaniyan states, the “performative nationalism/essentialism. Olaniyan argues a post-nationalist resistance relies on the way in which “African-America cultural difference was no longer to be posed in exclusivist, ontological black-white terms; it was now a strategic performative identity articulating the complexities of gender, race, class, and international

³⁸ K. Sieg, "" Indians": The Globalized Woman on the Community Stage," *Theatre Journal* (2003): 292.

³⁹ A. Arrizón, *Queering Mestizaje: Transculturation and Performance* (Univ of Michigan Pr, 2006) 3.

solidarities.”⁴⁰ This kind of temporary subjectivity is evoked to fight against the hegemony while maintaining self-deconstruction.

With regard to class and nation, in “Diaspora and the Theatre of the Nation,” Aparna Dharwadker argues that the so-called Indian immigrants and Indian performances have totally different pictures in Canada and U.S.A. Most Indians in Canada, who are “older, often visibly underprivileged” tend to be critical of diaspora and more interested in themes about reality, while Indians in the U.S., who are economically privileged are enthusiastic about an ideal, traditional India.⁴¹ The two groups have distinct understandings on “Mother India” along with different connotations and denotations of the nation. In this regard, Dharwadker shows that globalization changes the way in which the nation-state is singularly imagined and ethnicity is presupposed as the foreground of cultural performance.

Nevertheless, this doesn’t mean that globalization breaks up all national boundaries; it, instead, may represent a set of more concealed global control or binary system.⁴² In other words, on the one hand, globalization provides a chance to cross national borders with regard to dispersed institutions and powers as well as blurred identities of the colonizer and the colonized; on the other hand, a new complicity may emerge between the nation and the globe as well as old colonizers and new colonizers, who may or may not be previously colonized. In this sense,

⁴⁰ Olaniyan, *Scars of Conquest/Masks of Resistance : The Invention of Cultural Identities in African, African-American, and Caribbean Drama* 87.

⁴¹ A. Dharwadker, "Diaspora and the Theatre of the Nation," *Theatre Research International* 28.03 (2003): 303-25.

⁴² Jean Graham-Jones., "Editorial Comment: Theorizing Globalization through Theatre," *Theatre Journal* 57.3 (2005): 347.

dominant values of ethnicity, class, gender, capital, etc. may collaborate with globalization in the form of marginalizing the minoritarians.⁴³

Investigation of performances in colonial Taiwan by transnationalism provides a way in which a re-interpretation of Jingju and Gezaixi is needed in relation to nationalism, regardless of that of Chinese or Taiwanese, and in relation to imperialism, regardless of Western or Japanese. With regard to transnationalism, bare lives in diversities that are delinked from nationalist discourses may be helpful in exposing and later transforming the mechanism of the nation-state. Live experiences may be crucial not only in the way of being peripheral to the center but being conflictual to the national discourse.

The transnational matters, particularly for those who may not tell their full stories within national boundary and national identity. With regard to gender, class, and any yet-to-be-identified identities, transnationalism signifies the importance of ceaselessly crossing and deconstructing boundaries that function in/by institutions, categories, and hegemonies.

1.17 Hybridity, Subjectivity, and Nationality: The Reformed Drama in the Kominka Period and O-pe-la in Multicultural Taiwan

In deploying concepts such as bricolage and hybridity, many theatre scholars believe that these theories explain O-pe-la, a subgenre of Gezaixi that combined style of Japanese culture and Taiwanese culture. O-pe-la is generally regarded as a developed performance of so called “the Reformed Drama” (改良劇)

⁴³ "Editor's Forum," *Theatre Survey* 47.2 (2006): 169-73, Sieg, "" Indians": The Globalized Woman on the Community Stage," 298.

during the wartime. Today, O-pe-la is taken for imagining Taiwan as a hybrid and multicultural polity and community, which has experienced multiple rulings of Dutch, Spain, the Qing, Japan, and the Nationalist Chinese. This claim is however problematic in its lack of historicizing what “Japanese culture,” “Taiwanese culture,” etc., are. The last chapter deals with this particular performance during the wartime, which is usually known as the Kominka period (1937-1945). How do we critically look at this form of performance, which is usually described as “Taiwanese culture mixed with Japanese culture”?

As discussed, Xiqu performances were not seriously censored and reformed by colonial regime until the Kominka period. The eruption of the second Sino-Japanese war changes the discourse of ruling Colony Taiwan. The colonial regime starts enforcing nationalism in the form of Japanization along with modernization. Most of Xiqu performances, particularly Jingju performances from China, are forbidden or requested to reform. Under the policy, Gezaixi troupes are either dismissed, or reformed by adding new forms that accord with the colonial regime. The reformation is enacted not only in the realm of aesthetics but also that of race, since aesthetics under colonization is also the enactment of politics. To modernize and nationalize Gezaixi is to valorize a royal/imperial/national subjectivity designated as valid within the Japanese colonial project.

Under the multiple threats of wars, realism reinforces an absolutely correlative identification between citizen identity outside of theatre and character identity inside of theatre. In other words, theatre characters need to be embodied with civic identity, which calls for the solidarity of the whole nation. After the initiation of the Kominka policy, Xiqu performances are seen as “Chinese” national legacy and

need to be removed. The constructed difference between Taiwan and Japan however also need to be removed, discursively if not practically. Cultural activities in Taiwan are localized in service of being constituted as a part of the Japanese nation, according to which the islanders are expected to be able to be “real Japanese,” nationally if not ethnically.

The Reformed Drama is a Gezaixi performance that is asked to adopt a realist and racial form in accordance to the nation’s wartime policy. As such, it is usually shown in a way that a Gezaixi actor performs conventional repertoires by speaking Japanese in modern suits or Japanese clothes. However, I argue that the Reformed Drama is by no means a neutral and mutual exchange of two cultures or two ethnicities. It should also be seen as a national-realist form given birth by the wartime state. It is not until this period that a distinction of two “ontologically as well as epistemologically” different performance style, the modern and the traditional, is set up for the multitude of the islanders. Also in this regard, it is the period in which the islanders become not only Japanese but also Taiwanese.

In other words, the so called “Japanese culture” or “Taiwanese culture” is never naturally given as some scholars claim by assuming that a common identity can be discovered in language and ethnicity. Rather, culture is an identity that is made through discourse.

1.18 Nationalization and Modernization

In this dissertation, I intend to see local performances in colonial Taiwan as an act of translation in modernity by ways of the multitude’s practices in trans-national and trans-ethnic experiences of everyday life. In the first half of the twentieth

century, Xiqu performances in Taiwan undergoes a process during which various theatrical practices beyond the regime of translation in modernity are being consolidated into a single form of colonial modernity, which is imperialist, colonialist, and nationalist. Practices beyond national and ethnical boundaries, multi-lingual capability of audiences, ethical-cum-political agency in the theatrical performative, etc., are integrated into national-realist aesthetics of the mono-lingual/national language, the ethnicized, and the politicized nation.

In this regard, I intend to extend to my theory looking at the post-war period, in which a successful consolidation of mono-modernity and a completion of the regime of translation are installed in the theatrical performances under the KMT (Kuomintang) administration of a Chinese nation. Ethnicity discursively is formulated by the nation, which in the same vein sustains the notion of the local identity of people. The multitude becomes citizens by ethnicization. Difangxing is getting dissolved. Beginning in the Kominka period, the Xiqu theatricality experiences a historical, political, and social transformation through national realism. The theatricality in which audiences feel and experience performances with multiple ethical imaginations disappears in the representational and representative identity of realism.

A short novel published in the Kominka period by Zhou Jin-Po's (Shou Kin Ha 周金波) entitled "Xiangchou"(Homesickness 鄉愁) describes a story in which some Xiqu practitioners turn out to be gangsters. The novel ends with an episode in which the practitioners hand in to colonial officials their metal weapons, which used to be props in Xiqu performances. To submit Xiqu weapons is to show their royal contribution to the war, for which more military weapons need to be made.

This novel explicitly deciphers a process in which Xiqu performances are being nationalized starting in colonial Taiwan. Xiju and Xiqu have been set up in the regime of translation as two ontologically different cultural properties among the general public since then. It is a national project within the regime of translation, which dominates in knowledge production of performance and theatre in Taiwan. These two seemingly distinct cultural properties however represent the same discourse in which monolithic languages and ethnicized people constitute theories of theatre and performance, namely, theatricality. Xiju, in representative of the so-called modern drama, becomes the only legitimate carrier of performance under an imagined community of a nation composed of modern monolithic citizens. Xiqu, by the same token, becomes national or localized drama.

The dissertation challenges the aesthetics and epistemology of Chinese music drama by critiquing colonial modernity hand in hand with nationality, citizenship, and ethnicity. Also the dissertation argues that theatricality is a socio-political practice and an epistemological invention rather than an aesthetic or conceptual imagination. It is a dissertation which tackles the complication of performance in relation to politics and ethics by showing that performance is not only representational but also itself constituted in and through power and knowledge.

The dissertation consists of four chapters. The first chapter is an introduction. The second chapter is “Colonial Modernity and People of Exception: Baizixi, Gezaixi, and their Audience in the Doka Taiwan,” in which I look into ways in which the audiences of Baizixi and Gezaixi provide an alternative of popular imagination by contrasting discourses of colonial modernity by the colonial regime and intellectuals. The third chapter is “The Local as the Transnational: Difanxing

of Jingju in the Prewar Taiwan.” I intend to argue in this chapter that “the local/difangxing” is a concept that helps reveal the epistemological formation of local identity in conspiracy with nationality via ethnicity in local dramas. In the same chapter, I will also argue that theatricality is historical and discursive instead of an aesthetic concept. The fourth chapter is entitled “Imperial Body: Transformation of the Empire and Inheritance of the Colonial,” in which I talk about the way in which the Kominka Movement re-shapes the body discourse of the islanders and in which the discourse continues to be taken by nationalist in the post-war period in the form of a multicultural Taiwan. I will end up with an overlook on relations between knowledge and performance to conclude this dissertation in the same chapter.

Chapter 2

Colonial Modernity and People of Exception: Baizixi, Gezaixi, and their Audience in the Doka Taiwan

Many intellectuals ambivalently discovered in 'the people'-or, in the category of the 'social' (shehui) or the qun (group), abstractly defined- the necessary grounds from and upon which to build their new visions of the nation.⁴⁴

---R. E. Karl, Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

In her book “Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” Rebecca Karl analyzes the way in which China as a nation in formation is embodied in what she calls “global modernity” of capitalism, imperialism, and knowledge praxis, by its imagination of, construction of, and connection to overseas/fellow Chinese, Chinese people, and the Chinese nation. She emphasizes that any formation of Chinese modernity in this period has already been a representation as well as a result of globalization.⁴⁵ Karl agrees with Prasenjit Duara, who successfully indicates that not all local narratives can be a part of the nation-state; she nevertheless argues that Duara is confused with two concepts of the universal and the global. To put it simply, Karl argues that Chinese modernity in the form of the local is indeed global although it may not be universal. It is only through placing the local in the context of the global we will be able to see the stage of modernity on which the local gives a performance that is not an idealist, Hegelian, and universalist historicism. Inspired by this argument, this dissertation argues a blind spot in which colonial modernity, by relating to

⁴⁴ R. E. Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Duke Univ Pr, 2002) 37.

⁴⁵ Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* 3-27.

historicism, shapes the epistemology of modern Chinese theatre. I suggest an alternative articulation of modern people that I call “the multitude”⁴⁶ by a yet-to-be-named multitude of modern audience, who are not limited and defined by colonial modernity and its connotation of universality.

On the stage of modernity where capitalism and imperialism are two main characters, statism and nationalism are the major representations of colonial modernity.⁴⁷ Statism proposes a project of nationalization in which colonial regimes govern and administer colonized people by making them modern citizens/nationals. The project is also practiced and enforced by the discourse of racial difference. By the same token, nationalism grounded on anti-colonialism also emphasizes uniting colonized people by the imagined racial distinction. It is this “crucial moment of a nation in crisis” under which an epistemology that defines the modern and distinguishes the traditional is in formation. Here, I put “the crucial moment of a nation in crisis” in quotation to stress that the moment is materialistic while being representational and discursive. In other words, it is by this discursive imagination of modern people that projects hope and survival of a nation, the anxiety of the national crisis (wangguo miezhong⁴⁸) can be released. The powerful intensity between “nation and people” dominates the way in which the modern is conceived and practiced.

⁴⁶ The concept derives from Hardt and Negri’s *Empire*, in which it is used to describe an alternative imagination of collective agency against capitalist modernity. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Empire* (Harvard University Press, 2000), Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude : War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004).

⁴⁷ Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* 4.

⁴⁸ Chinese: “亡國滅種.”

As been discussed in the first chapter, Xiqu as a particular genre of theatrical performance, from the outset, appears and is named in the context of imperialism and colonialism. This chapter further presents an alternative understanding of human collective relation in modern times, by investigating Baizixi and Gezaixi as well as their audience in the Doka⁴⁹ period of Japanese colonization in Taiwan in contrast to the discourse and imagination of “modern people” of the Japanese colonial regime and the Taiwanese/the islander colonized intellectuals. A re-articulation of “modern people,” of what I call “the multitude,” intends to provide an exemplar of that which is an epistemologically different construction from the so-called modern people under colonial modernity and its defined universality. By historicizing Xiqu, the investigation of the multitude on the one hand elucidates the problematic that Xiqu has been de-politicized and aestheticized as an enclosed, self-sufficient performance under colonial modernity; on the other hand, it helps unpack an ontological and epistemological difference by a translative operation⁵⁰ between Xiqu and the modern. In other words, the concept and genre of Xiqu cannot represent various genres of Chinese performance, which should be re/deemed as a lived performance of different theatrical performance and modern beings.

⁴⁹ Doka literally means assimilation. Historians believe that the period before the Kominka Movement starting in 1937 is a stage in which colonial policy is to assimilate the islanders, ideally if not practically. As such, it is called the Doka period. In the dissertation, I take the historians’ term in describing the period before the Kominka, yet offer a different perspective of theorizing the period beyond the policy of assimilation with regard to Leo Ching’s articulation in his book “Becoming Japanese.” See Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese.”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California UP, 2001).

⁵⁰ Boris; Nowotny Buden, Stefan; Simon, Sherry; Bery, Ashok; Cronin, Michael. , "Cultural Translation: An Introduction to the Problem, and Responses.," *Translation Studies* 2.2 (2009).

It is not my intention here to prove Xiqu was and is modern, and could be modern /modernized by analyzing how modern Xiqu could be in terms of aesthetics, or how many “new” elements were used in performances as to be different from classics. By doing so is again to fall into the discursive structure of “modern vs. traditional,” and re-enforce the epistemological basis of colonial modernity. In other words, to represent the modern does not escape the violent discourse of incommensurability that is transcribed in the regime of translation of colonial modernity.⁵¹ It instead stabilizes the hegemonic structure of “modern-traditional” without radically challenging the discourse to discover modern elements in Xiqu and to explore modern styles in tradition. In contrast, what I want to do is to indicate that the definition of the modern is by no means grounded on the structure of colonial modernity. For me, to revisit and rearticulate modernity in colonial Taiwan entails a focus on the activities that voice off the dominant stage of colonial modernity and beyond the colonized epistemological discourse. By challenging colonial modernity, the differential understandings between the people and the multitude provides a possibility to demonstrate the off-stage voices.

To understand the difference between the people, who is represented in universalistic, colonial modernity, and the multitude, who embodies alternative modernity, Dipesh Chakrabarty’s critique of political subjects of modern citizen under historicism-cum-capitalism provides a significant reference.⁵² Chakrabarty suggests a new reading of modern subjects of peasants, who resist against

⁵¹ Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

⁵² Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe : Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

colonialism while being consistently involved in religion. This modern subject cannot and should not be theorized and understood with regard to the universalistic subject of bourgeoisie, who are educated with Enlightenment knowledge, which consciously make farewells to religion. Chakrabarty's notion of peasants in relation to modernity describes the way in which they participate in nationalistic movements through revolts. In other words, not only elites and the people awakened by elites but also peasants are also actors of national construction.

Nevertheless, Chakrabarty's peasants cannot fully explain connotations of the multitude in my discussion of Xiqu performance, for the multitude is "trans-national and modern" while the peasant is modern due to being nationalistic.⁵³ Chakrabarty explains the peasants' participation in nationalistic movements by their involvement in revolts. My inquiry seeks to explain how we understand peasants in relation to nationalistic movement during the time when there is no revolt. Are they pre-modern folks, revolutionaries in pending, or docile colonized citizens? In other words, common people under colonization should not be subject to nationalism; there should be a discursive space in which the national and peasants are not attached.

As far as the critique of intertwinement of historicism and modernity is concerned in Chakrabarty's argument, a notion of the multitude regarding "the trans-national and modernity" is a response to the epistemological configuration between nationality and modernity in colonized nations. To put it more clearly, the emergence of the national is rooted in colonial modernity itself, for nationality in

⁵³ Following Marxism, Chakrabarty and Subaltern Studies scholars emphasize an important factor of peasants participating in the anti-colonial, national movements in India.

forms of culture and politics is rooted in the configuration with colonial modernity.⁵⁴ It is the configuration that forecloses any other imaginations of lived experience in the colonial era, and later veils the conspiracy in the epistemological formation between nationality and modernity in the post-colonial era. Audiences of Baizixi and Gezaixi discursively and historically expose the configurational relationship between nationality, colonial modernity, and epistemology. The multitude by example of the audience corresponds to alternative modern properties that delink the configurational relationship, and provide a different interpretation toward modernity. To be brief, the multitude is a trans-national/colonial enunciation of the colonized in modern times.

This chapter focuses on a modern experience that goes beyond colonial modernity by drawing examples of the multitude of the audience in relation to the baizihua (vocal vernacularization) of Baizixi and Gezaixi. The next chapter will discuss the way in which the experience based on the multitude exceeds the epistemological boundary between nationality and ethnicity, a line drawn by colonial modernity.

This chapter will start with analyzing colonial modernity in which colonial regimes and colonized intellectuals validate the relationship between nation and people, and citizens and the masses by employing the project of national education and modernizing people. Drawing from the examples of national language, the chapter reveals distinctive expectations toward the colonized as well as the contradiction and ambiguity that lie in the enlightenment project of colonial

⁵⁴ Deconstructing Nationality, The Cornell East Asia Series, eds. Brett de Bary Naoki Sakai, and and Iyotani Toshio (Ithaca: The Cornell University East Asia Program, 2005).

modernity by demonstrating the discursive transformation between assimilative education in the pre-war Doka period and subjectivizing education in the war-time Kominka period. As far as colonial regimes are concerned, a colonial policy through a differentiated education of citizen-making intends to make the colonized ambiguous modern citizens who are not fully authorized to receive complete Japanese national identity. Focusing on the baihuawen (vernacularization of the writing and the speech) disputes, the chapter discloses the way in which historicism constructs and represents civilizational sequence through colonial modernity. As far as colonized intellectuals civilizational sequence through colonial modernity. As far as colonized intellectuals are concerned, baihuawen, which equals to universality, modernity, and progress, carries a modernizing responsibility by which to turn the masses into civilized, global citizens. Through baihuawen, literature, nation, and people are able to be consolidated.

By Baizixi and Gezaixi popular in the 1920s, the chapter continues to discuss the way in which baizihua, which is grounded on vocal vernacularization by non-elites, is harshly criticized by colonized intellectuals as vulgarism of the masses and chaos of the society on the one hand, and the way in which baizihua actualizes the concept of the multitude in imagining an alternative of the people of the colonized.

2.1 Islanders under the Colonial Regime

The idea of people is considered as a concept that emerges as an imagined collectiveness of political agency and identification in modern times. In political philosophy, its conceptual formation is usually highly related to the emergence of

the nation-state.⁵⁵ Benedict Anderson examines the formation of people by the notion of imagined communities, according to which a communal group coexists in and shares a culture, history, and everyday life through the aegis of print capitalism. This communal group successfully actualizes the nation in correspondence with the state.⁵⁶ Giorgio Agamben discusses the notion of people by coming to terms with the relationship between sovereignty and citizenship. He argues that the formation of the modern state is based on the concept of sovereignty while citizenship endowed to people functions to sustain the conceptualization of sovereignty by consolidating people as citizens inside of the state and representing the nation outside of the state.⁵⁷ In other words, the idea of people emerges in modern politics as a significance of re-publicizing humans, making them citizens, who represents the sovereignty of the state. The process beginning with the folk, the masses, people, and citizens is also a progress from the pre-modern to the modern. It also works as a political reformation of subjects in modern politics. The theoretical conjuncture of citizenship and sovereignty legitimatizes the nation-state. It is nevertheless worth noting that the process of citizen-making is full of the violence of modernity. Agamben specifies that “any interpretation of the political meaning of the term people ought to start from the peculiar face that in modern European languages this term always indicates also the poor, the underprivileged, and the excluded.”⁵⁸ Agamben calls it body politic or biopolitics⁵⁹ the way that

⁵⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics*.

⁵⁶ Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

⁵⁷ Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics* 16-29.

⁵⁸ Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics* 29.

people take parts as citizens in the imagined community of a nation. Yet their citizenship can be deprived or abandoned by the state once people refuse to be consolidated, reject to identify, or fail to be identified in the nation. To put it simply, for Agamben, people are born becoming citizens in the formation of modern politics. Jews in the Nazi period provide an obvious example.⁶⁰ The process of citizen-making as well as political subject-making works hand in hand with a categorization of human beings. Colonialism, which relies on categorization of race, is an actualization of the violence of modernity. In 1895, the Qing Empire was defeated in the First Sino-Japanese War. The Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed in the following year. Until 1945, the end of the Second World War, Taiwan served as a colony of Japan, which emerged as a newly capitalist and imperialist modern state. “How to govern the colonized Taiwanese?” has been a disputed issue in the colonizer Japan since the inception of colonial dominance. Generally speaking, there were two standpoints regarding the way in which the colonized Taiwanese should be treated among the metropolis, the colonial regime, and colonized intellectuals: differentiation or assimilation.⁶¹ Historians generally think that differentiation generates the colonizer’s law and policy-making in the first stage of the dominance. It was believed that particular governance with military force was

⁵⁹ G. Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. D. Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

⁶⁰ The Jews under the Nazi regime is one of the best examples. See Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics* 29-35.

⁶¹ Chinese: 差異對待 或一視同仁. The assimilation policy is the colonial ruling policy in the middle period (1921~1937) of Japanese colonization. It is a policy used to distinguish from the previous colonial policy, the particular ruling policy, which sets up different laws and regulations by not treating colony Taiwan as part of the Japanese nation. “The June 3rd Law” (usually call “Law 63”) is a representative of the particular ruling policy. “Law No. 3” published in 1921 is more like a practice of the assimilation policy, which emphasizes Taiwan is part of the Japanese nation enforced by the Japanese law with additional regulations of particular colony laws. See <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/fprint?ID=3712>, <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=3711>

necessary to maintain social order in the colony, due to the fact that the Taiwanese colony, which had just become part of the Japanese empire, was so different from the metropolis Japan in culture, society, economy, etc. In the middle stage of the 1920s, assimilation replaced differentiation as the policy that administers the colony. There is, however, not much different between differentiation and assimilation regarding the colonizer's imagination of race. The only nuance is expectation toward to the future. That is to say, differentiation states the current disparity between two races, Japanese and Chinese/Taiwanese; assimilation anticipates a possible sameness between the two by Japanese educating, cultivating, or civilizing the racially Taiwanese other. To put it simply, assimilation is also rooted in the discourse of racial difference. If we can say that the modern state governs people by scientific methods and efficient statistics and make citizens through education, I would suggest a reading of colonialism that sees colonies as a community composed of people with uneven properties. What I mean "uneven" here is that colonized people are seen as a time-lagged race, in terms of civilizational sequence, which thus ought to be received differently. It is not until the eruption of the Second Sino-Japanese War that colonized Taiwanese received national education and governance. "The islanders," the label used to name colonized Taiwanese in the colonial era, are just incomplete citizens. The incompleteness is practiced in laws as well as embodied in the mentality of the islanders. This colonial discourse of incompleteness undergoes a critical transition after the war erupts. A clear picture regarding the incompleteness of citizenship of the islanders can be revealed through the contrast of the discourses between the pre-war and wartime periods.

2.2 Doka and Kominka

Current scholarship usually divides the colonial period into two different tri-phased parts: 1895-1915, 1915-1937, and 1937-1945,⁶² or 1895-1919, 1919-1937, and 1937-1945. 1915 was the year in which the Xilain Incident (西來庵事件) occurs. Some argue that the colonial administration enters a pacifying stage since the incident is usually regarded as the last Han people's rebellion against the occupation. Others argue that 1919 should be seen as the dividing year in which civil Governor-General Den Kenjirō (デン健次郎) was assigned to take the position of military Governor-General Akashi Motojiro (明石基次郎), and Taiwan since then was under the civil administration until 1937.⁶³ Both basically agree that Taiwan enters the second colonizing period in which civil administration and assimilation policy become clear beginning in the 1910s. This period, ending in 1937, is called the "Doka (assimilation) period."⁶⁴ Historians used to consider the Doka period as the prologue of the Kominka (imperialization/ subjectification) period, and Kominka continues Doka and intensifies it. Leo Ching has a different argument regarding the relationship between Doka and Kominka. Ching argues that it is the eruption of the war that radically changes the colonial ruling. Kominka functions as turning Taiwanese into royal Japanese citizens, who sacrifice their life on the battlefield when the nation is in crisis. It is also Kominka that the discourse

⁶² Xiuzheng Huang, Shengyan Zhang and Wenxing Wu, *Taiwan Shi* (Taipei Shi: Wu nan tu shu chu ban gu fen you xian gong si, 2002) 169-80.

⁶³ Fusan Huang and Yonghe Cao, *Taiwan Shi Lun Cong* (Taipei Shi: Zhong wen tu shu gong si, 1980) 345-7. Dashou Huang, *Taiwan Shi Gang* (Taipei Shi: San min shu ch"u, 1982) 230-2. Huayuan Xue, *Taiwan Li Shi* (Taipei Shi: Da Zhongguo tu shu gong si, 2000) 66-71. Qingyi Sheng, Shilang Wang, Shufan Gao, Hengdao Lin and hui Taiwan Sheng wen xian wei yuan, *Taiwan Shi* (Taizhong Shi: Taiwan Sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, 1977) 493-4.

⁶⁴ Huang and Cao, *Taiwan Shi Lun Cong* 346.

of colonial ruling changes from “difference” (between Taiwanese and Japanese) to “sameness” (between the two). That is to say, it was not until 1937 when the war began that complete citizenship was granted to the islanders.⁶⁵ The articulation of the contrasting discourse between Doka and Kominka elucidates the incomplete citizenship of the islanders in the Doka period.

The incomplete citizenship is practiced in the inequality of right to education and political participation between islander Taiwanese (本島人) and Mainlander Japanese (內地人). Goto Shinpei (后藤新平), who served as the civil administrator, designated this policy.⁶⁶ As mentioned, “differentiation or assimilation” is one of the major issues debated by the colonial regime and colonized intellectuals. Before Goto Shinpei in 1906 decided to set up differentiation as the ruling policy, Izawa Syuuzi (伊沢修二) was the central advocate for assimilation. Before Izawa quit his post as education administrator and left Taiwan in 1897, it was his belief that the education, cultivation, and modernization of the Taiwanese is the main reason why Japan had colonized Taiwan. He opposed a proposition of extending the Law of June 3rd,⁶⁷ which authorized the Governor-General of Taiwan with power of law-making, for he believed that Taiwanese would become Japanese someday by education.⁶⁸ Yet Izawa was not able to accomplish his ideal by receiving support

⁶⁵ It is noteworthy that the islanders are granted with a complete citizenship due to the transformation of colonial ruling in the wartime. Yet the islanders can never become real “Japanese” until death. For more discussion, please see Ching, *Becoming “Japanese.”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*.

⁶⁶ Peifeng Chen, “Doku” No Dosho Imu : Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan De Yu Yan Zheng Ce, Jin Dai Hua Yu Ren Tong (Taipei Shi: Mai tian chu ban, 2006)

⁶⁷ See footnote 24.

⁶⁸ Peifeng Chen, “Doku” No Dosho Imu : Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan De Yu Yan Zheng Ce, Jin Dai Hua Yu Ren Tong (Taipei Shi: Mai tian chu ban, 2006) 81-7.

from the colonial regime. In 1898, Goto Shinpei started to serve as civil administrator under Governor-General Kodama Gentarō (児玉源太郎). Izawa's ideal was fully replaced by Goto's differentiation policy, which dominated colonial rule until 1937.

Goto, who is renowned for administering Taiwan by following biological principles, thinks "a weak and incompetent person may be abused by crafty people if the society authorizes right and obligation to a person directly and fiercely not by following a natural principle." To introduce civilization to a society of the uncivilized is tyrannical because it disobeys the principle of human progress.⁶⁹ Goto asserts that Taiwan is not applicable for the Japanese Constitution for Taiwanese are "Chinese, who cannot be assimilated to other races."⁷⁰ To use Chen Pei-Fong's words, Goto rejects "Taiwanese to be assimilated to the nation (同化於民族)," yet welcomes them "to be assimilated to the modern (同化於文明)."⁷¹ Naoki Sakai however clearly indicates that the nation and the modern are co-configured during the formation of colonial modernity.⁷² What hides behind Goto's statement of rejection to the nation yet welcome to the modern is not only racial difference between the islanders and Mainlanders but also modernity, which

⁶⁹ Chen, "Doku" No Dosho Imu : Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan De Yu Yan Zheng Ce, Jin Dai Hua Yu Ren Tong 109.

⁷⁰ Chen, "Doku" No Dosho Imu : Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan De Yu Yan Zheng Ce, Jin Dai Hua Yu Ren Tong 121.

⁷¹ There are two Japanese's colonial educational policies in Chen's observation. One is "assimilation to race/minzoku, and the other is "assimilation to the modern/civilization." The former functions on a basis of moral education in an attempt for assimilating the islanders to the Japanese people while the latter emphasizes intellectual education and tries to turn the islanders into modern people. The way in which Chen distinguishes is helpful for analyzing and examining different educational principles in different periods. This, nevertheless, easily falls into an disregard of the correlation and conspiracy between race and modernity. In fact, both the two ways of assimilations function along with the discourse of colonial modernity. Who is modern replies on racial differentiation, and, by the same token, race constructs modern imagination.

⁷² N Sakai, "Theory and Asian Humanity: On the Question of Humanitas and Anthropos," *Postcolonial Studies* 13.4 (2010).

is presumed as a gap for the islanders to overcome due to their “biologically” racial identity.

Based on biological principle of racial difference, Goto promoted a policy called “Respecting the Old Custom.” In 1901, “Temporary Taiwan Old Manners and Custom Survey Society” was founded and led by Goto. The Society was made for assisting the colonial regime with knowledge of the colonized. Old custom was collected through a general investigation into islanders’ custom, according to which racial difference is actualized between the islanders and Mainlanders under the colonial ruling. Xiqu performances (of the islanders) are also subject to the old custom investigation. Under the policy of “Respecting the Old Custom,” Xiqu performances were not banned outright although some regulations regarding theater, program, and performance were imposed.⁷³ Such a policy towards Xiqu would last until 1937. Besides the islanders, who were the main audience of Xiqu performance, the colonial regime also programed Xiqu performances in the Palace of Governor-General on national holidays and festivals. As such, colonized intellectuals were suspicious that the colonial regime intended to suppress islanders’ rational development by promoting Xiqu performances, particularly Gezaixi, which was very popular among the islanders in the 1920s.

As mentioned, historians generally argue that the colony Taiwan enters a different stage under the administration of the Civil Governor-General in the 1910s. Linguistic or educational policy, which has been set up during the Goto’s period, however shows no difference between the first and the second period. The

⁷³ For more discussion, please see the last chapter.

islanders and Mainlanders in the colony Taiwan received two systems of national education from the colonial regime according to differentiated policy of biological principle. In other words, as far as colonial discourse is concerned, colonial rule is effectively the same in both periods. To put it clearly, the islanders in the Doka period never receive equal rights or obligations with Mainlanders. They are not nationals-citizens in waiting that the colonial regime plans to mould. They are not the not-yet “Japanese” until the Kominka period when the islanders are expected to serve loyally to the nation. In contrast to the Kominka period in which Taiwanese is expected to become Japanese immediately, the Doka period is a time in which Taiwanese becoming Japanese is postponed without limit. As a newly modern, capitalist, imperialist Japanese nation’s colony, Taiwan was simply regarded as an important support to the economy of the metropolis- not an extension of the Japanese nation itself.

The differentiated education system of the colonial ruling explicitly reveals the violence of colonial modernity. The islanders are people of the regime yet never citizens. The disparity between the Doka and Kominka period unpacks the way in which colonized people are discursively situated, and further helps examine how to theorize the islanders in terms of citizenship in relation to the colonial nation. It also provides a space in which Xiqu performances are able to develop an alternative modernity that is not devoured by the nation. I continue to discuss how colonized intellectuals imagine and expect their fellow islanders to be a part of the modern world.

2.3 Colonized Intellectuals' Imagination of People: the Co-figuration of the National and the World, the Personal and the Collective

In this section, I analyze how colonized intellectuals imagine their fellow colonized by introducing the discussions and debates on Baihuawen (vernacularization). As shown above in the discussion of citizenship of the colonized in the Doka period, to be a qualified citizen is to be a national. An independent, modern person is expected to be granted with rights in political participation through the authorization of citizenship. The islanders are to some extent deprived of the right of citizenship due to their racial difference, according to which they cannot be and are yet to be modern. A modern and individual citizen has to be a qualified Japanese national, who is endowed with citizenship while sharing sovereignty.

I have indicated that in the Doka period the islanders are not qualified Japanese citizens. This is to say that the islanders are yet to be individualized in terms of citizenship, as well as the islanders are not yet institutionalized in the national structure, or say, nationalized. Only a few the islanders were able to receive national education in the Japanese language in the period while others were still trained in classical Chinese. There was no enough elementary education to support a national or communal identity. Anderson argues that print culture promotes imagined communities, in which a national identity may be formed. In the 1920s, when only 20% of the islanders might receive the Japanese or classical Chinese education, it is rather difficult to argue the islanders create communities by words.

Under racial differentiation of colonial rule, a community of the colonized is eagerly desired by colonized intellectuals. For the intellectuals, failing to create a community of the colonized means a widespread lack of consciousness for the colony's future, carelessness for the modern world, and failure of awareness of self-identity. In contrast to the colonial regime being inactive in making the colonized citizens of the nation, the intellectuals instead actively want to turn the colonized into citizens of the modern world. For the intellectuals, there are at least two layers of being a modern citizen. They strive for the right to political participation of a citizen inside the colony while desiring to become a global citizen outside the colony, ideally if not in practice. When the colonial regime rejects to grant a full citizenship to the colonized, to be a global citizen means consciously partaking in the progress of the modern world and the awareness of the self in colonialism. However, this desire for being a global citizen is to accept the values of colonial modernity, in which a belief in universality and racial difference are installed. Racial consolidation of the colonized, a quest for universality, establishment of modern subject, etc. are targets for the intellectuals. Coercive linguistic unification in vernacularization is one of the essential topics among the intellectuals.

2.4 Building up Modern People: Baihua Wenxue (Vernacular Literature)

Since the 1920s, there underwent a debate on “New Literature vs. Old Literature” in literature circle. Debaters were basically divided to two groups: one advocated vernacular literature (baihua wenxue 白話文學) or called “New Literature,” which derives from the May Fourth Movement of China, the other that

supported classic literature (wenyan 文言 or hanwen 漢文) or called “Old Literature.”

Scholarship generally thinks that the debate was launched when Zhang Wo-Jun published his critical essay of “the Terrible Taiwanese Literature Circle” in 1924. In the essay, he indicates the development and progress of Western Literature from Classicism, Romanticism, Naturalism, to Realism. Japanese literature follows this progression after the Meiji Reformation. This is an era of worldism, yet Taiwan is excluded from the modern world and stays in a very childish period. He argues that Taiwanese poetry and essays has no value as literature, criticizing that the educated of the Old School tries to gain fame and are used by the colonial regime by reading unpractical books and making insignificant poems. He continues to claim that Taiwanese Literature is dead and false, and there is no real literature that is alive. Zhang was educated in Beijing and deeply influenced by the New Literature Movement of the May Fourth. He was an activist of the Chinese vernacular (Zhongguo Baihuawen 中國白話文) in opposition to Classic Chinese (wenyanwen 文言文). He said that “The nine-tenth of the language we use in everyday life has no word. It is because that our language is vulgar, low-class corresponding to no word, and non-sensual. This literature is no doubt of being valueless.”⁷⁴ Only when everyone uses a kind of writing that can be freely expressed can the value of literature and, indeed, a living literature be found. Besides the support in the Chinese vernacular, the New Literature intellectuals also promoted free thought by criticizing Classic Chinese and Confucianism. In addition,

⁷⁴Wo-jun (張我軍) Zhang, "Xin Wenxue Yundong De Yiyi (新文學運動的意義)," Taiwan People's News (臺灣民報) 1925.

the intellectuals accused the Old School of relying on the colonial regime and gaining profit since the Japanese language, the Kanji in particular, shares much with Classical Chinese.

The Old School on the other hand retorts that the New Literature is not literary for the New contains no rhyme, attracts only “low-class people and the poor,” and is plain and indecent. It also attacks the New School for its immorality of promoting freedom of love, which results in an unstable society.⁷⁵ The viewpoint of Lian Ya-Tong, one of the representatives of the Old School, argues that the New School “never studies the Classics, understands the tradition, nor reads the time-honored poetry of classic Chinese literature,”⁷⁶ yet determines the Old Literature is obsolete. The New School simply pursues the fashion without understanding tradition. The so-called “New School” is just the kind of “picking up leftovers of Western fiction and drama, and it is nothing but shortsighted people.” Two arguments, which represent the Old School’s criticism: first, ignorance of tradition, and, second, affinity with the West. In other words, the Old School is aware that the distinction between the two is not only what style of literature and writing must represent the Taiwanese people but also which culture between Chinese and the West the people belong to. A discursive formation of cultural and racial difference is thus being installed in these debates.

⁷⁵ Shengfeng Weng and guan Guo li bian yi, *Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan Xin Jiu Wen Xue Lun Zheng Xin Tan* (Taibei Shi: Wu nan tu shu chu ban gu fen you xian gong si, 2007) 110-20.

⁷⁶ Chinese: 未讀六藝之書、未接百家之論、未聽離騷樂府之音

2.5 Two Schools, One Discourse

The debate produces two schools of intellectuals. The New School advocates liberation of thought, strengthens connection with people, and expects people to catch up to the world and become modern citizen by using the vernacular and popular literature. The Old School on the other side believes that Classical Chinese is the root of culture, condemning that the New School is blinded by the West, ignorant of tradition, lost in indelicacy and immorality, and harmful to the society for its support for liberation.

This debate continued for years. Other related issues were also tackled in the debate. “To what extent a vernacular is ordinary enough for common people?” Despite these debates, both new and old schools of intellectuals could deny that it is very difficult to tell the difference between the vernacular Chinese and Classical Chinese. For some, an essay written in the vernacular can be still seen classical while for others one written in Classical Chinese can be vernacular and plain.

A call for a Taiwanese vernacular is another issue. Should there be a different written language for Taiwanese to use in case Mandarin, on which the Chinese vernacular is based, is not commonly spoken in Taiwan? But the problematic of a single Taiwanese vernacular occurs immediately regarding various ethnic groups of Quanzhou, Zhangzhou, Kejia, among others.⁷⁷ It is always a question of to what extent a vernacular written language can fully represent a spoken vernacular language of a nation, race, or ethnic group, as far as a correspondence between

⁷⁷ Weng and Guo li bian yi, Ri Ju Shi Qi Taiwan Xin Jiu Wen Xue Lun Zheng Xin Tan 112.

writing and speech (Wo bi xie wo ko⁷⁸) is concerned in the vernacular movement. Multiple Taiwanese written vernaculars in request reveal a critical issue in which an imagined discursive connection is formulated between vernacular and race/ethnicity. In fact, what the vernacular movement requests is more a critique against the written Classical Chinese, which separates speech from writing, than a reality in practice. Just like the nation is created by constructed imagination, the vernacular as a correspondence between writing and speaking also relies on a certain degree of shared imagination. It is also to say that an absolute, unitary, and universal written vernacular of a nation can never be possible just as ethnic groups, races, and nations with disparity are created in imagination or in experience.

The debate between the vernacular and the classic, and its related followings, disclose the way in which “the vernacular” is indeed a discourse, through which “the classical” is created and “the tradition” is distinguished. The discussion regarding ethnic groups and the vernacular also exhibits that “the vernacular” creates “a nation” through an imaginative connection. In other words, the vernacular is itself racial and national.

As Shu-mei Shih says, “we also need to remember that one of the main accomplishments of modern Chinese literature was its vernacularization, through a baihua movement that tried to displace the classical, literary language and to capture a unity between speech and writing.”⁷⁹ A vernacularization of modern literature also occurred in the 1920s in the colony of Taiwan. The attempt to

⁷⁸ Chinese: 我筆寫我口

⁷⁹ SM Shih, "Theory, Asia and the Sinophone," *Postcolonial Studies* 13.4 (2010): 477.

capture a unity between speech and writing in the debate of the New and Old literature produces a vernacular (baihua) discourse by which two forms of literature and two groups of intellectuals are represented.

2.6 The Personal and the Collective/the Social

Above is shown that the vernacular (baihua) movement is formulated in relation to imaginations of race, nationality, and ethnicity. I continue to unravel the way in which the vernacular is also involved in the re-configuration between the personal and the collective. As has also been mentioned, the discourse of the vernacular is formed hand in hand with an expectation of consolidating the people of the colonized, so as to “advance to the modern world and survive the crisis of racial extinction.” Anxiety of expectation is repeatedly shown in essays and critiques of the New School intellectuals. The vernacular movement is also a process during which modernity can be achieved. By being able to capture a unity of speech and writing, a person is equipped with the internal capability of perceiving the external world. The capability of communicating between the internal and the external is a process of subject construction, during which the personal and the collective/social are co-configured.⁸⁰

Within the debate, the New School intellectuals emphasized the importance of writing the vernacular as a means for people, meaning, all classes of people (the low-class in particular) to read and write. In other words, only through writing the vernacular, a literary tool of direct expression, of people, of everyone, and of non-

⁸⁰ Foucault has a detailed discussion of the way in which individuality is in relation to collectivity. M. Foucault and A. Sheridan, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1979., 1977).

feudalism, can the task of modern citizen-making be achieved. That is to say that only making the personal civil does the modern, civil collective become possible. The personal is thus the collective. That is also to say that, from the outset, it is a coercive consolidation that founds the necessity of making the personal. In this light, the discourse of the vernacular displays a discourse of modernity in which the new intellectuals imagine how a modern, individual, and independent citizen is made possible.

So far I have described the way in which the vernacular movement is actually a discourse of modernity, which represents the imagination as well as the formation of ethnic difference, and the configuration of the people and the social. Shedding light on this articulation of the vernacular movement, it is worth continuing to note that the collective/ social is realized in relationship with the personal in terms of ethnicity or ethnic imagination. In other words, the vernacular movement is a process during which the personal is situated in a configuration with the racial, ethnical, or national collective, and through which modernity is posited. With reference to Naoki Sakai in his articulation of the conspiracy between the particular and the universal, the vernacular movement explicitly demonstrates that the ethnicity or nationality of the particular serves to achieve the modernity of the universal.

The vernacular discourse is set upon the configuration of the particular and the universal, and the personal and the collective. From the outset, it is a paradox with ambiguity: sameness yet difference.⁸¹

⁸¹J. Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (Columbia University Press, 2002).

Current scholarship on colonial Taiwan in relation to modernity tends to emphasize the particularity of a colony in which pragmatically social and political issues go to the forefront of discussion rather than idealistic concerns of “the East and the West.”⁸² This emphasis of particularity easily conceals the discursively paradoxical complexity of colonial modernity. What I want to draw attention to here, in other words, is the epistemology embedded within colonial modernity, which premises the paradox of sameness yet difference. This embedded epistemology comes into being in every cultural, political, and social representation and narrative, including Xiqu performance. It is only through investigating this epistemological paradox, the intertwining between the traditional and the modern, the national and the world, the particular and the universal, the personal and the collective, the same and the different, will we be able to understand the way in which both schools of intellectuals regard Xiqu performance in colonial Taiwan.

In sum, the debate makes clear the concept of “people,” regarding which the two schools have different comprehensions. For the New school, people are posited upon individuals, and can perceive knowledge in the modern world by success in vernacularization. For the Old school, people are no difference than the folk, who are low-class, vulgar, and insignificant. In other words, the Old school tends to believe in cultivation and enlightenment hierarchically led by the elite.

⁸² Su-chen Chien, "Five Aspects of Enlightenment Thinking in Colonial Taiwan (1895-1945) : the Forming of Colonial Modernity in Taiwan and the Thoughts of Chang Shen-Chieh (張深切) as Its Landmark," *Fu-zen*, 2007, 39.

2.7 Baizixi and Gezaixi in the Doka Period

In the last chapter, I discuss the way in which Xiqu appears as a nationalist symbol in the imperialist and colonist context. Various genres of local performance are theorized in a set of national and cultural aesthetics in the national discourse. Aesthetics seem neutrally to theorizing performances, yet, as discussed, aesthetic and cultural representations of the period are embedded with the epistemological discourse of colonial modernity. In other words, a “neutral” interpretation of aesthetics, in relation to national and ethnic imagination, discursively replaces modes of discursive understanding Xiqu in relation to politics and historicity.

Current scholarship, by this aesthetic theorization, constructs the way in which performances in the colonial period are divided into “New Drama” and “Old Drama.” “New Drama” means realistic dramas and performances, which are translated and transplanted from “the West” and “Japan;” “Old Drama” signifies various genres of performance, which share aesthetic traits. This dichotomist understanding of drama and performance in New and Old thwarts a historicized reading of performance transformation in the period.

Several genres of performance came into being in the colonial period. I argue that they should be read as performances that are not the same as the performances which exist prior to the period, such as Beiguanxi, Nanguanxi, etc., although they share similarity in style. Baizixi and Gezaixi are two of the representatives. According to research, these two genres did not exist in any archives of the pre-colonial period.⁸³ Colonial archives of newspapers show that the two genres were

⁸³ Ho-yi Lin, *Theatre History of Taiwan* (Taipei: National Open UP, 2002) 136.

very welcomed by the audience. A multitude of the audience aroused intellectuals' attention or, say, anxiety. Intellectuals demanded suppression from authorities, and the police were also concerned with social disorder due to the popularity of the genres. This collective in the form of theatrical multitude in performance had never appeared in contrast to that of the pre-colonial period. It is also worth attention that a sort of modern and public social order is intensified under the colonially civilized governance, and a multitude of the audience contrasts potential disorder with colonial order.

Following the discussion regarding modern citizen in the expectation of colonized intellectuals, I continue to discuss the way in which the collectives of Baizixi and Gezaixi are harshly criticized by the intellectuals in the debate and the newspaper. As has been mentioned, the unit of an ideal modern citizen is theorized by New School intellectuals as being based on the individuality of a person, which serves as a civil unit and perceives the world. This individualization is made possible by the enlightenment project, of which the Baihuawen movement is one example. In other words, for the intellectuals, the enlightenment project is the only way for the nation as well as people to acquire modernity. The intellectuals have a strong rejection against the audience, who have not undergone the process of enlightenment. For the Old school intellectuals, the audiences are nothing but low-class people, who are never with learning opportunities. These people are not significant and valueless for the society.

2.8 The Two New Genres in Intellectuals' Eyes

The newspapers of the 1920s- 1930s provide us with archives to understand how the intellectuals regarded and criticized the two newly emerging theatrical genres, as well as how they relate and contrast the vernacularization of the theatrical genres (baizihua) with that of literature (baihuawen).

[Taiwan Daily News]

[Forum] We learn Baizixi since childhood. We write by Baihuawen, read Baihuashi, and sing Baihuachu. Songs like folklores, tea-picking songs, and farm-working songs are easy for us. Recently we are not popular anymore because people despise us for vulgarism and never visit us. What can we do? Today people say that there is a Baihuawen society, promoting poems, essays, and songs in the Baihua form. This is what we are good at. We will be best chosen as long as people know us. Awesome! This is our time! (A Baizixi troupe) 1925/04/14 Page.4 No. 8953⁸⁴

This critique is obviously written by an Old School intellectual with ironic language. The intellectual, on behalf of a Baizixi troupe, satirizes the New School in insisting the vernacular. By a satirical speech, this critique opposes the advocacy of the literary vernacularization (Baihuawen) of the New School on the one hand and despises the low-class performance of Baizixi on the other by condemning the indecency and tastelessness of the Baizixi. The critique here intends to attack the New School by relating the theatrical vernacularization (Baizihua) of common people to the literary vernacularization (Baihuawen) of the intellectual.

⁸⁴ 是是非非 我們自幼學習白字戲。寫的是白話文。念的是白話詩。唱的是白話曲。諸如山歌、採茶、駛犁歌、都是種種皆會的。因為世人嫌我們鄙俗不堪。不肯招呼我們。所以生意冷落。日食難度。這就無可奈何了。今回聽得臺灣有人設立白話詩文社。專募白話詩文。白話歌曲。正是合我們所能。想我們出頭應募。必得高選。好了。這就是我們班中人的福氣了（白字戲班） 1925.04.14 Vol. 4, No.8953. Yaxiang Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," (Yi-lan: National Center for Traditional Arts, 2004), vol.

Below is another report, which reveals the way in which intellectuals (of the Old School) despise Gezaixi due to class distinction. They imply that the Gezaixi audiences are mentally handicapped and cannot even reach the average standard of people.

[Tainan New News]

[Gezaixi in Keelung] Xing-Shen House for entertainment has won many audiences, women in particular, since the New Year. It is because that the house features performances in which singing and acting are in the Baihua (vernacular). Every audience can understand. However, most of the audiences are low-class people. People with higher position and fame will not go. That is why it is understandable that the audiences are low-class. Shame on them! 1925//02/09 Page 5 No.8255⁸⁵

In addition, intellectuals were also resentful of the fact that Gezaixi usually touched upon lustful content by which society order and morality were affected. There were many women audience members participating in both Gezaixi and Baizixi. The Old School believed they were to a large extent affected by lustful performances of the two genres as well as the promotion of the New School's "free love."⁸⁶

⁸⁵ 基隆近信·歌戲好況 島人娛樂機關之新聲館。自舊元旦以來開演歌仔戲極博好評。婦女界尤趨之若鶩。蓋該劇唱念科白多以白話。無人不曉也。然往觀者多中流以下。若中人以上。則寥寥無幾。人智之高低。于此可見一斑。悲夫。1925.02.09 Vol. 5, No. 8255.Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

⁸⁶ 在新知識份子的文化場域：臺灣民報上，亦可見其對於歌仔戲風化之批判。三、歌仔戲要禁的原因：歌仔戲倘若能夠進步像普通的歌劇卻是好的、但是因為發生是始自無賴的遊興、不是從藝術的要求創作的、所以雖是取材和科白一見合乎時勢、也是難斷全班是好的。就現在一般人所摘出的歌仔戲要禁的原因略說一下。1 演員的人格卑劣、所以雖是材料取自二度梅忠孝節義、但是所表演的人員的人格沒有修養、不能夠發表真的意義、倒反利用好劇齣而實演傷壞風俗的。2 歌調很淫蕩、所用的樂器是很低級、調子也是淫蕩、使一般男女聽之會挑發邪情、又且所唱的歌詞也是很邪淫的、失去本來演劇的本義、反使青年男女受惡感化。3 表情很猥褻、在表演中每逢男女談話等表情過於猥褻、所用的科白也多淫詞、所以誘引挑動邪情的尤更直接、所以弊害是更甚的。4 在演員中的男優是多不良的分子、常有引誘挑發女觀眾陷入迷途、而女優多行蜜淫迷惑男觀眾的很多。大概以這數件理由主張禁止的很多、就是從前在

[*Taiwan Daily News*]

In recent years, Gezaixi and Tea-picking performances are the most indecent of the Taiwan theatre circle. Baihuaxi and others are secondary. None of low-class people can reject these performances. The society has to be cautious of these audiences in case they become actors of the performance. By the time, the society will collapse. This condition has to be regulated and controlled by the authorities. 1925/12/03 Page 4, No.9286⁸⁷

[*Taiwan Daily News*]

Gezaixi performs recently...It has been a full house for many days....If you check who are actors of Gezaixi, you will find they are the kind of weasels, who kidnap decent men and women in satisfying their uncivilized, animal desire of acting. This phenomenon is getting popular. 1927/02/10 Page 4, No 9620⁸⁸

[*Taiwan Daily News*]

The tone of Taiwan Gezaixi is gross and extravagant. There is only one tone. It is sung in Taiwanese, which everyone understands. As such, everyone can tell how indecent the performance is. People of ignorance are its indulged chasers. Performances of the like result in social problems such as kidnapping, elopement, etc. This is why people of thoughts are appealing to ban them.

Its influence is threatening. Several days ago, a performance of Gezaixi premiered at the Long-Shan temple. Children of the two public elementary schools of Lao-Song and Long-Shan started to learn how to perform Gezaixi after school. It is expected that parents can be careful about children's behavior. This kind of performance is harmful to citizens in personality and conduct. In the Qing period, upper-class families seriously educated their children to learn from great people. By contrast, low-class performances become children's

臺北、連唱歌都禁了、何況表演、既然是這樣的多弊害、我們也是說不得不要禁止的。1927.1.9 p.4-5, no. 139 臺灣民報 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

⁸⁷ 近來吾臺劇界如歌仔戲。採茶等。傷風敗俗最多。而白話戲其他次之。該戲一演。則下流社會之男女無一不趨之如鶩。若縱之其入戲臺演唱。則社會之頹敗立至矣。為其地方監督者。最宜嚴為注意也。1925.12.03 Vol.4. No.9186. Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

⁸⁸ 連日滿園其魔力之大。誠有如是。查歌仔戲之角色。盡屬無賴之輩。近拐誘良家子女。以遂其獸慾之風演。漸次傳播。1927.02.10 第四版 第9620號 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

model. No wonder that our children are not able to be advanced to higher education. It is just not possible. 1928/04/23 Page 4, No. 10058⁸⁹

[Tainan New News]

[Principles] Yong-Le theatre has not seen a full house for long since Jingju troupes relocated to Keelung. Recently, a troupe of Beitou Baizixi was appointed by Yong-Le theatre. There were only a small audience at the beginning. Yet later people received promotion coupons everywhere in the street, in the lane, in the market, in the factory, and in every corner. It is only ten pennies for admission. People can watch performance freely as long as they wish. As such, the theatre is packed any time. Not any seats left. Even the stage can be taken. I see the performance as nothing but a common street one. I was so confused why it is highly welcomed, and decided to pay ten pennies out of curiosity. The theatre was very crowded. (Sigh) I found the reason after I saw it. It was because it aimed at what young, poorly behaved people like and what low-class folks expect. The performance was indecent in many aspects, like immoral speeches, lascivious songs, and shameful acts. People of thoughts cannot stand it. It is even worse than Gezaixi and tea-picking drama. Why do moral people never stand against and rectify the situation? 1924/05/04 Page 9, No. 7974⁹⁰

⁸⁹ 無腔笛 ▲臺灣歌仔戲之調。卑卑靡靡。僅僅一調。所唱即臺灣話極易曉狎褻詞句。故無知男女。趨之若狂。到處演成偷香竊玉及淫奔種種醜聞。為有心人所欲嚴禁之也。 ▲其惡感化力偉大。日前連續在萬華龍山寺前開演後。老松龍山兩公學校兒童。於放課後。盛行學習歌仔戲。言之可歎此後深望家庭中。為父兄母姐者嚴為注意。此種於二國民品行陶冶上。最為有害。前清時代。臺灣上流家庭每勉其弟子。以學聖希賢今則不然。取法乎下。無怪其試驗入上級學校。難乎其難也。 1928.04.23 Vol. 4. No. 10058. Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

⁹⁰ 萬殊一本 永樂座自京班往基隆後。久已寂寞不演。近忽有守顧永樂座者。聘甚麼北投白字戲 仔開演。始觀者甚少。近忽滿街滿巷滿市場滿工場滿四界分配一等招待券數千枚。觀者空令納十錢為茶代。便得自由觀覽。數日來不獨滿座無立錐之地。甚至滿臺上 空留一席。餘皆如街上普通演戲時。臺上四圍男女觀客塞滿真令人不解予亦好奇心投十錢與他。入內排擠人群登樓上觀之。噫我見之矣。我知之矣。蓋投輕薄男女之所好。而愚夫俗婦之所樂。故有如此之盛況。所演不獨挑戲淫詞腳來手去。淫穢不堪。真令有心人目不忍見。耳不忍聞。比之採茶歌仔戲。其傷風敗俗尤有甚焉。安 得有道之人出為矯正否噫（淫戲宜斥） 1924.05.04 vol. 9 no.7974 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

No discipline is obeyed in the theatre. The stage, which is full of people, is no exception. Why? I believe it is because it performs indecent romance, which uneducated people appreciate. They participate like a crowd of birds. 1924/05/10 Page 5, No. 7980⁹¹

For the New intellectuals, Gezaixi and Baizixi are both born with “original sin.” Their performance style represents “the tradition,” which is equal to “backwardness” and “an uncivilized nation.” No matter how different from the previous Old Drama the two newly emerging genres are, they have nothing to do with the enlightenment project of modernity. In most of the New School intellectuals’ eyes, they were by all means the embodiment of the old time, in which the nation was not enlightened thus yet to be civilized. Performances of the like needed to be banned for they would lead the nation into chaos.

[Taiwan People’s New]

We don’t need to criticize Taiwanese drama from the viewpoint of art. Just common sense will be enough for us to say how terrible it is. We are not satisfied and believe a reformation is needed. Taiwanese drama always either draws stories from the obsolete or mechanically produces stories that lose its originality. Its performance of speech and acting is too abstract for not only audiences but also performers, who will never understand. If performers don’t understand, how can they arouse audience’s happiness and affection? In this sense, I doubt there is any value in Taiwanese drama. In addition, actors of the drama are indecent, low-class people. How can the performance be respected if their personality is indecent? No wonder why New Drama is called into appearance recently. Young people who are activists for cultural affairs try to reform the society by performance and drama. As such, we can say it is the origin of Cultural Drama. There are problems in Cultural Drama, yet I think it’s a good beginning.

We found recently there is a performance genre called Gezaixi. To be compared with Old Drama, it has interesting stories, though old-fashion, of which legends such as Meng-Jian-Nu, San-Bo-Yin-Tai, Chen-San-Wu-Nian, etc., are popular among people. In addition,

⁹¹ 然座中全無規律。甚至演戲臺上。亦因男女擁塞。究其盛況原因。蓋所演多淫劇。無智男女。趨之若鶩。1924.05.10 Vol. 5. No, 7980 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

it is performed in the Taiwanese vernacular unlike Old Drama, which is abstract. Thinking in these two aspects, Gezaixi is much better than Old Drama. However, Gezaixi is also born in the low-class. There are many defects and problems. That's why a request of prohibition is in progress. 1927/01/09 Page 4-5, No 139⁹²

For the New School intellectuals, the Gezaixi audiences represent the masses that have not been enlightened. They are not only harmful for national consolidation but also present an obstacle for the modern development of the nation. One of the examples is shown in the case that one of the most important political party, the “Taiwan People Party,” founded by Jiang Wei-chuai, Cai Pei-huo and Xie Chun-mu, listed “objection to Gezaixi” on the founding party program.⁹³

Starting in the 1920s, intellectuals who were enlightened by modern education gathered to establish parties in politics and organizations in society. They expected to increase political participation of the islanders through petitions to the colonial regime of Taiwan and the Metropolis in Japan. They also held many public speeches, hoping to enlighten the masses. There were many speeches that focused on the topic of objection to Gezaixi. In a speech in Chu-nan in 1929, Gezaixi was condemned for its harm to social order and moral.

⁹² 我們不必從藝術上來批評臺灣劇、只用一般的社會常識、來批評向來臺灣的劇界、也是難免無抱不滿足和要改革的感想。向來的臺灣劇不但是取材的不合時勢、就是一切的表演已經是失去劇的本來的面目、成做一種的機械的動作。在舞臺上的表演和所說的科白、不但是觀眾不得意會、就是表演者也是不懂的、怎得誘起觀眾的快樂和感憤呢？在這一點已經是失去劇的全價值了。又兼臺灣劇的演員盡是低級的下流社會的人居多、所以在演員的人格上更是沒卻了價值的。於是乎、近來新劇的發生的聲浪高漲了。一般對文化運動熱心的青年、要利用演劇來改革社會的惡弊提高文化、就創始了文化劇了、這在創始的中間雖未周至、但是博了很好的信用得了很多的結果了。……現在又再發生一種歌仔戲、這個和舊劇比較起來、所取的材料雖是昔時的故事、但多是如孟姜女、三伯英臺、陳三五娘等的與民眾的傳說最有趣味的材料、又且所說的科白也是用臺灣白話、不像舊戲說那種不明不白的、對這兩點說來卻是勝於舊戲。但是歌仔戲的發生是出自下流社會、所以其中的缺陷和弊害很多、現在四處要禁的聲浪很高了。1927.1.9 p.4-5 no. 139 臺灣民報 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

⁹³ Chiung-jen Chien, T`Ai-Wan Min Chung Tang (T`ai-pei shih: Tao hsiang ch`u pan she, 1991).

[Taiwan People's News]

[Local News in Chu-nan] [Say No to Gezaixi in Public Hearing] At 8pm on the past three days, the Chu-nan branch of the Taiwan People's Party held a public hearing to discuss how to reject Gezaixi at the Ma-zu temple of Zhong-gang, for Gezaixi is indecently against tradition and custom. The public hearing started with Weng Fong-jun, and continued with discussion by Chen jiu, Chen Wan-zu, Lin Jiang-jun, Cai Guo-cha, etc. The discussion was successful and audience were very involved and touched. It ended at 10pm. 1929/07/14 Page 6, No 269⁹⁴

The New School intellectuals believed that the colonial regime tried to suppress Cultural Drama and nationalist/anti-colonialist movements by allowing Gezaixi performances.⁹⁵ They protested that Gezaixi was used to attract people, preventing them from attending speeches held by the intellectuals.⁹⁶ Below are examples of how the colonial regime is criticized for conniving Gezaixi.

[Taiwan Daily News]

[Poisonous Gezaixi] Gezaixi has been protested everywhere in the island, yet it is never banned by the authorities. Why? It is said that the authorities is liberal for fashion, or that the police cannot understand Taiwanese. Recently, the troupe "Xin-Yi-Yuan," of no. 80, Niu-lan-be, Guan-xi village, Xin-chu county, performed "Duan-lan ji" at the Ping-zhen station of Zhong-li county. The performance was salacious. The Zhong-li authority punished the owner of the troupe with a 3 day sentence. The police of Xin-chu also

⁹⁴ 地方通信·竹南·開講演會 排斥歌仔戲 臺灣民眾黨竹南支部、這回鑑及在該地繼續開演中的歌仔戲、頗有傷風敗俗之嫌、故此該支部於去三日午後八時起、在中港媽祖宮內開排斥歌仔戲的講演會。首由翁啟楓君述開會辭、次辯士陳九、陳萬濡、林江俊、蔡國查諸君、繼續當壇發揮雄辯、聽眾十分感動、至十時頃在盛況裡閉會云。 1929.07.14 vol.6 No.269 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

⁹⁵ Kunliang Qiu, *Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Ju Zhi Yan Jiu, 1895-1945* : Jiu Ju Yu Xin Ju, Taiwan Ben Tu Xi Lie ; 3 Zhi 11, vol. Di 1 ban. (Taibei Shi: Zi li wan bao she wen hua chu ban bu, 1992) 209.

⁹⁶ Qiu, *Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Ju Zhi Yan Jiu, 1895-1945* : Jiu Ju Yu Xin Ju 193.

*suspended indecent performances of Gezaixi troupes, which affected the social order. The authorities did a good job. 1928/04/20 Page 6, No. 10055*⁹⁷

[Taiwan Daily News]

*[Forum] Gezaixi was forbidden in a regional police meeting days ago Now it is promoted again. It is ridiculous that the police goes back and fill. 1928/11/14 Page 4, No. 10262*⁹⁸

Some people showed discontentment with lavish theatrical performances, which might affect national economy and show no patriotism, when the nation was undergoing a hard time.

[Tainan New News]

*[Theatre] ...Those who go to theatre are not conscious of the depression of the economy, which is seen everywhere in the world. Germany follows Russia, which is the worst. The poor in the South are also affected in health. It's a disaster. Taiwanese should be cautious. Save more money, help the nation! This is how you love your nation with your heart. 1923/02/25 Page 5, No. 7540*⁹⁹

Intellectuals of both the New School and the Old School were opponents against Gezaixi and Baizixi. The Old criticizes their immortality of performance and disturbance to social order from a perspective of class distinction while the New treats them as a representation of backwardness and obstacles to the modern

⁹⁷ 無腔笛 ▲歌仔戲 流毒。全島各處盛行反對。當局卻不曾嚴禁。真不可解。或云當局之頭腦過新耶。抑臨監警官。不解臺語耶。但此回新竹郡關西庄牛欄河八 O 番地班主楊昂之新宜園。前月念四日。在中壢郡平鎮驛前。開演藝題。「緞攬記」劇中猥褻醜態。不堪寓目。中壢郡當局。因該班紊亂風紀。對興行主嚴重訓示。處以臺灣違警例違反。拘留三日間。新竹州警務部。亦鑑于臺灣劇屢演風紀是紊亂之劇目故對各郡通牒嚴重。可謂英斷。1928.04.20 第六版 第 10055 號。

⁹⁸ 是是非非 某派出所內保正會議時。對眾人聲明禁止演唱歌仔戲。今又提倡。真出乎爾反乎爾也。(可笑) 1928.11.14 第四版 第 10262 號。

⁹⁹ 菊部警鐘 尚不知財界反動。到處皆然。此時最悲慘者。莫如俄羅斯。繼及普國。累及南洋一帶窮民。鵠形菜色。不堪寓目。臺人應宜車鑿。節儉有方。裕國為本。可為精神上之愛國。(關心者) 1923.02.25 vol. 5 no.7540 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

world, believing they are taken by the colonial regime as tools which suppress nationalist movements. These two perspectives of looking at the genres represent the way in which two schools of intellectuals understand the concept of “people” in relation to the society as well as the modern time. It is worth noting that different from the Old School’s criticism out of class prejudice, some people of the New School instead find the genres’ significance as a mediator by which to enlighten people. In other words, the two genres, for the New School, represent an emergence of the masses. The problem however is that the masses need to be transformed into modern citizens.

[Tainan New News]

Over the past years, Gezaixi and Baizixi have been very popular in the island. Literature can be found in any style, so can music. People of thoughts should understand that New Literature follows the rule. If people who want to reform literature can make good use of the performances, we will have better New Literature. We then need not imitate leftovers of foreign literatures by ignoring our own. 1925/06/11 Page 5, No. 8377¹⁰⁰

[Taiwan People’s News] How to Ban Gezaixi? Led by people with insights

Let’s take a look at the Taiwan theatre circle. As mentioned, Old Drama is obsolete and decayed while newly developing Cultural Drama is too difficult for common people for its sophisticated speech and its high taste targeted at intellectual’s interests. We need more insightful people of art, who like to devote themselves to reformation. It will be much better if performances take into account Taiwan in stories, scripts, actors, and speech.

So-called Cultural Drama has an emphasis on the speech and despises singing and music. Common people however are more interested in operatic drama. We cordially hope that insightful people can be devoted to operatic drama, reform the indecent and lustful Gezaixi, and create a kind of civilized operatic drama such as the West’s and Japan’s. The people

¹⁰⁰ 數年來。歌仔戲白字戲盛行於島內。嘻笑怒罵盡成文章。調韻聲音應絃合拍■識者謂是新文學之進化其然豈其然歟。世之改革文學者。如善鼓吹之。豈非別開生面之新文學。奚■舍近圖遠。拾人糟粕哉。1925.06.11 vol.5 no.8377 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

will have a great contribution to Taiwan culture by doing so, reforming Old Drama, and improving the Taiwan theatre circle. 1927/01/09 Page 4-5, No. 139¹⁰¹

The two genres of Gezaixi and Baizixi serve as a target of the debate regarding how to understand “people,” the concept of which formulates the way of imagining modernity. They are the representation of people who cannot be modernized in the New School’s eyes and people who are nothing but low-class folk in the Old School’s eyes. Although some intellectuals are aware of the collectiveness embodied in the genres as a means of reforming the hierarchy of classic literature, a dichotomy of the traditional and the modern, implying a racialized Self and the racialized West, limits the intellectuals’ ability to look at the two genres beyond the epistemological confines of colonial modernity. Performances that have not undergone the process of modern enlightenment can be never seen as modern and useful for the society and the nation. Speaking of performance representation, to radically transform people into modern citizens is to replace any of our own/the racialized Self’s dramas, theatres, and performances with representational carriers of their/the racialized West’s modern ones, such as Cultural Drama, New Drama, and modern theatre. Colonial modernity provides the only way for the New School intellectuals to imagine people, who need to serve as modern subjects. In other words, Gezaixi and Baizixi and their audience are not

¹⁰¹ 統觀臺灣的演劇界、如前所述舊劇已經是時代錯誤、陳腐不堪了、新興的文化劇雖是良好、但是過些高級、近於有識方面的趣興、一切的科白也是很深、一般的民眾是不易理解的、雖是一種的文化劇還要使再通俗化才行。希望對藝術方面有識有趣的人士獻身出來改革指導、由臺灣取材、劇本科白全部要以臺灣為本位、那末就更得一番進步了。現在所謂文化劇似乎重在說話、至於歌唱音樂還是輕看的、總是歌劇在一般的民眾的感興是更深刻的、我們還是希望有志的人們獻身的去研究組織、將現在的世評淫蕩猥褻的歌劇改革起來、能夠創造像在西洋和日本那樣的文明歌劇、來改除向來的舊戲、使臺灣的演藝界進步、那末對臺灣文化向上貢獻也就算不少了。1927.1.9 Pg. 4-5 no. 139Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

allowed in the modern time although they do embody a collectiveness of people in the form of populace, or what I call “the multitude,” a modern representation yet beyond the discourse of colonial modernity.

2.9 Beyond Colonial Modernity

[Taiwan Daily News]
Audience get crowded day and night (in the theatre of Gezaixi and Baizixi)
1927/02/06 Page 4, No.9616¹⁰²

My question here is how we can look at Baizixi, Gezaixi and their audiences in the colonial period beyond the way in which the intellectuals regarded them. In addition, how do we understand Xiqu, by the two genres of performance, in the way that it is never a self-sufficiently aesthetic genre of performance rather an epistemologically racialized and nationalized genre of Xiqu consolidated from a variety of local performances? And, at last, how we may be able to theorize Baizixi and Gezaixi in relationship to the history of “Chinese theatre” or “Taiwanese theatre”? That means to ask and challenge if Baizixi and Gezaixi are traditional or modern. I intend to answer the questions in a collective space of the audience where the colonial regime neglects and the colonized intellectuals exclude. It is in the space of negligence and exclusion an offstage voice beyond colonial modernity can be heard.

By the exclusion, I want to emphasize here again that a new theatrical (social and political) audience of the collective, in the representation of Baizixi and Gezaixi, occurs in this period, even though they are not ideal of what the intellectuals expect.

¹⁰² Chinese:晝夜聚觀不厭. 1927.02.06 vol. 4 no. 9616 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

The appearance of the new theatrical audience has much to do with a transformation of theatre space. There was not a period in which Jiuguan (tavern) and Chayuan (tea house) were popular as a performance site before modern theatre houses were launched in the 1910s.¹⁰³ Compared to the development of the modern theatre house in China, Jiuguan and Chayuan used to be most popular sites for all sorts of performances. Before so-called modern theatre houses appeared, most of performances in Taiwan were outdoors, although there were also some performances that were held indoors by the upper-class. Outdoor performances were generally a part of rituals and worships in religious activities. Sometimes they were also seen in occasions where marriages and funerals were held or juridical verdicts were practiced.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, theatre performances in the pre-colonial period are basically functional, and theatre itself is not an independent activity to attract people. It was not until the colonial period that indoor theatre houses appeared. In less than ten years after the houses started, Baizixi and Gezaixi were born and later occupied significantly the houses in the 1920s.

Scholars think that Baizixi is a localized Nanguanxi, which is spoken in the Quanzhou accent of the Min-nan language. It later becomes a performance that is spoken in the Zhangzhou accent, particularly in the vernacularized and localized

¹⁰³ In Taipei, Tamshui Xiguan (淡水戲館) is built in 1909 and later changes its name to “Xin Wutai (新舞台).” Monjia Chayuan (艋舺茶園) and Yongle zuo (永樂座) open separately in 1919 and 1924. There are also many other theatre houses launched during the 1910s and 1920s. See Yaxiang Xu, “On Early Commercial Theatres in Taiwan-Tamshui Xiguan, Monjia Chayuan, and Yongle Zuo in Colonial Taipei (試論台灣早期商業劇場---以日治時期台北市淡水戲館(新舞台)、艋舺戲園及永樂座為例),” *Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore (Min Su Qu Yi)*.146 (2004).

¹⁰⁴ Li-Lin (張儷齡) Chang, “The Formation of the Public Order in Taiwan’s Modern Theater: A Multiple-Modernity Project of Civilizing the Human Body,” *National Chiao-Tung University*, 2008, 23-27.

speech.¹⁰⁵ Gezaixi is a performance that consists a lot of folklores and is spoken in the Zhangzhou accent (or a mixture of the Zhangzhou and the Quanzhou).¹⁰⁶ A feature in common between the two genres is vernacularization, meaning, that mandarin or the Quanzhou accent are replaced and localized by a language accent that is commonly used among the islanders.¹⁰⁷ It is in this sense that, to a large extent, the vernacularization comes hand in hand with the new audience, which makes commercial theaters possible for the first time in Taiwan.

Baizihua literally means “vernacularization of words” yet is a transformation of the vocal/spoken language rather than written language. Different from the way in which the intellectuals expect to build up modern citizens by an ideal of baihuawen (the vernacularized written language), baizihua was formed as a performance speech with an emphasis of direct communication with audience in the colonial period. Baizihua is significant in several ways, both socially and ethno-theatrically.¹⁰⁸ It looks like a naturally performative transformation of language,¹⁰⁹ which means to attract more audience, yet in fact changes the relationship between theatre and audience. Socially speaking, a popular vernacularized theatre then gets rid of restrictions of being attached to rituals and functional performance, developing a new theatre audience who actively participates in theatrical performance, and broadens influence, making going to theatre a common daily

¹⁰⁵ Lin, *Theatre History of Taiwan* 136.

¹⁰⁶ Lin, *Theatre History of Taiwan* 147-57.

¹⁰⁷ Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹⁰⁸ I will discuss the formation of ethno-theatricality in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁹ See next chapter.

activity. Theatrically speaking, the arrival of a vernacularized performance symbolizes a transformation of theatricality, in which language/speech dominates.¹¹⁰ I will discuss specifically the transformation of theatricality in the next chapter, analyzing the way in which the discourse of performance is changed in the relationships between ethnicity, language, and theatre genres after a nationalist epistemology is installed. Here, I want to focus on the social aspect, in which a new articulation of “people,” which belongs neither to people of the colonial regime nor to modern citizens of the intellectuals, appears as “the multitude” that goes beyond colonial modernity in the vernacularized performance.

2.10 Theatre House: From Ritual to Commercial

Theatrical performance in the Han society is usually understood as a performance attached to and involved in ritual and worship. It has a long tradition of being a part of worship for gods and spirits in the society. On the one hand, it serves as a necessary process in worshipping, and, on the other hand, it provides ritual participants and common people with regional and seasonal entertainment. This performance is centered on local temples, where gods of different ethnic groups are worshipped. Beiguanxi is one of the representatives.¹¹¹ Beiguanxi is involved in all sorts of social activities, including “god’s birthdays, temple’s festivals, redeeming a wish, wishing for health, life rituals, important regionally public gatherings, private quarrels, violation of regional laws, etc.”¹¹² Its performance

¹¹⁰ See next chapter.

¹¹¹ Lin, *Theatre History of Taiwan* 93-95.

¹¹² 1901.10.03 no.1027 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

usually contains historical stories and legends in the repertoire. The purpose of the performance is mainly of god worship or of ritual request although audience of the performance also enjoy in the meantime. Yet, theatrical performance entered another stage beginning in the colonial period. More and more performances were held in the indoor theatre house, and most of them had nothing to do with worship or ritual. Jingju crossing the Taiwan Strait from Shanghai and local performances of Baizixi and Gezaixi were protagonists on the commercial stage.

Current scholarship usually names the performance attached to ritual “traditional theatre,” as a category in contrast to “modern theatre,” from a dichotomist viewpoint of “traditional and modern,” which, as been discussed, derives from colonial modernity.¹¹³ However, looking into archives of newspapers in the colonial period, people were aware of the disparity between the emerging genres of Baizixi and Gezaixi and the Old Dramas of ritual theatre. The two new genres were seen as “modern drama.”

[Forum] Insights into Taiwan Theatre (2)

Old Drama performs history (like sword performances in Japanese drama) with an emphasis on martial arts and cruel, strange, and weird stories.

Old Drama's speech is stylistic and difficult for audience to understand.

Gezaixi is a modern theatre based on living people, just like Japanese's New Drama and Western Opera)

Gezaixi uses lyrics and speeches in the vernacular Taiwanese, which makes audience understand. 1930/09/13 Page 11, No. 330¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Lin, Theatre History of Taiwan 93-95.

¹¹⁴ 論壇・台灣演劇的管見(二)一、舊劇是演歷史的(像日本劇的劍劇)重在於尚武殘忍怪奇性。二、舊劇的臺詞、是重形式、給觀者不易了解的。一、歌仔戲是根據在於現代的、(日本新劇西洋歌劇)靜的人活劇。二、歌仔戲使用臺詞歌曲、是普通台灣語、觀者很容易了解。1930.09.13 vol.11 .no. 330

[*Tainan New News*]

The Taiwan theatre circle should progress with the world. Today's world is advancing and entertainments for common people are changing. In Taiwan, Jingju used to be dominant, and later Geju(Gezaixi) follows. Nowadays, moving pictures (movie) have replaced Geju. It is seen everywhere in Taiwan that movies are so popular. Common Taiwanese women are Chinese movie fans. It is because that they are familiar with the tradition, stories, and custom. Yong-le theatre (Yong-le-zuo) often has Chinese movies on program. The Lian-yu company knows the market and imports the latest movies with interpretation in Taiwanese for audience. Admission fees are also cheap in the moment of economic depression. That's why audiences are attracted. By contrast, Jingju in Xin-Wu-Tai (The Novel Theatre) is seen as obsolete. The recent bad weather also affected the box office revenue. Xin-Wu-Tai is located from afar, and is inconvenient for the audience. The theatre house is usually vacant even though it has programs in both daytime and nighttime. One of the reasons is that the Zhang De-chun troupe hires with cheap prices low-level actors, which are leftovers from first-class troupes for he thinks Taiwanese are not experts. People also say that it is because the Jing-chun troupe does not have a full cast of characters. Audiences do not attend again due to disappointment. As such, theatregoers prefer movies in the Yong-le Theatre. 1930/02/19 Page 6, No. 10086¹¹⁵

[*Taiwan Daily News*]

[The Islanders' Taste in Theatre and Storytelling] There used to be public and open theaters for Taiwanese women in the old time, such as big drama, old drama, tableaux, tea-picking, shadow drama, and puppet drama. No matter it is a performance for personal affairs of marriage and god-worship or public rituals of temples, it is open to the public.

Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹¹⁵ 臺灣之劇界變遷 應時而趨向 方今文明日進。一般人心娛樂。多驅時勢之變遷。如我臺劇界。多由京班。而趨於歌劇。現已由歌劇而進入活動寫真。故我臺現在不論何處。皆流行影片。然臺灣人一般婦女。尤多趨中國之活動寫真。蓋以其風俗韻事。其他等類。詳之熟矣 而今臺北市永樂座常設之中國活動寫真。良玉公司。尤能應時代之要求。時輸入最新影片。且附以臺語之說明。便於了解。入場料亦廉。合於緊縮時代以故一般娛樂者。趨之若鶩。反以新舞臺京班。世人視為陳腐。兼之舊正以來。霖雨作祟。新舞臺猶偏於一隅。觀者不便。雖日夜開演。而座席稀稀。其原因之最大者。乃充京班張德俊。勘破臺灣人少能識戲之好呆親到上海。以廉價僱出各班選餘之烏合班。或云景春班（諧音）無別腳色唱念之足賞故入場者。皆不肯捲土重來。而更趨于永樂座活劇以為快云。 1930.02.19 vol.6 no. 10086 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

*Today, theatre houses are invented to satisfy audience in different ranks. It is also seen the outset of a hierarchic system. 1930/08/12 Page 4, No. 10898*¹¹⁶

These reports and reviews above indicate some messages. First, theatrical performances are not dichotomously separated as “traditional Xiqu” on the one side and “modern theatre” on the other; it is a three-stage progress of “Old drama (Beiguanxi etc.), modern theatre (Gezaixi), and moving picture (movie).” Second, commercial, indoor Gezaixi (Huoju, living performance) replaces free, open Old Drama and attracts audience’s eyes. Third, the Taiwanese language (Taiyu) as the vernacular signifies the difference between the Old Dramas and Gezaixi. These messages convey significances of Gezaixi in differentiating from the Old Drama of ritual theatre. The language has played an important role in the new relationship between audience and performance.

The new performance of Gezaixi easily amounted to thousands of people in the audience, both in the city and countryside.

[Taiwan Daily News]

*[Social Education and Gezaixi] On the Xi-zi Street of Qi-xin County, there was an educational movie presentation in school and Mr. Liu Ke-Ming was the guest speaker. On the one side of the street, the presentation was educational in good and virtuous thoughts; on the other side, there was a Gezaixi performance, which attracted thousands of people, both men and women, with its indecent and lustful sounds. 1928/05/07 Page 4, No. 10072*¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ 島人士趣味一斑（廿三） 戲劇及勸善講古 往時臺灣婦女。非解放的戲劇則公開的。大戲、老戲、戲仔、採茶、傀儡。布袋戲等。無論為個人酬神吉慶。公眾寺廟祭典。殆無一不公開焉。今人設為戲園。分特等。及一二三等由是階級制度生焉。1930.08.12 vol. 4. No. 10898 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹¹⁷ 社會教化與歌仔戲 七星郡汐止街。去二十九日天長節祝日。學校演映教育活寫。?邀請劉克明氏講演。此邊以社會教化思想善導為主旨。方極力提倡。而他面則許可歌仔戲。于其近邊開演。淫聲披靡。

[*Taiwan Daily News*]

On the 23rd, a Gezaixi performed near the North office. Thousands of audiences were involved. Men and Women were mixed. Several fights and quarrels occurred. 1928/10/30 Page 4, No. 10247¹¹⁸

Commercial performances of Gezaixi are not anymore centered on regional temples, and started to perform and tour in the newly developed theatre house everywhere on the island. The performance does not focus on dedication to gods but rather people as their audience to entertain. From the perspective of audience, they can no longer be “regional and seasonal” audiences but rather professional audience who can travel with performances.

2.11 People of Exception and the Multitude : Gezaixi and Baizixi Audience as an Alternative of the Collective

The nine-tenth of the daily language we use has no words that match equivalently and adequately. It is because our language is raw. It is a low-class language that has no equivalent words. It is a language that does not make any sense. As such, we can undoubtedly say that it has no literary value.¹¹⁹

This is a selection from an essay called “the Meaning of the New Literature Movement” written in 1925 by Zhang Wo-jun, who is generally believed a pioneer

紅男綠女。環觀者二三千人。1928.05.07 vol. 4. No. 10072 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹¹⁸ 二十三夜北署附近。演歌仔戲。觀者數千。一時男女混雜。鬥爭數處。1928.10.30 vol. 4. No. 10247 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹¹⁹ 「我們日常所用的話、十分差不多占九分沒有相當的文字。那是因為我們的話是土話、是沒有文字的下級話、是大多數占了不合理的話。所以沒有文學的價值、已是無可疑的了。」臺灣民報第 67 號，1925 年 8 月 26 日。Wojun Zhang and Guangzheng Zhang, Zhang Wojun Quan Ji (Taibei Shi: Ren jian chu ban she, 2002) 54.

of the movement. He emphasized the necessity of the vernacular literature and advocated the Chinese Baihuawen as the basis of the islanders' written language by criticizing that the language of the islander is low-class and primitive. This announcement and argument indirectly show that most of the islanders at that time were very unfamiliar with a written language and relied on vocal speech as a way of communication.

If we look closer into the archives regarding Baizixi and Gezaixi, we will find that it matters for intellectuals that the two genres are performed in the vernacular as to be understood by everyone and to be easily disseminated and influential.

[Taiwan Daily News]

[Reformed Gezaixi May Work] Gezaixi of the Island performs speech and singing in the vernacular Taiwanese. Men and women, kids and old people can all understand. It is why it always attracts audiences. We can say that it is indeed much more beneficial than Chinese drama, which sings and speaks in Chinese, if terrible repertoires of sexual arousal can be removed and contents of good virtues and social morals can be added. Recent Gezaixi performances have much improvement than the previous ones. For example, Da-shun Gen-tian and Meng-li-chun are well set, and should not be banned. In addition, actors should keep in dignity and fully understand ideas of what they perform. They should not be procuresses. If an incident of a woman stealing occurs again, Gezaixi will be scolded again and follow with bans by the authority. We expect a reformation of Gezaixi soon to regenerate Taiwanese drama. Owners of Gezaixi troupes should take the responsibility of maintaining actors' dignity. This is our expectation. 1925/12/13 Page 4, No. 9196¹²⁰

[Taiwan Daily News]

[Forum] In a theatre on a street, a Gezaixi troupe, which has both actors and actresses,

¹²⁰ 歌仔戲改良則可 本島之歌仔戲。以臺語為說白及歌唱。男婦老幼俱曉。故觀者趨之如鶩。若刪去一切挑發淫興之劣劇。而易以忠孝節義。有益世道人心者。實比之演支那劇。以支那語說白及歌唱不易者。較為有益。近時之歌仔戲。與舊時之歌仔戲。間已多改良。如演大舞耕田及孟麗君等劇。則皆優美之劇。亦不必盡訾之也。惟演戲之優伶。要保持品格。知演劇旨趣。不可以此為淫媒。若如前此某婦盜鉛事件。接續發生無恐人之指當。而當局之不許演也。速妥為改良。以振臺灣戲之名譽。又為班主者。最要監查優伶之品格。是望（有心人） 1925.12.13 第四版 第 9196 號

advertised its virtuous repertoires. In fact, it seduced ignorant women by the vernacular and lustful speeches. This is why the theatre house is full every night. It is expected that the authority can check and forbid the performance. 1926/09/28 Page 4, No. 9485¹²¹

[Taiwan Art News]

Baizixi and Gezaixi are equivalent to the Shinpai drama in the mainland. The two genres are performed in the islander's vernacular with topics of contemporary issues. As such, they are easy for common people to understand. Other genres of the islander's drama are performed in strange Beijing Mandarin, due to which most actors and audiences have no ideas about what the genres perform. They just have fun for the noisy performance and live action. 1936/10/01 Page 2, No. 10¹²²

It has been mentioned that intellectuals despised the indecency and vernacular of Baizixi and Gezaixi either due to class prejudice or backwardness. Yet, I have also mentioned that intellectuals nonetheless were concerned with popularity of the performances for the two genres have great influence over people due to their vernacular language. Morality is usually taken as an issue to ban the performances. Archives show that intellectuals have serious concern with lustful performances which seduce young people and disturb social order. Some scholars have argued that it is intellectuals' prejudice that blinds the judgment of seeing Gezaixi as indecency.¹²³ However, I try to go further here to argue that the problematic at issue is a radical distrust that derives from class distinction for the Old School and the enlightenment regime for the New School.

¹²¹ 是是非非 某街某座。某男女班合演之歌仔戲。每日鳴鑼宣傳玩其劇目。非不忠孝廉節實則全用白話淫詞。以誘無知婦女。故每夜滿員。望當道派精於是道者。調查而研究之。請為禁止。(一觀客)
1926.09.28 第四版 第 9485 號

¹²² 是是非非 某街某座。某男女班合演之歌仔戲。每日鳴鑼宣傳玩其劇目。非不忠孝廉節實則全用白話淫詞。以誘無知婦女。故每夜滿員。望當道派精於是道者。調查而研究之。請為禁止。(一觀客)
1926.09.28 第四版 第 9485 號

¹²³ Yaxiang Xu and guan Guo li bian yi, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Qu Shi Lun : Xian Dai Hua Zuo Yong Xia De Ju Zhong Yu Ju Chang (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju, 2006).

Yidanxi (藝旦戲) provides an example to elucidate the prejudice. It is a genre of performance, which is performed by actresses only, and its audiences are usually intellectuals, elites, the upper-class, and officials. Actresses need to reach perfection in criteria of singing, looks, and performing skill (sheng, se, yi 聲色藝). Outstanding looks and skills usually guarantee a relationship and intimacy with the audiences, who gain their reputation through performances of Yidanxi.¹²⁴ In other words, it is never an issue for upper-class people to be involved in performances that are lustful or affectionate, yet it need to be harshly condemned when common people appreciate performances of the like, which turn out to be lustful and indecent. This contrast indicates the problematic that it is not how indecent and lustful Baizixi and Gezaixi might be, but rather how much distrust the intellectuals have for the audiences of the two genres.

The Old School intellectuals, as discussed, despise audiences of Gezaixi, who usually belong to lower-class people, out of class discrimination. Comments like “Gezaixi-goers are lower people” and “ignorant women” reveal the way in which the intellectuals distrust the audience’s intelligibility and moral ability. That is to say, the intellectuals’ prejudice is rooted in the distrust and fear of Gezaixi and Baizixi’s dissemination and influence, particularly due to the vernacular of their performance. The forbiddance and exclusion of Baizixi and Gezaixi shows the extent to which intellectuals fear that the audience in the representation of the emerging multitude may not be controlled by traditional morals or enlightenment education. Their attitude of rejection exposes the discourse of the fear. To put it simply, for

¹²⁴ Qiu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Ju Zhi Yan Jiu, 1895-1945 : Jiu Ju Yu Xin Ju 106-20.

intellectuals, people participating in Baizixi and Gezaixi are nothing but “the mod,” which are radically distrusted and feared. In addition, the vernacularization of the two genres accelerates the distrust and fear for its direct communication of affection with audience. In other words, the criticism and contempt of Baizixi and Gezaixi, for intellectuals, have more to do with class discrimination and the “responsibility” of *enlightening their people on their own way* rather than indecency or lustfulness of the genres. Any cultural representations which do not reach intellectuals’ modernity expectations can be harshly examined. Baizixi and Gezaixi turn out to be the scapegoat.

In other words, the way in which Baizixi and Gezaixi are interpreted is discursively inscribed in layers of value, which is determined by colonial modernity. To unpack what have been inscribed means to go beyond colonial modernity. In this sense, the audience of the two genres should be articulated as a new concept of the multitude, which can be neither understood as citizens by the colonial regime nor nationals (people) by the colonized intellectual. They instead represent a new imagination regarding the identity of the colonized, Taiwanese, the islanders, the folk, which neither coloniality, or ethnicity, or nationality, nor modernity can fully describe. Or if I can say, these categories, which have been embedded in colonial modernity, cannot sufficiently accomplish the process of identity construction. In this regard, I call them “the multitude” in the Doka period of colonial Taiwan.

By analyzing the way in which people of the multitude is understood as people of the colonized, Taiwanese, the islanders, or the folk, we see how they are identified in relation to the regime, the intellectual, and colonial modernity. As have been mentioned, the multitude *is and is not* actualized in the sovereign imagination

of the Japan nation in the Doka period with regard to Leo Ching's theory. In modern political theory of people in relation to the nation, it is theorized that citizenship supports the formation and completeness of sovereignty. Agamben nevertheless articulates the ambiguity of the relationship and co-figuration in which the nation always keeps an option of exception with regard to necessity, or "the nation in need." This exception functions by means of deprivation of citizenship when it comes to a necessity. The problematic at issue is that the relationship of "necessity-exception" is rooted in an invisible co-figuration with that of "sovereignty-citizenship." In other words, the mechanism of "necessity-exception" operates *in every moment* even though it looks as if an exception *only* occurs when a necessity is claimed. In this regard, *people are always people of exception*. The multitude exemplifies the ambiguity of the configuration.

For the colonial regime, the multitude functions the sovereignty of the colonial nation with ambivalence. The multitude is always promised for the future yet considered exceptional in the present; they are always yet to reach the credential of a modern national. This discourse of colonial modernity operates by relying on suspension. Just as his discussion of "state of exception," Agamben says "because a suspension of the entire existing juridical order, the state of exception seems to 'subtract itself from any consideration of law' and that indeed "in its factual substance, that is, in its core, it cannot take a juridical form"¹²⁵ The multitude under the colonial regime is given a promise of suspension, a citizenship of exception. And race/ethnicity is intensified as the only means by which to evaluate exception. The multitude is people of exception with regard to citizenship. By the

¹²⁵ G Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) 32-33.

same token, the multitude is also people of exception for the colonized intellectuals. It is mentioned that the colonized intellectuals expect to build up the islanders an individual and universal global citizen in the modern time. People of the multitude do not meet the standard of the worldly modern citizen. They are in suspension for becoming modern, yet they never will unless the enlightenment is received by a form such as the vernacular literature movement (Baihuawen). In the intellectuals' eyes, Baihuawen means universality of progress and communication, yet Baizihua of Baizixi and Gezaixi, which embody communication and consolidation, symbolizes disturbance of society and backwardness of people. For the intellectuals, the multitude is people of exception with regard to modernity.

It is however worth nothing that Baizixi and Gezaixi are both embodied with an effective and affective potentiality that the intellectuals are concerned with in social order. For me, the performance which the intellectuals fear in the Doka period¹²⁶ contains a political agency, a political making of people. The people are the multitude, a function of which reveals the dominant imagination of people relating to nationals or citizens of colonial modernity.

2.12 Translating Xiqu

The chapter at the end arrives at a place where we can answer how Baizixi and Gezaixi are in their relationship with the of Chinese/Taiwanese theatre if they can no longer be seen as “traditional theatre” by the “aesthetics” of the Chinese particularity. In other words, to answer the question is to get rid of the discourse of

¹²⁶ It may also explain why the colonial regime forbids any ethnic performances for the potentiality is also what the regime fears.

colonial modernity, which forms the episteme of theatre in the modern time of China and Taiwan, or say, the subaltern nations.

As discussed in the chapter one, the birth of Xiqu, or called the traditional theatre, is the actualization of both racialized performance under colonialism and nationalized performance under imperialism. Xiqu has been naturalized in relationship with racialization and nationalization, and becomes an enclosed system of aesthetic, thus ethnic, performance, representing “the traditional” in contrast to “the modern.”

Colonial modernity produces a discursive violence by which to define what the traditional and the modern are. The violence is usually disguised by culture or aesthetics, which determines identity in the modern world. In the regard, we can say that the epistemological praxis prevails over empirical praxis.

This chapter intends to prove the problematic and artificiality of the Xiqu episteme by the re-articulation of Baizixi and Gezaixi. It shows that they become traditional and become Xiqu with reference to colonial modernity. Shedding light on Naoki Sakai’s notion of the regime of translation, they turn out to be a representation of incommensurability, which can never be “modern.” They are treated from the outset as something that is not translatable and worthless in translation.

I reexamine Baizixi and Gezaixi by the perspective of transcending the discourse of colonial modernity, finding that the audiences of the genres were practicing a condition, which cannot be subject to the dichotomy of traditional or modern. The vernacularization of the theatre performance (baizihua), in contrast to

that of the speech of literature (baihuawen), implicitly reveals the discursive formation. Baizihua is a vocal transformation of vernacularization in performance while baihuawen is a vernacular discourse of a unity between speech and writing by which a consolidated, modern people can be expected. Both baizihua and baihuawen share in common the characteristics of vernacularization and consolidation of people, yet one is vocal and despised as indecent and backward and the other literary and advocated as embodying modernity and progress. The disparity shows the way in which “modernity” is a mechanism of translation connected to the way of imagining people as citizen by intellectuals. By the mechanism, that which does not fulfill the citizen imagination will be excluded outside of modernity. As such, we may say that Baizixi and Gezaixi were practicing *modernly* yet excluded by modernity.

In this regard, I would like to further argue that any new practices of theatrical performance, like xinju, wenhuaju, wenmingxi, gailiangxi, and even haipei Jingju, etc., which used to be treated as dramatic genres of “in-between-ness” of the modern theatre and the traditional theatre, need to be re-articulated as an activity of translation in modernity. They used to be seen as neither Chinese nor Western, or developing genres by the regime of translation. They in fact are praxis that also cannot be subject to the episteme of colonial modernity.

By focusing on the discourse of people with regard to the colonial regime, the colonized intellectual, and the Baizixi and Gezaixi performances, this chapter also analyze the way in which people is a constructed concept of nationality, coloniality, ethnicity, and modernity. I first argue that the Doka period provided a space in which ethnic performances of the islanders were able to survive under the colonial

governance. It was also the time when the colonized intellectuals started to be conscious of racial distinction between the colonizer Japanese and the colonized Taiwanese. They expected to consolidate their fellow Taiwanese by building up and as global citizen. The audiences of Baizixi and Gezaixi for them were nothing but the masses of disorder and backwardness. The intellectuals tried hard to reject the two genres and their audiences, both of which yet ceaselessly and collectively participated in the society as a yet-to-be-elucidated people implication, which I call “the multitude.”

Baizixi and Gezaixi were welcomed by the audience, which amounts to thousands of people. The audience, a phenomenon of which becomes possible with the emergence of Baizihua, provides a perspective with which to contrast conceptually collective identities of people and citizen with regard to the colonial regime and the colonized intellectual. What I want to argue here is that neither the education policy (智育 intellectual education) of the colonial regime nor the vernacularization of the speech (白話文 Baihuawen) can fully describe people of the Islanders in the Doka period. To put it simply, I wish , by the articulation of the audience, to untangle the discursive formation of “people” with regard to the binary of the colonizer and the colonized in colonial modernity. That is also to say that “to be assimilated to the (colonial) modern” is not the only option for Taiwanese people; instead, voice of the multitude should be able to be heard among layers of modernity projections. Audiences of the theatre also provide a space of people which is yet-to-be-naturalized and yet-to-be fully colonized.” I want to stress a new articulation of the collective, which used to be seen as the pre-

modern folk, modern people, or modern-developing the masses along a linear imagination of colonial modernity.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the multitude goes beyond the discursive formation of people/citizen in politics and challenges the epistemological perspective of the colonial modern. In the next chapter, I will continue to look into the multitude, which further elucidates an epistemological construction of ethnicity in relation to the *co-figuration* of the local and the national.

Chapter 3

The Local as the Transnational: Difanxing (The Local) of Jingju in the Prewar Taiwan

“To entertain the claims to attention of local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledge against the claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter hierarchies and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects”¹²⁷

[Jingju Review] The Ping Dong Theatre invited Shanghai Si-Di Jingju Troupe to give a performance on November 22. The theatre house was packed day and night. Actors all tried their best. One of the best was a martial art actor “Wu Suibong.” Taiwan Daily News, Vol. 4, No. 9186, 12/03/1925¹²⁸

[Theatre Reviews] Some people in Bai-be requested Guang Dong Yi Ren Yuan Nan Nu Ban (The troupe) to give a performance in the early September. The Baihe Theatre house has been packed every day since its opening. The entire repertoire is newly designed and reformed. The troupe was scheduled to leave on 28th yet was requested to extend for another week in service of audiences’ need. It gave plays “the Bao Judge and Li Mao Huan Tai Zi” last night. Tickets were completely sold out. The troupe gave an incredible performance that audiences were fully attracted. Fen Bai Yen was one of the best among six female actresses. She earned most reception from critics for she didn’t perform by dressing any modern clothes but showing her expertise in singing. Vol. 5, No. 7395, 10/03/1922¹²⁹

¹²⁷ C Gordon, "Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings by Michel Foucault 1972–1977," New York: Pantheon (1980).

¹²⁸ 【台灣日日新報】京劇好評 屏東座主於去二十二日。招上海四得京班。于該座開演。日夜觀客充滿。而諸腳色。亦各盡其絕技。以展所能。就中最博一般好評者。為武小生五歲紅云。 1925.12.03 vol. 4 no 9186 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹²⁹ 【台南新報】好戲好評 本月初旬白河人士聘到廣東宜人園男女班。在白河茶園開演自開幕以來。日夜觀客滿園。所演之題。俱皆新排應時世之改良好戲。演期限至二十八日因頗博觀客之好評再留延演一星期。如昨夜演出包公出世。狸貓換太子。觀眾坐無立錐之地。全班演了出神。能使座客拍掌呼快焉。坤角六美之中。粉白燕色藝尤佳得未曾有加以時樣服裝清奇。故大為顧曲家歡迎也。 1922.10.03 vol. 5 No.7395 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

In 1962, a local Jingju troupe called “Yi Ren Jin Ban (Yi Ren Jingju Troupe)” announced dismissal of its operation. This troupe, which was founded in 1915 by so-called Hakka ethnic people in Taiwan, lost its attraction to audiences and disappeared within less than 20 years after the end of colonization. My question is: why was it able to survive in the Japanese colonization yet faced a difficulty in sustaining its business and attracting audiences under a “Chinese” regime of the Kuomintang (KMT), which legitimately took over and governed Taiwan after the defeat of Japanese in the Second World War?

This chapter seeks to answer why the so-called islanders, who are basically ethnically categorized as “Min-nan people” or “Hakka people” in the 1920s, go to and participate in Jingju performances extensively and commonly, (with the identity of what I call “the multitude” in the previous chapter.), yet today’s Min-nan people and Hakka people in Taiwan rarely appreciate Jingju performances and hardly identify it as one of their cultural identities. With very few exceptions of elites, the islanders regardless of their ethnicity under the Japanese colonial ruling received no formal education in Mandarin, which is Jingju’s performance language. Why are they able to overcome the difficulty of a performance language that is not their “mother” tongue? Why are they able to transcend an ethnic boundary and become Jingju’s loyal fans? By contrast, most of today’s people in Taiwan, who are educated in Mandarin, can never be audiences of Jingju performances. The audiences of whom I specify here are the so-called “Benshengren,”¹³⁰ common

¹³⁰ Benshengren literally means local Taiwan province people as a category in contrast to Weishengren, which literally means “people from provinces outside of Taiwan,” and generally indicates those who come to Taiwan with the KMT government in 1949.

Taiwanese people who are regarded as those whose ancestors are from Fujian or Guangdong and who ethnically speak the

Min-nan or Hakka dialects.¹³¹ My research concern focuses on the way in which the Min-nan or Hakka people of Taiwanese, who might be still interested in performances such as Gezaixi, no longer identify Jingju as one of their everyday practices as well as experiences like their ancestors do in the 1920.

Starting in the 1970s,¹³² various performance genres, which used to be popular among Taiwanese islanders during the colonial period including Luantanxi, Jiujiaxi, Sipingxi, Jingju, etc., were gradually disconnected from theatre activities in everyday life of Taiwanese Benshengren. Take Jingju as an example. It is commonly believed that Jingju as a “foreign” performance genre has “naturally” disappeared in Taiwan while Gezaixi as a local genre that is performed in the Min-nan dialect is the genre of Taiwanese people. This is also to say that an oblivion of Jingju in the colonial period and a disappearance of a connection between Benshengren and Jingju explain the Taiwanese nationalistic reading of Jingju as the foreign and Gezaixi as the local. However, we will find that Yi Ren Jing Ban, a famous local Jingju troupe since the colonial period, had shut down in the 1960s before the Taiwanese nationalist movement arose in the 1970s, if we further examine the interrelationships between the development of Taiwanese nationalism and the

¹³¹ Those I mean the general Taiwanese are those who are not educated or trained to appreciate Jingju as art under particularly educational institution or those who do not see going to Jingju performances as a bourgeois taste for cultural capital. Just like the multitude in the colonial period, the audience are the general public.

¹³² The 1980s is the period in which the Taiwanization Movement (Chinese: 臺灣本土化運動) starts and keeps alive till today. People tend to regard this period as a turning point by when Benshengren/Taiwanese embraces “local Taiwanese culture” with conscious Taiwanese identity by giving up so called “Chinese” culture. Yet, it is not until 1970s that local Jingju troupes have been declined. In other words, Benshengren have delinked themselves from seeing Jingju performances in everyday life.

decline of Jingju.¹³³ In other words, I argue that the oblivion of Jingju as well as other genres should not be understood as a choice of political or cultural identity in which Taiwan replaces China; nor should it be understood as the competitiveness of natural selection of economics which determines the decline of performance genres. Instead, I argue that a discursive formation is easily concealed by either the transformation of political identity between Taiwan and China or the change of commercial environment.

Then, what makes Jingju disappear in relation to Taiwanese people in everyday practice- if not for political identity or commercial selection? I argue we should investigate the discursive formation by looking at the transformation of locality, or what I will call “difangxing” later. In other words, the formation can be investigated as a process in which a recognition toward what is local is changed from the local in the 1920s to local identity since the 1960s. The critical amendment between the local and local identity lies in a co-figuration of nationality and locality, the latter of which is deemed to be represented by ethnicity and dialect. This co-figuration is another form of the representation of universality and particularity as Naoki Sakai claims. It also co-exists with modernity and nationality.

To discover the discursive formation is also to understand a proper transformation of theatricality. In other words, the discursive alteration of difangxing also changes the relationship between audience and performance. To understand the transformation of theatricality is also to investigate the way in which

¹³³ For example, Jing Diao Piao Fang (Societies for Jingju Amateurs) that used to be very popular in the colonial period starts to decline in the 1960s and 1970s. Chang-Yi Hsieh, "A Study of Peking Opera Ensembles and the Cultural Meanings of Their Localization in Taiwan," National Taiwan University of Arts, 2006, 50, 76-8.

audiences imagine and feel their connection with performance. This transformation of theatricality in the context of Taiwan, I argue, happens to provide a clear example of the epistemological formation of ethnic performance. The formation of ethnic performance will provide a perspective to explain the way in which the so-called “difangxi,” literally meaning “local drama,” is usually seen as an authentic representative of a “particular” local culture. For example, Chuangju, which is performed in the Si-chuang dialect, is a local genre of Si-chuang people, Yueju, which is performed in the Guangdong dialect, is a local genre of Guangdong people, Gezaixi, which is performed in the Min-nan dialect, is a local genre of Min-nan and Taiwanese people, Kejiayi, which is performed in the Hakka dialect, is a local genre of Hakka people. We can see that locality here serves a concept that is embodied with ethnicity and dialect. What I want to emphasize here is that the formation of a particularly local culture is a result of the transformation of “difangxing” as well as a process in which two sets of concepts: nationality and locality, and locality and ethnicity, have been mutually conspired.

This chapter will investigate the relationship between Jingju and the islanders during the colonial Doka period based on the concept of the multitude introduced in the second chapter. By describing the way in which the multitude of audience actively participates in Jingju performances, I will point out that Jingju in the period crosses boundaries of language or ethnicity, and earns welcomes from the islanders. I will call it “the local” this kind of local relationship between Jingju and the islanders.

The relationship between Jingju and the islanders discursively changes in the post-war period. Jingju, which used to be one of the islanders’ favorite theatrical

genres, gradually disconnects from Benshengren since the end of the Second World War and the retreat of the KMT government to Taiwan. Taiwan is governed under the Chinese nation-state led by the KMT. I will call “local identity” the relationship between Jingju and Benshengren in the post-war period. I argue that the establishment of local identity under Chinese nationality subverts the relationship between Jingju and the islanders in the colonial period. It also covers the islanders’ Jingju experience and interprets the colonial theatre history by establishing an episteme that goes hand in hand with Chinese nationalism.

It is not unique in modern Chinese theatre history that the relationship between Jingju and the islanders is modified when local identity is established. All sorts of performance genre in China undergo a process of localization based on recognition of a correspondence of ethnicity and dialect in relation to local identity during and since the formation of the Chinese nation state. Jingju is no doubt an exception due to its national status, which represents the Chinese nation rather than any locality. As such, all of the performance genres but Jingju become “locally ethnic drama,” which symbolizes local culture. The understanding of “national drama vs. locally ethnic drama” is a representation of “national vs. local or universal vs. particular.” This kind of locality that is appropriated in the relationship to nationality is local identity in my term. Local identity is always in conspiracy with national identity while it can also backfire. That is to say, local identity can turn itself national, too.

I will try to answer the transformation of locality in the relationship between Jingju and the islander/Benshengren by examining the contrast of the relationship between Jingju and China, and that between Jingju of colonial Taiwan. In China,

the beginning of Jingju is born through performances categorized in “Huabuluantan.” As it increased in popularity, it later becomes a popular genre all over the empire. After the Chinese nation state is established, Jingju earns a status of national drama, serving as a cultural and traditional symbol of the Chinese nation state. It becomes a drama of Chinese people. Yet Jingju has a completely different development in colonial Taiwan. It crosses the national boundary. The interaction between Jingju and the islanders is not defined by any national identity relationship. On the contrary, it demonstrates the concept of “difangxing,” the local, which goes beyond any national imagination. It is a concept that does not conspire with or conjoin in nationality. Engaging with Foucault’s articulation of “local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledge against the claims of a unitary body of theory,” I will take “difangxing” as a method by which to deconstruct nationality. Difangxing does not rely on any mediation of race, nationality, or ethnicity, but theorizes itself by various practices in everyday life. This is the concept of what I mean in the local by the example of colonial Jingju, which transcends nationally and ethnically imagined boundary. In this sense, the local is the transnational.

I attempt to understand the way in which a discourse of performance is formulated in the knowledge of nationality that serves the conspiracy between national-universality and local-particularity by analyzing Jingju in modern China and Taiwan. This kind of performance that is epistemologically based on the imagination of race, nationality, and ethnicity is what I call “ethnic performance.” Ethnic performance is an epistemological creation along with the formation of the nation state. It functions to distinguish the so-called “Western” and “modern”

theatre on the one hand while serving the nationally aesthetic foundation on which local identification and audience feeling are imagined. In a word, the connotation of locality undergoes a transformation in the process of the Chinese nation state. Yet in Taiwan, the transformation reaches its completion in the post-war period.

The epistemological completion of ethnic performance results in identity difference. Jingju or other genres of performance that is not performed in the Min-nan or Hakka dialects becomes a performance that is not local. By the same token, Gezaixi, which is performed in the Min-nan dialect, becomes the only performance that Benshengren identify with, and Kejiayi the only one that Hakka people do. As a result, identity politics and performance combine by “natural” ethnicity, and locality is integrated in nationality. The theory of ethnic performance also helps explain that any kind of trans-ethnic performance needs to be articulated after a regime of ethnic performance is formed. For the islanders in the colonial period, there is no so called “ethnic” border that needs to cross since ethnicity in relation to performance is not yet in formation; yet for Benshengren in the post-war period, anyone who tries to appreciate an ethnic performance that does not naturally belong to his ethnicity need to be a trans-ethnic audience member. Trans-ethnicity becomes imaginable due to the formation of ethnicity. Border-crossing appears due to the formation of self-sufficient entity.

Dialect and ethnicity serve as the mediator through which audiences identify with local performance after locality and nationality function in co-figuration. As such, the multitude becomes people, and the local of Jingju for the islanders in the 1920s dissolves in the post-war Taiwan.

3.1 Jingju for Taiwanese Benshengren?

*Today, the first reaction when we (common people) talk about Jingju is, with no exception, to connect it with Mainlanders who came to Taiwan at the end of the Second World War, and treat it as a foreign genre as if Jingju had never belonged to Taiwan.*¹³⁴

*It is sad that the government and most scholars have no professional knowledge about Luantan. As a result, a professional and advanced decision was not made to include Taiwan's Beiguan (Luantan) at National Fu-Hsin Theatre School (now National Taiwan Junior College of Performing Arts). It was sacrificed when the school was considering founding a department of local genre in addition to the Jingju department. Taiwan's Beiguan has a complete acting and musical system that Buddaixi, Kueileixi, and Gezaixi imitate and absorb substantially. It is also one of the major representatives that Han people bring in to Taiwan. In service of the Min and Hakka ethnic groups, the school founded a Gezaixi department and even a Kejiaxi one by ignoring Beiguan. It was a cheap political concern.*¹³⁵

Above are two paragraphs extracted from two theses on Jingju and Beiguanxi in Taiwan. The two performance genres were popular in the history. Jingju was introduced to Taiwan in the late 19th century, and later became one of the most popular performance genres in the 20s and 30s. Beiguanxi used to be the most important performance genre that served ritual and folk entertainment in everyday life of the 19th century Taiwan. Nevertheless, the two theses indicate a similar phenomenon: the two genres are facing the same difficulty of gaining government's attention and common people's attraction. Audiences are not interested and do not recognize and feel the genre belongs to Taiwan(ese). The two genres share a

¹³⁴ Hsieh, "A Study of Peking Opera Ensembles and the Cultural Meanings of Their Localization in Taiwan," 157.

¹³⁵ Zhaowen Qiu, "Luantan Troupes in the Early Postwar Period of Taiwan ", Nanhua University, 2001, 150.

characteristic in common: they are both performed in Mandarin, which is not regarded as an ethnic dialect of Benshengren.¹³⁶

In fact, genres that used to be popular yet ignored by Benshengren today are not limited to Jingju and Beiguanxi. A number of others no longer exist such as Chaoju, Nanguanxi, Qizixi, Gaojiayi, Sipingxi, etc. Or we can put it another way: other than

Gezaixi and Kejiayi, which are performed in the Benshengren's ethnic dialects, most performance genres have been disconnected from Benshengren in everyday life.

This chapter looks into the discursive formation of the changing relationship between genre and audience by focusing on Jingju with some other genres such as Beiguanxi in addition. Current scholarships tend to talk about the decline of Jingju in today's Benshengren society by providing political explanations. Some argue that the KMT government fails to take care of traditional theatre during the social transformation;¹³⁷ some believe it fails to pay attention to local Taiwanese genres due to its unpractical undertakings of national recovery by defeating the Chinese Communist;¹³⁸ some attribute to the nationalization of Jingju, which makes it an art of a special class or ethnic group.¹³⁹ Some criticize Jingju as a foreign genre,

¹³⁶ There are four major ethnic groups in Taiwan: Benshengren, Hakka, Waishengren/the Mainlander, and the aboriginal.

¹³⁷ Lin, *Theatre History of Taiwan* 179-211.

¹³⁸ Qiu, "Luantan Troupes in the Early Postwar Period of Taiwan", 1.

¹³⁹ Hsieh, "A Study of Peking Opera Ensembles and the Cultural Meanings of Their Localization in Taiwan," 79.

which forces Taiwanese to identify with reluctance;¹⁴⁰ others claim that it takes for granted that Taiwanese audiences prefer a performance genre that is more local in affinity with ethnicity and more natural in language.¹⁴¹ In general, in addition to a consensus of state interference, these arguments in name of politics share a common reasoning with a theoretical basis of identity politics: the local vs. the foreign.

A local performance genre in relation to people usually means a genre that is performed in a language that the target ethnic audiences speak; by the same token, a foreign genre means a genre that is performed in a language that the audiences do not speak. To a certain degree, this theory of the foreign vs. the local seems to give a fair reasoning why Jingju is no longer attractive to Benshengren and why Gezaixi is no doubt a/the local performance genre for the Benshengren audience. However, it is problematic when we take into consideration that many performance genres, which are not performed in the Min-nan dialect such as Jingju, Beiguanxi, Kaojiayi, Sipingxi, etc., used to be very popular among the Min-nan speakers in Taiwan. Why they are not regarded as the foreign during a long time before the post-war period? Why they are not criticized for not being local enough during the time? Why do they soon face accusations like “not being close to audience,” “audience not being familiar with the language,” “they are not natural and local,” etc. in the post-war

¹⁴⁰ Two scholars generally believe that Gezaixi and the development of “Taiwanese consciousness” are due to that Taiwanese culture is suppressed by Chinese culture in the postwar period. Silvio thinks that: “Gezaixi as local drama is identified after the native movement develops in the 1970s. In the 1990s, Gezaixi is regarded as a drama that is embodied with Taiwaneseess. In other words, the Taiwaneseess of Gezaixi is a conscious response to Jingju, which represents Chineseness.” • See N. A. Guy, “Peking Opera as “National Opera” in Taiwan: What’s in a Name?,” *Asian Theatre Journal* 12.1 (1995), T. Silvio, “First as Farce, Then as Tragedy: Popular Allegory and National Analogy In,” *Taiwan Journal of Anthropology* 3.2 (2005).

¹⁴¹ Lin, *Theatre History of Taiwan*.

period? As can be argued, a simply political answer regarding the decline in Taiwan is insufficient.

In additional to the political reasoning, some also argue that it is because the social transformation in which various new forms of entertainment and performance options are given to audience and traditional performances are no longer competitive. The gaining popularity of film and television are attributed to the unavoidableness of the decline of traditional performance.¹⁴² My question and response to the argument is: why can Gezaixi be able to stay popular until today after film and television have become major entertainments while other genres fail to keep developing and attracting audience? If possible reasons still lead to language and locality, I want to ask: why in the post-war period?

3.2 Foreign Jingju vs. Local Gezaixi

Gezaixi is usually used to be a local contrast to foreign Jingju. Scholars argue that the language of Gezaixi is intimate and natural and easy for Taiwanese Benshengren to accept. Lin, Ho-yi, in her book “Taiwan xi ju shi (Theatre History of Taiwan),” has the following statement regarding the relationship between Gezaixi’s language and its audience: Although Nanguanxi and Beiguanxi are deeply connected to the folk society, Nanguanxi is performed in the Chuanzhou (泉州) dialect and Beiguanxi in “Wu-Guan Mandarin (湖廣官話),” both of which are not the language of the masses’ everyday life. The reason why Gezaixi gains popularity

¹⁴² Chen-Yu Liang, "A Study of Taiwaness Luan-Tan Opera Vernacularization," National Taipei University, 2009, 42-3. Yaxiang Xu, *Kejia Ju Yi Liu Zhen : Taiwan De Guangdong Yi Ren Yuan Yu Yi Ren Jing Ban* (Taoyuan Shi: Taoyuan Xian zheng fu wen hua ju, 2008) 34. Kunliang Qiu, *Taiwan Ju Chang Yu Wen Hua Bian Qian : Li Shi Ji Yi Yu Min Zhong Guan Dian* (Taipei Shi: Tai yuan chu ban she, 1997).

quickly is because it adopts an everyday language that people use. Easy listening, easy learning. People feel related to the performance.”¹⁴³

Lin’s point is widely and commonly accepted by Chinese theatre researchers, who believe that it is because Gezaixi uses the Min-nan dialect, Baizi (vernacular), a local language, it can easily replace any other performance genres that are not performed in the dialect. This point seems reasonable from today’s perspective that the everyday life language corresponds to the performance language. This point also seems to explain why Baizixi and later Gezaixi become the dominant genre in the post-war period. However, my questions again are: why Beiguanxi can be so popular in the 19th century if a correspondence of the everyday life language and the performance language is eagerly requested by the audience? Why can Jingju still massively win audiences’ attention in the 1920s when Baizixi and Gezaixi have already been popular? I argue that the assumption of the correspondence between the everyday life language and the performance language is more likely an unexamined/yet-to-be-examined statement in a discourse. In order to unravel the statement, we need to first answer what the local is and what the relationship is between everyday life and performance.

3.3 The Multitude and the Local : Audience in Relation to Performances

In Chapter 2, I have already suggested the concept of the multitude as a way to imagine the islanders in the colonial Doka period. The islanders, as the colonized, are incomplete citizens of the Japanese nation. The incomplete status not only can be seen in laws and regulations but also represent in the daily life as well as

¹⁴³ Lin, *Theatre History of Taiwan* 151.

islanders' mentality. In other words, a status of the multitude in the nation exists in practices which have not been nationalized, colonized, or say, citizenised. The status of yet-to-being citizenised is a representation of unmodernization for intellectuals. I argue that Baizixi and Gezaixi provide a field in which the modern multitude is presentable by the practice of the multitude in theatre. What I emphasize here is to provide a possibility of imagining a community that is led, organized, or perceived neither by the nation nor the intellectual. The multitude, a communal concept of which can be observed and theorized in Baizixi and Gezaixi, are neither modern citizens regulated by colonial modernity nor the folk in the feudal society. They are a collective that is embodied with political agency. They are closely related to the concept of difangxing, the local, in this chapter.

Below are two events that engage my interest in locality.

Isawa Shuji is an activist of promoting Japanese national language. He thinks that most of residents in Taiwan under the Qing's governing use Mandarin as their daily language. He brings more than a hundred people specializing in Mandarin with him when he travels to Taiwan in case he cannot communicate with local people in Taiwan. To his surprise, he finds that these interpreters are useless when he lands.¹⁴⁴

[Theatre House] The economic has been poor since last year. Businesses in every field are in bad condition, as a result, cities are lacking of development. Since the early spring, Keelung recruited theatre companies to give a performance and won a house with packed audience. At the beginning, it was a local troupe giving a Baizixi performance, and later Chaozhou Yuanzenxing Sanqingban followed. Looking at their box revenues, Yuanzenxing was the best. There was more than fifty dollar revenue a day. By contrast, Baizixi was the worst. Audience of the Baizixi got complimentary tickets. A day revenue amounted to 2 dollars and eighty cents, the amount of which could not even support

¹⁴⁴ Chen, "Doku" No Dosho Imu : Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan De Yu Yan Zheng Ce, Jin Dai Hua Yu Ren Tong 72-3.

*electricity, not to mention actors' stipend. Taiwan Daily News, 1921/06/03, Vol. 6, No. 7542*¹⁴⁵

The first event tells a story that Taiwan is not even governed in a modern nation state, which has a national language nationwide before Japanese take over in 1895. There is no unitary language throughout the island. The second event reports a phenomenon in which a Chaoju, which is performed in the Chaozhou language, wins over a Baizixi performed in a language of the islanders' in a commercial competition. The audiences are not particularly fond of a Baizixi performance, which uses an everyday life language of the audiences. On the contrary, it is a performance, which is not performed in either Min-nan or Hakka, that earns audiences' attention. A performance language does not have to be audience's everyday life language.

Before the war erupted in 1937, the islanders participated in all kinds of performance genres actively. According to "Taiwan" written by Sadayoshi Takeuchi in 1915, these genres¹⁴⁶ include: Baizi, Jiujiu, Siping, and Nantan.¹⁴⁷ Iwao Kataoka's "Taiwan Fengsuzhi" in 1921 (Taiwan's Customs) added Gexi to the list. The book also categorizes genres into "Darenxi," "Chamoxi," "Nanzixi," "Zidixi,"

¹⁴⁵ 戲園一班 自去年以來。時勢不佳。各界金融窘乏。及市況消沉。基隆自春初以來開演戲園。幾無虛夕。最初演本地白字戲。繼演潮州源正興三慶班等。聞其成績。源正興最良。夜夜滿座。日有五十圓以上收入。白字戲 則不然。往觀者多屬股東單。如某日總計。僅收現金二圓八十餘錢。供之油火之費尚不足。其班員之食料更無從出。1921.06.03 vol. 6 no.7542 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹⁴⁶ Ruikun xu Changhui Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Yin Yue Wen Xian Zi Lian Hui Bian," (Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, 2000), vol., 134.

¹⁴⁷ Changhui Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Yin Yue Wen Xian Zi Lian Hui Bian," vol., 134.

“Caichaxi,” “Cheguxi,” etc., in terms of actor resource.¹⁴⁸ Yoshiichi Tsubakimoto in his book “Taiwan Taikan” (Taiwan Encyclopedia) follows the previous categorizations in 1923.¹⁴⁹ In 1928, “Zhenyingxi,” “Sipongxi,” “Luantanxi,” “Jiujiuxi,” “Baizixi,” “Gezaixi,” “Budaixi,” “Kuileixi” are included in an official survey “Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki oyobi Taiwan engeki shirabe” (Chinese Dramas in Taiwan and Taiwan’s Musical) made by Division of Social Affairs, Bureau of Culture and Education, the Office of the Government General of Taiwan. We can also find that Jingju in the name of Zhenyingxi organized by troupes from Shanghai, Fuzhou, or local people started to appear in Taiwan. Qiu, Kunliang’s books “Jiu ju yu xin ju : Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi ju zhi yan jiu, 1895-1945” and Lin, Ho-yi’s “Taiwan xi ju shi” also specify Nanguanxi and Chaoju in addition.¹⁵⁰¹⁵¹

There is no criteria regarding how performance genres are categorized in the colonial period. According to language, style, content, or actor resource, performances are entitled with different genres. By the categorization of music and tones, there are Luantan, Siping and Qizi;¹⁵² by performance language, Baizixi and Gezaixi are identified;¹⁵³ by style, Kuileixi, Budaixi, Piyuanxi are set to be different;¹⁵⁴ by actor resource, Chamoxi, Nanzixi, and Zidixi belong to three

¹⁴⁸ Changhui Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Yin Yue Wen Xian Zi Lian Hui Bian," vol., 327-30.

¹⁴⁹ Changhui Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Yin Yue Wen Xian Zi Lian Hui Bian," vol., 668.

¹⁵⁰ Lin, Theatre History of Taiwan 122-6.

¹⁵¹ Qiu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Ju Zhi Yan Jiu, 1895-1945 : Jiu Ju Yu Xin Ju 421-36.

¹⁵² Changhui Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Yin Yue Wen Xian Zi Lian Hui Bian," vol., 292.

¹⁵³ Changhui Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Yin Yue Wen Xian Zi Lian Hui Bian," vol., 868.

¹⁵⁴ Changhui Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Yin Yue Wen Xian Zi Lian Hui Bian," vol., 292, 682, 868.

kinds;¹⁵⁵ by content, Caichaxi and Cheguxi are additional itemized.¹⁵⁶ It deserves additional attention here regarding a definition of Baizixi. It has been known that Jiujiuxi could be performed in the Min-nan language (Baizi), Nantan/Luantan and Gexi/Gezaixi could be performed in Baizi, too. In other words, the understanding of Baizixi is confusing if we recognize Baizixi as a way to distinguish a genre performed in the Min-nan language from others in non-Min-nan languages. It would make no sense in Iwao Kataoka's "Taiwan Fengsuzhi" where Baizixi along with Jiujiu, Nantan, Gexi and Siping are described as different genres. In other words, Baizixi should not be seen as a general genre that indicates performances which are performed in Baizi, the Min-nan language. I will explain it in detail later in this chapter. In general, we can see that the islanders in the Doka period interact with all sorts of performance genres closely.

Besides the genres above, there are also many genres and troupes that cross the Taiwan Strait from China in the colonial period. Shanghai and Fuzhou are the two main sources. Troupes of Jingju and Wenmingxi from Shanghai, that of Huiban, Fuzhouxiban, Qiziban, ZhangZhongban, and Kuileiban, and that of Waijianxi and Chaozhouxiban from Guangdong also constantly visit to give commercial performances in Taiwan.¹⁵⁷ For today's audience, it is difficult to imagine that these various performance genres and troupes, which are performed in various languages that are different from the language the islanders use, traveled for

¹⁵⁵ Changhui Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Yin Yue Wen Xian Zi Lian Hui Bian," vol., 681.

¹⁵⁶ Changhui Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Yin Yue Wen Xian Zi Lian Hui Bian," vol., 681.

¹⁵⁷ Yaxiang Xu, *Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan* (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju chu ban, 2000) 68-107.

commercial performances everywhere in Taiwan for over 20 years. Not only in cities but also in the countryside can be seen the genres and troupes.

3.4 Jingju and the Islanders

“It was about three or four years ago before the Republic of China was founded that there were Jingju performances in Tainan. Sanqingban was one of the troupes. They were basically from Min.... They sold tickets in the Nan Theatre House on Ximen road. At that time, commercial productions were basically made by Jingju troupes in the Taiwan area.” Xu, Ping-ding “Tainan difang xiju de bianqian”¹⁵⁸

Before ethnicity and dialects become the criterion that dominates the way performance genres are understood, there is a different picture of performance genres in relationship to the islanders in the colonial period. I will use Jingju as my example here.

The earliest record of Jingju that is shown in Taiwan history can be found in 1891. An official of civil affairs, Tang, Jingsong, invites a Jingju troupe from Shanghai for his mother's birthday celebration.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, it is not until the colonial period when Jingju becomes popular in Taiwan. In 1906, the first Jingju troupe from Shanghai starts a period of thirty years long relationship with the islanders.

The prosperous Jingju performances in Shanghai support the development of Jingju in Taiwan. In the late Qing period, Jingju is getting more and more popular in China, and spreads over a large area. Jingju has its debut in Shanghai in 1867,

¹⁵⁸ 許丙丁〈台南地方戲劇的變遷〉：「最初在台南市公演平劇，是民國前三、四年事，來臺的三慶班，以閩人居多...他們在西門路『南座』開始售票賣座，當時台南地方的演戲能夠演售者唯有京班而已。」Bingding Xu, "Tainan Difang Xiju De Bianqian," Tainan Wenhua 4.1 (1954).

and gradually develops a new style called Haipai (海派), Nanpai (南派) Jingju or Waijian (外江),¹⁶⁰ which distinguishes a conventional style of “Jingchaopai¹⁶¹ (京朝派).”

According to theatre scholar Xu, Yaxiang’s research, there are more than forty itinerant troupes from Shanghai giving performances in Taiwan beginning in 1906 and ending in 1936 before the Second World War erupts. Benefited from the gradual development of infrastructures such as permanent theatre houses, electricity, etc., the Jingju troupes can usually have a long schedule in big cities for several months and later circulate to other towns. The Jingju troupes are not all brand new. Some of the troupes reorganize due to financial or administrative issues; others might invite new actors to join and then operate with a re-labeled brand. Hongfu Jingban, which is one of the Jingju troupes from Shanghai, is most influential and long-lasting in the colonial period. It experiences many times of reorganization and rearrangement in sixteen year of showtime. According to a list of Shanghai troupes in the Japanese colonial period of Taiwan” made by Xu, the troupes travel everywhere, not only cities such as Keelung, Taipei, Banciao, Hsinchu, Taichung, Chiayi, Tainan, Kaohsiung, but towns and villages such as Taoyuan, Chungli, Pingdong, Zhanghua, Yilan, Lungang, Lodong, Donan, Yanshui, Puzi, Daxi, Zudong, Fongyuan, Doliu, Dajia, etc.¹⁶² It is noteworthy that the

¹⁵⁹ Xu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan 11.

¹⁶⁰ Haipai: “hai” literally means “Shanghai,” “nan” means “the south,” and “waijian” means “outside.” All of these are named to show a different style and school from that of Beijing.

¹⁶¹ The Jingjun performance style in Beijing

¹⁶² 桃園、中壢、屏東、彰化、宜蘭、鹿港、斗南、鹽水、朴子、大溪、竹東、豐原、斗六、大甲等。
Xu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan 87-90.

performance records in Hsinchu, Zudong, Taoyuan, Chungli, Fongyuan, etc., show that the Jingju troupes have a number of audiences in residential places of Hakka people, who speak Hakka in everyday life. Performances in other places also reveal the Min-nan people are also Jingju fans. All these performance archives depict a picture in which Jingju is very popular among all the islanders, particularly in the middle and lower class.

These circulating troupes are generally organized by Taiwanese islanders who first run a company called “Chayuan” (Tea House) by pooling interest in Taiwan. After a chayuan negotiates a theatre house schedule with theatre owners, it follows to invite actors from China.¹⁶³ During the time when actors perform in Taiwan, the company can hire more actors from Shanghai to stimulate box office. There is no restriction regarding actors responsibility after a contract is due. They can return to China, or they are free to be hired by other companies or even organize a troupe themselves.¹⁶⁴

In addition to commercial productions, Jingju is also performed in private occasions and public religious festivals. Gentries usually hire Jingju troupes in celebration of wedding or anniversary. Jingju can be seen in birthday celebrations for the deities or religious festivals. Moreover, the colonial regime also requests Jingju

¹⁶³ Xu, *Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan* 113.

¹⁶⁴ Xu, *Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan* 114-21.

troupes to give a demonstration in official, public events.¹⁶⁵ The relationship between the Shanghai Jingju troupes and the islanders is not restricted to commercial productions. Jingju is found in all kinds of occasions in everyday life.

Profits from commercial productions allow the islanders to form theatrical companies by training and recruiting islanders in competition for the Jingju market. Current research shows that theatrical companies formed and performed by the islanders include: Xiaolotianban, Yongleshe, Yuleyuan, Guangdoing Yirenyuan, Dayayuan, Jingboxingban, caocuban, Shenglihuaban, Xingsheng Entertainment Company, Boaiyuan, etc. They are active from 1911 to the 1930s.¹⁶⁶

In addition to commercial productions, the islanders also form amateur Jingju music/theatrical societies called “Jingdiao piaofang.” There used to be a tradition of amateur music/theatrical society organized by people in Taiwan before the colonial period. The society is usually called “Zidiban,” in which Beiguanxi and its music is the mainstream. The so called “Zidi” usually refers to people who are born in a respectful and wealthy family and who can afford recreational costs. Beiguan Zidis have the most well-functioned and most active organization.¹⁶⁷ They rehearse on a regular basis, and give a performance occasionally when being invited on wedding or religious events. They practice and perform for fun, and are not expected to be professional.¹⁶⁸ Just like Beiguan Zidi, Jingdiao piaofang are also organized by amateurs, some of whom change their music preference from

¹⁶⁵ Xu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan 139-43.

¹⁶⁶ Xu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan 211-20.

¹⁶⁷ http://edu.ocac.gov.tw/culture/chinese/cul_chculture/vod06html/vod06_09.htm

¹⁶⁸ This kind of society can still be seen in today's Taiwan.

Beiguan due to the popularity of Jingju. The societies of Jingdiao Piaofang exist in Taipei, Banciao,

Lugang, Tainan, Mongjia, Zhanghua, Beido, Donan, Kaohsiung, Tamsui, XingZhuang.¹⁶⁹

In sum, regardless of troupes invited from China or organized by the islanders, professional or amateur, and commercial or non-profit, Jingju lives deeply in the everyday life of the islanders in the colonial period. I will illustrate the interaction between the islanders and Jingju by two professional troupes, Hongfu Jingban from Shanghai and Guangdong Yirenyuan by the islanders, and amateur Jingdiao Piaofang.

3.5 Haipei Jingju (海派京劇) in Taiwan: Hongfu Jingban (鴻福京班)

It is known that Hongfu Jingban gave its premiere performance in Tainan no later than 1915. According to reports on Hongfu Jinaban in Taiwan Daily News, its performance attracts massive audiences from all rankings.

[Theatre Declines] Chinese Hongfuban and its actresses visit the Grand Theatre again. They have been performing day and night for over the days. However, they do not make profit although many audiences attend for general admission. It is because there are very few audiences in both the premium class and the first class. It is said that they plan to travel to places where they have never been, such as Dagou, Abou, etc., and they may make profit. It is also said that they will come back again on the New Year. Yet many stars in the troupe have gone. It is believed that they will not be able to attract more

¹⁶⁹ Xu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan 222-26.

audiences unless more stars are newly-hired. Taiwan Daily News, Vol. 6, No. 5563, 1915/12/21¹⁷⁰

[Theatre News in New Year] Hongfuban has been giving a performance since last year in the Grand Theatre in Tainan. Hongfu did not make profits because its investors had free admissions of the first class for the first days of production. At the end of the year, it gave a new production of a complete play of "Monglijun," which won a reputation although income and costs still could not balance out. Beginning the New Year, the troupe finally took charge of the box office, and thus all the actors and stars did their best on the stage. The warmer weather also made audience go to the theatre. Xingchuan Theatre, Nan Theatre, and Zong Theatre also promoted performances by requesting actors to advertise on the street. They announced their production and attracted people by marching on a rickshaw with red waving flags and a band in front. The promotion reached the peak in the evening. All sorts of music performance were given for free in the front plaza of "Kaixian Temple." Audiences also participated in lotteries and got gifts, which were shown in the plaza. Passengers were attracted by their promotion and attended their production much. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 6., No. 5583, 1916/01/12¹⁷¹

[Special Report on Keelung] There are more and more population on Keelung Street, yet music and performance are hardly given. During the summer, the islanders' performances and festivals were also banned for hygiene control. Performances have been scheduled in theatre houses, yet have not been put into practice. People expect arrivals of performance just like rain is expected in a dessert. Recently, a Jingju troupe from China, which is invited and invested by Keelung citizens, finally arrived, and gave a performance in a

¹⁷⁰ 劇界不振 支那鴻福班及諸女優。重來大舞臺。日夜開演。已歷旬餘矣。雖往觀者頗不乏人。而特等位顧客寥寥無幾。一等位則除股東牌而外。亦甚少數。惟並等位較多。然收入之款。究不足供所出。聞近日將復停演。擬赴打狗阿緞等地方。未曾開演之處。以圖獲利。擬待舊曆首春。再來重整旗鼓。但有謂該班諸名角。已數見不鮮。非再聘多少新名角合演。恐不能起色也。【台灣日日新報】1915.12.21 vol. 6. No. 5563 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹⁷¹ 新春劇界 臺南市大舞臺戲園。自客歲開演鴻福班。其始由股主賸演。諸女伶極力演唱。雖顧客頗多。奈股東牌占一等位大半。故不甚得利。然亦臘底扮演新齣。(即孟麗客全部)頗得好評。收入稍足彌補。結算亦不折本。迨開春以來。由該班自行開演。諸名角尤更竭盡所長。兼以新春天氣晴和。顧客尤夥。而新泉座、南座、戎座。每日亦各有優人乘人力車成行。以鼓樂為前導。紅旗掩映。巡遶市上。以為廣告。招徠顧客。每夜亦甚盛況。而開仙宮前則有演曲藝者。入夜鑼鼓喧闐。兼備有彩籤。以贈顧客。隨時抽籤。領取景品。分為數等景品陳列於場前。尤為惹人耳目。因此紅男綠女。絡繹不絕焉。【台灣日日新報】1916.01.12 vol. 6 no. 5583 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

temporarily constructed theatre house called "Yutian." The theatre house was packed with fans every evening. Although being newly built and still under construction, the Yutian theatre house has a decent appearance. The Jingju troupe has personnel of more than a hundred, whom are hired from Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai. They also gave a performance with Hongfuban. Costumes are flamboyant and attractive. In order to meet audiences' taste, an additional play of "Guangongxi" is performed every evening. It is said that the troupe will be gone in ten days. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 6, No. 7303, 1920/10/07¹⁷²

The first two reports tell that a number of general admission seats are available for common audiences in addition to premium and first class in Hongfu's performances. Before a performance is given, advertisements and promotions are made by parade. The troupe also targets ordinary people as their audience rather than the upper class. The third report explains that Keelung citizens are able to invite a troupe on their own by a joint venture. This shows that ordinary people are very much involved in Jingju performances. Theatre houses are usually packed.

[Theatre Éclat] After staying in the Grand Theatre in Taiwan for a period, Hongfuban is scheduled to relocate to Abou due to the end of the contract with the Grand Theatre. Yet there is a schedule conflict with a Japanese troupe in the Abou theatre house. Hongfuban thus took a schedule vacancy of the Nan Theatre starting on the 21st. "Shangtianxianban" started its performance following Hongfuban's finale. Hongfuban has a cheap ticket price. Day shows are only eight cents for the first class and four cents for general admission; night shows are ten cents for the first class and six cents for general admission. It can still attract a full house audience, particular women, even though it is fairly an old-fashion troupe. Shangtianxianban has a more expensive price, which keeps

¹⁷² 基隆特訊・戲園開演 基隆街。人氣日盛。而久不聞演唱之聲。自夏間來。因嚴防疫氣。連尋常賽會。亦不許開演島戲。而大規模之戲園。雖已定議。至今遲遲未著手。雅好聲音之人無從消遣。一般市人之望戲。如早望雨。至去三日。始由市民合資。由艋舺聘到支那正音劇全班。在玉田臨時結構戲園開演。有戲癖者。爭先恐後。連夜座皆為滿。蓋戲園雖草創。規模頗大。裝飾亦雅觀。全班計百餘名。乃由京津上海等處。添聘名角。與久在本島之鴻福班合演。服色新鮮。足悅人目。且每夜兼演關公戲一齣。尤投俗好。聞開演期。僅限十餘日云。【台灣日日新報】1920.10.07 vol. 6 no.7303 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

audience from attending. It makes the islanders excited that two troupes are giving performances together in the city. The western city is crowded every day. Taiwan Daily News, Vol. 6, No. 5743, 1916/06/24¹⁷³

[Theatre News] Shangtianxianban relocated to Tainan from Taichung last month, and started to give a performance in the Grand Theatre on the next evening. Hongfuban transferred to the Nan theatre and joined in a competition, which stimulated the theatre circle. Hongfuban is aware of its deficiency in old props and costumes, and decides to mark down the price. Women are attracted by the promotion, and make the theatre packed day and night. Hongfuban is thus able to make profits by attracting more audiences with cheaper prices. Shangtianxianban also has many audiences by its giving a discount price in addition to its better costumes, props, and great actors. There are more than two hundred dollars in average every day since its starting. Shangtianxianban will be invited by businessmen and gentries of Doliu, and give a performance in Doliu Theatre on July 5, 6, and 7. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 4, No. 5752, 1916/07/03¹⁷⁴

Due to the cheaper price of Hongfu troupe, it can still attract massive audiences despite its poor facilities. It can be seen that women are its main audiences. According to the reports, we can see almost theatres are packed with audiences every day and night. Even in the case when another Jingju troupe “Shangtianxianban” give a performance in the same city, there are enough

¹⁷³ 劇界盛況 臺南市大舞臺日前開演之鴻福班。本欲南下阿緱。因該地戲園方演日本劇。未能應付。而大舞臺限期已屆。去二十一日。乃轉租南座開演。而上天仙班由中而南。亦於是夜在大舞臺開唱。但鴻福班觀資甚廉。一等日間僅八錢、竝等四錢。夜間一等十錢、竝等六錢。故戲班雖舊。而婦女觀者甚夥。座恒為之滿。而上天仙班則因觀資較昂。多裹足不前。市上有此兩班並演。本島人娛樂機關。為之一振。車馬往來。城西一帶。尤形雜沓也。【台灣日日新報】1916.06.24 vol. 6 no. 5743 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹⁷⁴ 劇界瑣聞 上天仙班。於客月之念一日。自臺中赴臺南市。是夜即在大舞臺開演。而從前之鴻福班。則移入南座。兩班對峙。劇界為之一振。鴻福班自知舊不敵新。降價極廉。婦人子女多趨之。自是日至今。每日無夜不滿園者。觀資雖廉。而顧客較多。所得亦比前此加多。上天仙班亦即降格以求。其衣服麗都。腳色超群。兼布活景。故觀者亦眾。計自開演以來。每日日夜平均收入有二百數十圓。又上天仙班。應斗六街紳商之聘。將於來五六七等日。日夜假斗六戲園開演云。【台灣日日新報】1916.07.03 vol. 4. No.5752 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

audiences that support both of the troupes of Shangtianxianban and Hongfuban. It is not hard to imagine the market size of Jingju in Taiwan at that time.

[Theatre Downtime] Hongfuban, which used to perform in the Nan theatre in Tainan City, is gone and relocated to Dagou. Although Shangtianxianban replaced the vacancy after Hongfuban left, it finished in ten days. Many theatre fans have looked forward to great performances, but now are disappointed with the troupes' leaving. There is no exciting entertainment left in the city. Some plan to invite a Chaozhouban from Guangdong to give a performance soon; others want to hire the Yongleche female troupe from Taoyuan. There is no consensus yet. July of the lunar calendar is approaching. It is time for people to pacify ghosts by offering food and drink. There must be fewer audiences. Not until August or September of the lunar calendar, there will not be any productions. Taiwan Daily News, Vol. 6, No. 5779, 1916/07/30¹⁷⁵

[Music Reviews] Hongfuban in Xingwutai has given a great production day and night with its excellent performance. If they can give a full-length play with a beginning and an ending, it will be more interesting. (By an audience member) Hongfuban features the tune of Bangzi, which is not popular any more. There are good actors such Bao Yulou, Cheng, Xiaofeng, Wang, Zhifeng, etc., in the troupe. It is highly recommended that they can perform good musicals with tunes of Erhuang and Xipi so that audience will be double. (By a theatre fan) Taiwan Daily News Vol. 6, No. 6709, 1919/02/21¹⁷⁶

[Autumn Days] Jingdu Hongfuban is coming back again with great actors and actresses from Shanghai. Over the past nineteen nights in Mongjia Theatre have been fantastic performances. Great actors and actresses all arrived, for example: Wusheng: Wang, Qiusu, who is a ten-year-old boy, Wudan: Song, Fongyun and Wu, Fongyun, who are great

¹⁷⁵ 劇界寂寥 臺南市南座所演之鴻福班已南下打狗開演。上天仙雖捲土重來。仍在舞臺開演。然不十日又復掩旗息鼓而去。諸有戲癖者。眼界方開。忽遭敗興。娛樂機關。為之一減。目下有計畫赴粵省聘潮州班來演者。有協議向桃園聘永樂社女優者。議論紛紛不一。然以舊歷七月將至。各街輪流普度。觀客必少。大約非至舊歷八九月間。恐不能成也。【台灣日日新報】1916.07.30 vol. 6. No. 5779 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹⁷⁶ 鶯啼燕語 新舞臺之鴻福班。日夜扮演諸劇。其技殊佳。若能演全本。有頭有尾。不更十分有趣耶（一觀客）鴻福班現在所演之劇目。皆是梆子調居多。現時此調已不流行。而班中之鮑語樓陳小分及王芝芬等。皆有聲音。此後宜演二簧及西皮之唱工好戲。則觀客必增。（戲癖生）【台灣日日新報】1919.02.21 vol. 6. No. 6709 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

martial-art performers, Xusheng: Qiu, Shengkui, Erhua: Kao, Qingzheng, Xiaosheng: Xiao, Kuifyun, whose voice cannot be criticized, Huadan: Yue, Kuixia, Female Xiaosheng: Yue, Yuehong, etc. One of the best actresses is Female Huadan: Hua, Fongying, who can do well in not only melodramas but actions with her acrobatic skills, and whom the audiences are crazy for. She can pass through a flaming standing circle and jump from an eight-foot high column. Audiences are stunned and their burst of spontaneous applause also makes the house tremble. Every actor and actress has their professional skills. It is a pity that the stage is too small to accommodate all real scenes. Martial art cannot be fully presented, either. (By an audience member) Taiwan Daily News Vol. 5, No. 7288, 1920/09/22¹⁷⁷

[Zhulou Report] Hongfu is back! Shanghai Hongfuban visited Jiayi This time it is back with super stars, Female Huadan Fongying, Female Wudan Song, Fongyun, Female Xiaosheng, Xiao, Kuifyun, etc. in Lecheng Theatre in Jiayi beginning on the 15th. Hongfu is famous for martial arts. For example, an actor of Wudan Song can dance like whirlwind on the stage. The troupe is also back with new and shiny costumes from Suzhou and Hangzhou. On the 15th and 16th, people could not even get a seat in the theatre house. Everyone said that the performance was best of the best. Taiwan Daily News, Vol.6, No. 7407, 1921/01/19¹⁷⁸

[Kaohsiung Report] Shanghai Troupes arrived! Changchunban was invited to give a performance from Tainan to the temporary Theatre House in Kaohsiung. The reason that the theatre house was almost packed is due to its advertisement with names of super stars. The advertisement was noted that the super stars are great in singing and acting. To

¹⁷⁷ 楓葉荻花 京都鴻福班。此次加添資金。招聘滬上男女諸名伶。來艋舺戲園合演。去十九夜所演諸劇目。誠令人嘆觀止。就中武生王秋甫。十齡童。武旦宋鳳雲。吳鳳雲等。武行最為特色。鬚生邱勝奎。二花高慶珍。小生小桂雲等。其聲調步驟。可謂老到。女花旦花鳳英。非惟能演諸風流劇。且能兼演諸冒險技。如上鐵枝旋轉。其敏捷手腕。實他班所弗能及。他如穿火圈及約二丈之四塊棹上?下。誠令人代為戰慄。故臺下拍手之聲。振動耳鼓。以外如花旦之月月紅等。亦各有所長。惜演場狹隘。不能佈諸實景。武劇亦弗能盡施其技倆。為可憾云（觀客閒評）【台灣日日新報】1920.09.22 vol. 5. No.7288 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹⁷⁸ 諸羅特訊·鴻福重來 上海鴻福班。前曾來嘉演唱。此次更聘特等女花旦鳳英。女武旦宋鳳雲。女小生小桂雲。及有名男女角。由臺中來嘉自十五日起。假座嘉義樂成茶園開幕。善演武戲。就中宋武旦能于臺上作旋風舞。服飾多蘇杭時粧。鮮麗奪目。擬演十七日間。十五六兩日夜。座無立錫。觀者皆評為戲班中之超超元著者云。【台灣日日新報】1921.01.19 vol. 6 no.7407 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

audiences' disappointment, the performance was not as great as it was advertised. Most of the actors are former performers of Hongfuban with changed makeups. They do not change their costumes, however. For example, the role of General Guan, which is impersonated by Li, Ling, is worse than Zhang, Ling in the old times. Yet, with regard to Zhang, Xiaofang, whose sings well, the advertisement cannot be fake. I suggest that the troupe can avoid a bad box office like it used to have if it can be rearranged with new costumes. Tainan New Daily Vol. 5, No. 7795, 1923/11/07¹⁷⁹

According to the reports above, we can see that there is eager demand for Jingju performance. The first report shows that audiences look forward to arrivals of Jingju troupes. The second illustrates that audiences care about music style and performance, hoping that troupes can bring in tunes that are currently popular in China. Erhunag and Cipi are the main tunes that comprise a Jingju performance. Islander audiences apparently want to follow Jingju trends. The third report presents the way in which audiences observe and criticize performers' acting, singing, and acrobatics in detail. The last three reports exhibit the formation of star system. Famous names of actors and actresses, such as Fongying, Song, Fongyun, Xiao, Kuiyun Li, Ling, Zhang, Ling, and Zhang, Xiaofang, are one of the reasons that draw audience's attention. Star system also explains an establishment of taste and habit of theatrical activity.

Theatre activities and companies have been very popular recently. In Taipei, there are the Taiwan Entertainment Company, the Taibua Entertainment Company, the Pingle Tea House Company, etc. The Pingle will keep investing to the next new troupe after finishing

¹⁷⁹ 高雄通信·申劇來演 鹽埕方面人士。日前往臺南聘長春班來在高雄臨時戲園開演。初演之日。因其廣告單。各伶名印以大字。另註各伶之唱調技藝之佳。是故初夜往觀者。人山人海。擁擠不開。幾乎滿園。結局而觀之。以盡善盡美者寥寥無幾。其餘則皆舊鴻福班屬類也。雖經改飾。然其服色猶未改換。如李伶之扮演關公。則大□當日之張伶。若張曉芳之唱工。則其所誇讚者。實屬非虛言者。論此班若再加整頓。服色新改。在臺島開演。則此後免慮及如前之敗績也。【台南新報】1923.11.07 vol. 5 no. 7795 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

its contracts with Yuqing and Tiansheng two troupes. In Tainan, there are also two companies. One invests seven thousand dollars in an attempt to rearrange Hongfuban with additional newly-hired actors. The other plans to hire a Shanghai female troupe, which is currently circulating in Fuzhou. That is to say that there are five troupes from Shanghai all over the island between the middle of the year and the coming spring. Regarding theatre houses in Taiwan, there are only Tamsui Theatre and Mongjia Theatre in Taipei. The former is outdated and the latter is too small. Both of them are out of qualification. In Tainan, there are only the Grand Theatre and the Nan Theatre. The former is as obsolete as Tamsui Theatre House, and the latter is no difference from the Mongjia Theatre House. None of them are worth mentioning. In Taichung, a theatre is newly built, yet small, too. In Keelung, a plan of building a new theatre has been discussed yet it is not put into practice. In other prosperous cities such as Hsinchu and Jiayi, there are only theatre houses for Japanese, but none for the islanders. There must be insufficient space if the five troupes tend to give a performance around the same time. The Daojian area in Taipei is the capital of the island and is getting densely populated year by year. There were fifty thousand people last year. It has increased to a hundred thousand people this year. It can be predicted that there will be two hundred thousand or three hundred thousand people soon. The Tadaocheng area will be included in the Taipei city, and is presumed to be prosperous. It is necessary to take care of citizen's spiritual life. Theatre performance is one of the things that comfort the islanders. I suggest that the Tamsui Theatre should be renovated in two aspects: double seats and new equipment. Nevertheless, it is impossible to accommodate all audiences in the Tamsui Theatre. It is time to build another theatre besides the Tamsui Theatre although the authorities promised the Tamsui Theatre a monopoly business when it was built. Considering social development in Dataocheng, this promise should be abandoned, no mentioning that the Tamsui Theatre has retrieved costs and made profits. The original investor of the Tamsui Theatre should be generous and thoughtful for the public's affair by discarding the promise. The authorities should take into consideration the needs and development of citizens by overturning an outdated promise. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 6, No. 7236, 1920/08/01¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ 近日時戲熱勃興 在臺北之向上海招班者。曰臺灣演劇公司。曰臺華演劇公司。而平樂茶園一派。待餘慶天勝兩班歸後。亦欲將現在資本保留。再招新班。在臺南亦有兩派。其一投資七千圓。使鴻福班重整衣裳。且招新伶。其二則欲招現在福州扮演之上海女優班。是在今年中至明年春。全島將有五組之上海劇也。就劇場觀之。在臺北只有淡水戲館及艋舺戲園。淡水戲館既陳腐。艋舺戲園亦狹小。殊不足為用。在臺南只有大舞臺及南座。大舞臺與淡水戲館一樣。南座則與艋舺戲園相同。不足言也。外則臺中新築者一座。規模亦小。基隆則有新築之議。未見實行。新竹嘉義為繁盛之地。雖有內地人之劇場。本島人用者無有也。此後五班欲一齊開演。其必大為劇場所苦者。可無疑已。稻江為全島首市。人口之增

Theaters in the colonial period are also separate by race: Japanese Mainlanders and Taiwanese islanders. In 1897, two years after the colonial period starts, a theatre house “Langhua zuo” (Langhua Theatre 浪花座) is built for Japanese in Taipei. Later, “Taipei zuo (Taipei Theatre 台北座)” and “Shizi zuo” (Shizi Theatre 十字座)”, and “Rong zuo” (Rong Theatre 榮座) are respectively done in 1900 and 1902. These theaters basically do not provide service for the islanders, and theatre productions for the islanders are not hosted in them, either. In 1909, Taipei finally has the first theatre house called “Tamsui Theatre House” for the islanders. An islander merchant, Gu, Xiangrong, bought Tamsui Theatre House, and renovated it with a new name of “Xingwutai” in 1915. Since then, Xingwutai becomes one of the most important theaters for all sorts of performance genres, particularly Jingju, which traveled from China. Yet, it is not until 1924 in which the second theatre house of “Yonglezuo” is open in Dadaocheng of Taiwan.

According to this report, people request for another theatre house to accommodate more audiences in Dadaocheng of Taipei in 1920. In this year, there are five Jingju troupes that give a performance in Taiwan simultaneously. It shows that Jingju performances have a high demand in the 1920s, by which a genre

加。年多一年。前此之五萬者。已進至十萬。今之十萬者。不久當至於二十萬三十萬。此番官制改革。大稻埕亦在市制施行區域內。繁盛不知將如何。精神慰安之途。不可不講。演劇亦為本島人慰安之一事。淡水戲館應行改築。使加倍觀覽坐席。妥為設備。以合新時代劇界潮流。而僅淡水戲館一處。欲悉數收容。勢必不能。宜再許可新築一處。雖云前此收買淡水戲館之時。當局與有口約。不再許可他人。以保其權利。然彼一時。此又一時。彼時之大稻埕。人口幾何。此時之大稻埕。人口幾何。不可不一計算之。且當時當局之與有約者。懼其喪失資本也。今經數年之久。不但資本收回。其利益不知若干矣。且某為富豪。當以公益為重。亦斷不以些些？小利。而出與人爭。以自小其度量。當局宜盱衡時勢。鑑察人情。務拘泥於前此之言也。（來稿）【台灣日日新報】1920.08.01 vol. 6. No.7236 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

“Baizixi,” which is performed in the Min-nan/Taiwan language, has not gained any popularity yet.¹⁸¹ Jingju, Chaozhouxi, and Qizixi are the genres that hit the market.

There is a story that is also worth mentioning regarding Hongfu Jingban. During the 16 years when it tours in Taiwan, Hongfu Jingban is framed by another Jingju troupe “Jinbaoxing” due to its successful production.

[False Charge of Hongfuban] The false charge of Hongfuban is clear. It turns out that Baoxingban is sued. It is because Jinbaoxing, which envies Hongfu's success, sets up Hongfu. Hongfu has been very successful for years in Tainan to the extent that Geju, which have got more and more popular, cannot compete with it, not to mention Jinbaoxingban. In recent days, Jinbaoxing could not take the failure of being defeated by Hongfu, and thus decided to set up Hongfu. Nevertheless, people believed that Jinbaoxing was very suspicious. The police gave up a previous investigation direction toward Hongfu, worked on the suspicion of Jinbaoxing, and found Jinbaoxing's criminal evidences. The heads of Jinbaoxing have been detained by the police and are waiting for investigation. It is not the case that Hongfu does not have a production license. Yet the license was lost on a performance tour in a village of Xinfong County. An assistant of the village could assist with verification. A police officer however usually gives the troupe a hard time. Many people feel it is unfair for the troupe and suggest the head of Hongfu to go back to China. It is said that Hongfu is unwilling to leave due to its failure in Taiwan that might be a shame in China, particularly when China is in trouble and people cannot make a living. Hongfu seems to show its willingness to stay in Taiwan for good. Yet, considering its difficulty in business, a bright future may not be expected. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 4, No. 10233, 1928/10/16¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Xu and Guo li bian yi, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Qu Shi Lun : Xian Dai Hua Zuo Yong Xia De Ju Zhong Yu Ju Chang 130-2.

¹⁸² 鴻福班冤案 水落石出 反是寶興班被拘 既報華劇鴻福班。為關脅迫案全班被拘事。迨後經警察署明察。而企圖栽陷之金寶興主腦。反因是坐罪。查鴻福班。在南日久到處開演。落力爽臺。人氣大盛。勿論金寶興班。不能興角。風行一時之歌劇。亦皆披靡。邇來金寶興班。每於人前出醜。恨之徹骨。故出今番之舉。自畏得計矣。其奈巷議紛紛。惟該班是指。當局遂變更搜查方面。竟一舉而獲。既將班主黃某。及謀氏曾某拘押。俟審訊明白則將送院。顧鴻福班?非無官許執照。聞執照係於新豐郡某庄開演時。為庄助役所失。該助役既出證明與之。第不知何故某町警官每為難。此人民久已有不平之聲。或勸該班主率眾歸國。據言來臺落魄無顏歸見中原父老。矧國事螭蟾。萑苻遍地。棲足為難。察其意。似欲終老臺灣。長此因循。該班前途。實大可悲傷者也。【台灣日日新報】1928.10.16 vol. 4 no.10233 Xu,

Hongfu obviously has a really good relationship with islander audiences in Tainan. It is interesting to see that Hongfu gains islander audiences' sympathy when it is set up by Jinbaoxing. Hongfu provides free performances at temples, which are the center of local social, political, and economical relations, after the charge is dismissed. Even though it is meant to be a free performance, audiences still donate money to Hongfu in return. Hongfu therefore is able to rearrange its troupe for another new round of production.

[Chikan] Chinese theatre Hongfuban has been wandering in Tainan for a long time. Several months ago, it was framed by another troupe, which envied Hongfu's reputation. The head of Hongfu decided to give a volunteering performance in temples in Tainan in appreciation of Tainan people's sympathy and support after the police clarified the false charge. The people also gave money in return. Both Hongfu and the people benefit from each other. This reward was out of Hongfu's expectation. Hongfu decided to purchase new costumes in service of audience. It also got more performance opportunities due to new facilities. What a surprise it is that the whole story turned out to have a happy ending. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 4 No. 10251, 1928/11/03¹⁸³

These reports demonstrate a picture in which common islander audiences participate in Hongfu Jingju troupe's performances. It also shows that Jingju performances have been one of the most important entertainments for the islanders, and go beyond special activities for the elites.

"Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

¹⁸³ 赤埃·否極泰來 華劇鴻福班。流落臺南已久。月前因?劇屢獲勝賞。遂致見嫉某班。遭其傾陷迨冤白後。該班主竟異想天開。為將酬謝各界同情之德。特向各處境眾廟宇演劇。而各境眾。競醵金以贈。互益其數。因是該班競獲意外之利。現已新置盔服冠劍。而聘演者益多。真所謂否極泰來。而夢想不到也。【台灣日日新報】1928.11.03 vol. 4 no. 10251 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

3.6 An Islander Jingju Troupe: Guandong Yirenyuan (廣東宜人園)

Besides Shanghai Jingju troupes from China, there are also many commercial Jingju troupes operated by the islanders in aim of the Jingju market in Taiwan. The Jingju troupe, Jinbaoxing, which sets up Hongfu, is the first Jingju troupe run by the islanders according to archives. Jinbaoxing used to be Qizi troupe, and changes to enact Jingju performances after Jingju gets popular. It gave a performance altogether with Hongfu in 1919.

[Two Troupes Give a Performance Together] Tainan Jinbaoxing, which resides and performs in Xingwutai, is invested by Qianxing Tea House. It gave a performance together with Jingju Hongfuban last night. It will give a performance both in the daytime and nighttime. Daytime: 1. Yanyanglo, 2. Qiuhuxiqi, 3. Wuniang Shenghualian Pongshuipeng, 4. Jinyanqiao, 5. Shiqijun. Nighttime: 1. Jinqianpao, 2. Niutoushan, 3. Pashipache, 4. Chengsanmen and Liansan Jiexiu Guluan, 5. Hongmeige. Jingbaoxing will go to give a performance in Shilin or Taipei. Hongfuban just recruited actors who can play important roles. There will be a great show soon. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 4, No. 6705, 1919/02/17¹⁸⁴

Guandong Yirenyuan is another famous Jingju troupe run by the islanders. In this section, I will introduce how a Jingju Troupe, which is assumed to be a “foreign” dialect nowadays, can be organized by and composed of islander performers, who do not speak Mandarin as their “dialect,” by taking Guandong Yirenyuan as an example. It is also an example that illustrates how a Jingju performance in the colonial period goes beyond any ethnic or language borders

¹⁸⁴ 兩班合演 現在新舞臺扮演之臺南金寶興班。係遣興茶園同人招致者。經昨日與正音鴻福班連合。本日夜在新舞臺開演。日間。一、艷陽樓。二、秋胡戲妻。三、五娘賞花蓮捧盆水。四、金雁橋。五、弑齊君。夜間。一、金錢豹。二、牛頭山。三、八十八扯。四、陳三門。留傘接繡孤鸞。五、紅梅閣。又金寶興班不日將赴士林或臺北附近鉅市開演。又鴻福班日前新到重要腳色四五名。亦將登臺。當有奇技可觀云 【台灣日日新報】1919.02.17 vol. 4 no.6705 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

from today's perspective. Guangdong Yirenyuan is founded by a Hakka person Fangjiang, Xinglu, who recruit Hakka children in Taoyuan and Hsinchu in 1915. According to Xu, Yaxiang's research, Yirenyuan used to learn a performance that is performed in the Guangdong dialect, and later changes to a Jingju performance after Jingju is popular.¹⁸⁵ It hires Jingju masters from Beijing to teach the children. It has a wide range of commercial production all over the island. There are performance records from Taoyuan in the northern Taiwan to Taichung in the central and Zuqi, Baihe, Jiali, Tainan, Pingdong in the southern Taiwan.

[One More Troupe in Taoyuan] There are more theatre troupes opening in Chungli and Yanmeili since Taoyuan Yongleshe was established and became famous in the Taoyuan County. Fangjian in Yanmeili set up Yirenyuan composed of both actors and actresses. The troupe started to give a three-day performance in Taoyuan Jingfu Temple since the 27th. It has done a fairly good job compared to other troupes although there is less than a year since it was established. Actors such as Zeng, Shuangli, Yan, Jinque, and Chen, Huanrong stand out from others. Even they compete with actors in Yongleshe, they can be never losers. Taiwan Daily News Vol.6, No. 5989, 1917/03/03¹⁸⁶

[Performance Recommended] Guangdong Yirenyuan gained a good reputation from critics in the central Taiwan. It arrived in Chuqi, and attracted many audiences that make the theatre packed. Due to its fame, people in Baihezhuang also want to invite it to give a performance, which is scheduled on the 22nd and lasts for ten days. It is said that the troupe has great actors, costumes, and props. Kong, Jinque, Xiao, Yulan, Ye, Xiangyun,

¹⁸⁵ Xu, Kejia Ju Yi Liu Zhen : Taiwan De Guangdong Yi Ren Yuan Yu Yi Ren Jing Ban 3-7.

¹⁸⁶ 桃園劇界 又添一班 桃園廳下劇界。自桃園永樂社創成。馳名三臺以後。而中壢楊梅壢。亦相創設。楊梅壢范姜某氏。所設宜人園。合男女優而成。去二十七日起。於桃園景福宮。連演三日間。雖所習僅一年。而所演諸齣。較諸一般灘簧。寧有過之。其伶人如曾雙立。顏金雀。陳煥榮等尤為秀出。縱與永樂社員雜演。豈多遜色耶。【台灣日日新報】1917.03.03 vol. 6 no. 5989 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

and Liu, Sheshu are among the best. Those of theatre-lovers look forward to their performance. Tainan New Daily Vol. 5, No. 7385, 1922/09/23¹⁸⁷

[Taichung Report] As predicted, Guangdong Yirenyuan has created a record since it arrived in Taichung on the 16th. It performed in Le Theatre and attracted lots of audiences from all over the city. Tainan New Daily Vol.9, No. 8384, 1925/06/18¹⁸⁸

[Jiali Special Report] Yirenyuan gains a great reputation in Jiali for its great props and acting. It features stories of the loyal, the faithful, and the sensational, all of which win audiences' applause. It is said that they will finish on the 14th. The crowd rushes into the theatre head over heels, and made the theatre packed. Tainan New Daily Vol. 5, No. 8315, 1925/04/10¹⁸⁹

[Pingdong Report] Performances given by the Guangdong Yirenyuan Jingju Troupe went on stage in the Pingdong Theatre yesterday. There are many actors in the troupe and all of them do a good job. The theatre is filled up with audiences, who give a good reputation to the performance. Tainan New Daily Vol. 4, No. 12268, 1936/02/28¹⁹⁰

The reports all show that performances by Guangdong Yirenyuan are popular everywhere in Taiwan. The performances also reach a high standard of both stage

187 菊部好評 廣東宜人園男女班。前是曾於中部開演。甚博顧曲家所歡迎。者番到竹崎開演。日夜觀客無立錐之地。因各地之好評太高。白河庄人士。亦思一飽眼福。定月之二十二日。在白河庄開幕。演期約十日間。聞該班腳色服飾佈景各臻其妙。就中孔金雀。小玉蘭。葉祥雲。劉石樹等最為特色名優。有周郎癖者。咸刮目以俟之云。【台南新報】1922.09.23 vol. 5. No.7385 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

188 臺中通信·新戲開演 如既報廣東宜人園男女班。去十六日果到臺中。在樂舞臺開演。市內各界。莫不蜂擁往觀。殊呈盛況云。【台南新報】1925.06.18 vol. 9. No.8384 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

189 佳里特訊·宜人園之好評 現在佳里開演中之宜人園。佈景甚佳。技藝絕妙。而演之藝目。皆以忠節義喜怒哀樂。甚然出色。故博該地紳商贊賞。聞欲演至來十四日閉幕。現每日觀客爭先恐後。園內幾無立錐之地云。【台南新報】1925.04.10 vol. 5 no. 8315 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

190 屏東夕照 ▲廣東宜人園京劇。去日在屏東劇場開演。腳色頗多。個個善演。晝夜觀客。擁擠不開。大博一般好評。【台南新報】1936.02.28 vol. 4 no. 12268 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

design and performer's acting. As far as ethnicity is concerned, there is none of any descriptions on the reports which mention that enacting a Jingju performance by Hakka people can be inauthentic. By contrast, it faces all sorts of distinction or differentiation with regard to the Hakka ethnicity and language when Guangdong Yirenyuan restarts Jingju performances in the post-war period. The contrast provides an importance resource to articulate the way in which the concept of ethnicity is formed in relation to performances in the period. I will elaborate on the formation of the relation later.

3.7 Jingdiao Piaofang (京調票房 Society for Non-professional of Jingju Music and Performance)

Another example that reveals the close relationship between the islanders and Jingju is Jingdaio Piaofang. It also explains the way in which Jingju is deeply involved in the society of the islanders. The so-called Jingdaio Piaofang is non-professional society for Jingju music and performance. The society is usually called "Zidi," and the theatrical production of Zidi is called "Zidixi." Zidi are organized by people who have a certain social status in villages or townships. It is treated as prestigious to be able to participate in activities of Zidi. People learn how to sing and act in Zidi, and give a volunteering performance during temple festivals where they also support in worships or rituals.¹⁹¹ Beiguanxi is the main performance genre in Zidi before Jingju comes to Taiwan. With the gaining popularity of Jingju

¹⁹¹ Hsieh, "A Study of Peking Opera Ensembles and the Cultural Meanings of Their Localization in Taiwan," 26.

in Taiwan, Beiguanxi is substituted by Jingju and the Zidi of Jingju is called Jingdiao Piaofang.¹⁹²

Longyinshe is the earliest Jingdiao Piaofang as archives show. It is established in Mongjia, Taipei, in 1919.¹⁹³ There exist at least fifty-one Jingdiao Piaofang all over in Taiwan before the War erupts. Commercial cities such as Mongjia, Dadaocheng, Zhanghua, Lugang, and Tainan are five centers around which Jingdiao Piaofang develops. Archives also show that in places of the countryside like Xingzhuang, Yilan, Dounan, Huwei, and Buzi exist Jingdiao Piaofang, too. It can be said that Jingdiao Piaofang is popular in the period. According to archives, actors of Hongfu Jingban are even invited and serve as instructors of Jingdiao Piaofang.

3.8 Conversion to Jingju (改習京劇)

It is worth mentioning that many Zidi that used to learn Beiguanxi convert to Jingju. Around 1924, a trend of the conversion affects in Zidi of the Lugang area.¹⁹⁴ In other words, there is no loyalty or fixed identity for people in Zidi or Jingdiao Piaofang to maintain a single genre of performance, regardless of which usually serves certain religious or ritual functions. The performance conversion to Jingju provides a good example by which to overturn the assumption of a fixed relationship between performance genre and ethnic audience/participants.

¹⁹² Hsieh, "A Study of Peking Opera Ensembles and the Cultural Meanings of Their Localization in Taiwan," 30.

¹⁹³ Hsieh, "A Study of Peking Opera Ensembles and the Cultural Meanings of Their Localization in Taiwan," 10.

¹⁹⁴ Hsieh, "A Study of Peking Opera Ensembles and the Cultural Meanings of Their Localization in Taiwan," 55.

In considering theatre goes today, it seems reasonable for people to follow a trend. It is often assumed that people, as modern subjects, are usually “free of choice.” In talking about “traditional performance” in relation to audiences, scholars by contrast relate theatre activities to ethnicity. In her research and fieldwork on religious activities and performance genre in central Taiwan, anthropologist Lin, Meirong argues that Beiguan is usually performed in “Quguan,” meaning music society, in the religious sphere¹⁹⁵ of the Zhanghua area, where inhabitants are mostly from Zhangzhou, China, and speak the Zhangzhou tone of the Min-nan dialect. Nanguan, which is performed in the Quanzhou tone of the Min-nan dialect, in contrast, is the music and performance of residents who are originally from Quanzhou.¹⁹⁶ Theatre scholar Xu, Yaxiang also suggests that Sipingxi has a closely ethnic relationship with Hakka ethnic people.¹⁹⁷ In other words, people usually assume that there is ethnic proximity between performance genre and ethnic groups, and an imagination of “dialect/language” is what serves as the theoretical or conceptual mediator that connects the two. That is also to say that it is dialect through which the relationship between performance genre and ethnic group is able to be connected, and a local “culture” is thus to be performed. We can maybe simply say that the ethnic dialect supports the relation which links performance genre and audience.

¹⁹⁵ The so-called “religious sphere” is an area in which believers volunteer in an organization of a certain religion that features a specific spirit and its substitution. For more discussion, see Meirong Lin, “The Religious Sphere of Chang-Hua Matsu,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica* 68 (1990).

¹⁹⁶ “Most of local musical groups in the religious sphere of Chang-hua are Beiguan with some exceptions of Holo-Hakka villages in which both Beiguan and Nanguan exist at the same time. We also know that Nanguan is popular in the Quanzhou people’s area while Beiguan is in the Zhangzhou people’s. Meirong Lin, “The Social-Historical Approach to the Study of Local Musical Groups and Martial Arts Groups within the Religions Sphere of Chang-Hua Matsu,” *Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy* 5.1 (1992).

¹⁹⁷ Guo-jun and Xu Li, *Ya-xiang, Taoyuan Xiang Si-Ping Xi Diao Zha Yanjiu*. (Taoyuan: Taoxiang Wenhua, 1999) 4.

Based on the assumption, some find that the performance conversion is problematic. Some believe that audiences who are not the ethnic group that speak the same language as the language which is performed do not understand the performance. This kind of audience is simply to butt out in the performance. Others suggest that a performance performed in a language different from ethnic audiences is a “foreign” genre. The reason that a foreign genre is able to gain popularity is because “local” people accept it. This is to suggest that a “foreign” performance like Jingju can only be accepted with a sense of foreignness, yet can never be the local. In other words, there is a clear imagined and perceivable distinction regarding the foreign and the local. I would instead argue that the conversion to Jingju suggests a crucial questioning to reinvestigate the theory of the foreign and the local. By the concept of Difangxing, which I will theorize later, I emphasize that Jingju in the colonial period is not foreign simply because identification of the local, or what I will call “local identity,” is *a posteriori*, which comes along with the formation of the regime of identity politics. That local identity, which regards Jingju as being foreign, simply does not exist in the colonial period, particularly the Doka period, when the identity of people, citizens or nationals are yet to be fully shaped. I argue that the way in which a performance is ethnic and the way in which performance genres are either local or foreign are a projection of modernity that displays itself on the screen of history.

3.9 “The Local” and “the Trans-ethnic”: Baizixi and Jingju in the Doka period

I have illustrated examples of Hongfu Jinban, Guangdong Yirenyuan, and Jingdiao Piaofang, which depict the way in which Jingju and the islanders closely

interact regardless of nation, ethnicity, location, religion, profession, etc. In addition, the publication of Jingju records (Jingdiao), geisha's conversion to Jingju music, Jingju radio, even Jingju performances invited by governors in official ceremonies etc.,¹⁹⁸ all tell the extent to which Jingju is involved in the islanders' everyday life.

In order to further illustrate the way in which Jingju, which is performed in a language different from that of targeted audience's "dialect," for example, the Minnan language, is indeed no less local than any other performances which are performed in the islanders' dialect, I take in comparison Baizixi, which is known as the performance of the dialect/the vernacular language. In doing so, I want to emphasize that the performance language has not much to do with the audiences' everyday language by showing that Baizixi does not take any advantage simply due to its being performed in the dialect.

Around 1900, Budaixi first adopts baizi, the language of what audiences speak, in its performance. In 1913, the first theatre troupe that uses baizi is "Sitongchun Xiaoliyuan." As can be found in archives, another theatre troupe that is known for a baizi performance is Jinbaoxing in Tainan. In a report of Taiwan Daily News on February 11, 1919, a performance of Nanyin-baizi is on the list of the Jinbaoxing's

¹⁹⁸ 臺北放送局。于十日午後零時十分。放送京調（曲片演奏）。一、玉堂春及罵殿程艷秋。二、青風草（按：青風亭）及哭劉表馬連良。三、頭本開天闢地之洞房及頭本狸貓換太子劉小衡。四、大保國及聚滎陽（按：取滎陽）金少山。〈放送京調〉，《台灣日日新報》，1930年1月10日，版4，第10680號。臺北放送局。于二十八日夜。因乘上海德記永勝和京班來臺。特聘該班演唱放送京調。于是夜八時四十五分。演唱一、上天臺演唱者劉云奎、劉云亭。二、六月雪演唱者女優陳豔秋。伴奏王耀宗。謝鳳章外數名。〈永勝和班來台放送京調〉，《台灣日日新報》，1930/1/28，vol. 6 no.10698 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

daily program.¹⁹⁹ This means that Jinbaoxing is able to perform by baize when competing with Hongfu in Tainan. Yet this capability of performing in baizi does not help Jinbaoxing defeat Hongfu in term of attracting audiences. On the contrary, Jiabaoxing needs to set up Hongfu in the hope of maintaining its business by Hongfu's downfall.

Another example that I have also mentioned earlier is also valid in arguing that a performance of baizi does not accrue any advantage in the theatre market. No. 7542, Vol. 6 of June 3, 1921 of Taiwan Daily News tells that Baizixi is much less welcomed in the islanders' circle when competing with Chaozhouxi (Chaoju), which is performed in the Chaozhou language.

With reference to the introduction of Baizixi and Gezaixi in chapter two, it is known that it is about the same time during which Jingju is popular in the 1920s when Baizixi is about to draw audiences' attention. It is also known that Jingju maintains its popularity throughout the 1920s. It is not until the beginning of the war in 1937 when Jingju is forbidden performing due to its representation of the enemy China in the wartime. In other words, during the 1920s and 30s, it is not a concern for islander audiences going to a performance by taking into account a baizi performance or not. If a performance that is performed in the non-common language does not affect audiences' preference or identification. As such, it should be valid to state that the so-called Baizixi only serves as one of various performance styles/genres, which features a common language in speech, while others feature

199 Taiwan Daily News 1919/2/11 no. 6699 <金寶興班劇目> Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

differently the music, the singing, the acting, the art of stage scene, etc.²⁰⁰ That is to say that languages does not deserve any particular attention of categorization in relation to audience. That also means that islander audiences choose a performance by considering many distinguishing features, such as singing, acting, etc., and language is only one of the features. It is not crucial at all. We can therefore claim that Baizixi does not carry any symbolic meaning in relation to audiences' everyday language, or what later could be called "ethnic identity" or "ethnicity." Only by this understanding of Baizixi can we explain why Baizixi is categorized as one of the many genres of performance, which specialize in different characteristics. Baizixi is a style, rather than a genre that claims any authenticity of local identity, which distinguishes itself from any other performances that are not performed in the common language. Since it is not a requisite to speak the common language in performance, there can be many other kinds of performance that gain popularity by attracting islander audiences.

I call it "difangxing" or the local of performance, in which an identity of belonging to an ethnic group or proximity of speaking the same/common language between performers and audiences has not been attached or connoted to performances. Difangxing represents by the multitude, who have not yet identified themselves by citizens of nation-state, nor perceive performances by cultural proximity or ethnic identity. It can be also understood as a relation of non-identical relationship between performance language and everyday life language. In the

²⁰⁰ As mentioned earlier in the chapter, for example, the four categories of Baizi, Jiujiu, Siping, and Nantan (Luantan) in the book "Taiwan" written by Sadayoshi Takeuchi in 1915, with Gexi added to the list in Iwao Kataoka's "Taiwan Fongsuzhi" in 1921. Baizi features the language, Jiujiu in acting, Siping in singing, and Nantan could feature its relation to rituals. Later when Fuzhouban comes to give a performance in Taiwan, it is usually advertised by its specialty in stage design.

relation, a performance does not have to be performed in the common language yet it is still a local performance. The sense of the local is not perceived by language, which functions as the mediator in connection with ethnicity. In terms of the relationship between Jingju performance and islander audiences, Jingju is embodied with *difangxing*.

The relationship between Jingju performance and the islanders signifies that people who speak the same language in everyday life may attend a performance that is not performed in the same language. A further argument can be extended to that people who speak the same language do not feel they are the same in the behavior of performance appreciation. In other words, language has not carried any significance of “feeling we are the same,” or say, ethnicity. Or we can say that a concept of ethnicity, which is psychologically as well as emotionally supported by language, does not yet exist. This is why I find that the “trans-ethnic” can be problematic of describing performances in the colonial period since ethnicity is not yet articulated. For the audiences of the multitude, ethnicity might be a rather unclear and vague concept or “thing,” which by no means explains or distinguishes any difference by regulating any border in daily practices. Not using the “trans-ethnic” avoids a misunderstanding that a performance is created, imagined, or presented by crossing two or more ethnic groups, which seem to have been verified. In other words, I try to avoid statements of the like that follows: Jingju is a performance which crosses ethnic boundary accepted by the islanders; or islander audiences by crossing the barrier of ethnic limitation appreciate Jingju performances. People cannot cross the ethnic boundary if ethnicity does not even

exist. The trans-ethnic needs to be historicized in the case that it cannot be possible without the premise of the conceptual formation and completion of the ethnic.

3.10 Delinking the Local from the Nation

Going back to the earlier chapter in which I try to question the misconception of language in equal to race or ethnicity by drawing Isawa Shuji's example of bringing Mandarin interpreters to Taiwan, I also want to argue that this misconception is founded on the formation of a nation-state. In the same vein, it is also a theorization based on the formation of ethnicity in conjunction with the formation of nation state that a performance language represents audiences who speak the same performance language in everyday life.

Difangxing, the local, here signifies locality that has nothing to do with nationality. The performance language is delinked from the everyday life language. The delinking questions ethnicity of, as we tend to assume, that people who speak the same language in everyday life use the same language in every aspect, including attending a performance of the same kind. By serving as one of many local performances instead of the only one, Baizixi provides an example to illustrate that difangxing is multiple and is not defined by language or ethnicity. A relation that is termed as "identity" consolidating the relationship between performance and everyday life, and theatre and subjectivity, is not yet formed or completed

Difangxing is exemplified by and introduced through the interaction between Jingju and the islanders in the colonial period. Difangxing is not set up in conspiracy with any language or ethnic imagination, and is not mediated by ethnicity or race.

However, how come Jingju performances that is embodied with difangxing later turns out to be a “foreign” genre for today’s Taiwanese? We need to go further into the formation of the nation state in Taiwan since the wartime period, particularly in the postwar period when Taiwan is handed over to the Republic of China from Japan. After 1945, Jingju undergoes an epistemological transformation after Taiwan becomes a province of the Republic of China in 1945. With the formation of nationality, a different sense of locality, which is basically composed of ethnicity and dialect, translates the relationship between performance and audience. It further de-historicizes and aestheticizes the experience of colonial performance, and makes all sorts of diverse performances cognitively neutral yet emotionally national. The islanders’ experience of Jingju is covered by the formation of nationality. I will continue to investigate the way in which a performance that is not performed in a dialect of audience is regarded as being foreign, and cannot be recognized when identity is formed in correlation with ethnicity. I will use the term “local identity” to describe this sense of locality that goes hand in hand with nationality and ethnicity.

To historicize the transformation from difangxing (the local) to local identity is to understand the epistemological transformation of (post-) colonial performance in postwar Taiwan. Yet, we need to begin with modern China in order to talk about postwar Taiwan.

3.11 Local identity and “the Foreigner:” Racialized and Ethnicized

Jingju gets more and more popular in both Taiwan and China in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. It reaches a peak in the 1920s and

30s. It however deserves particular attention that Taiwan and China undergo different routes in the early twentieth century. There is a political and institutional transformation in China in 1911 when the Qing Empire is overturned by the Republic of China. China formally turns itself a nation state. Taiwan, on a different page, maintains its Japanese colony status since 1895, and does not become a province of the Chinese nation until 1945. To put it simply, China is an empire when Taiwan is ceded; China becomes a nation state later when Taiwan is “restored.”

Many researchers have paid attention to questions like the formation of “China” and the transformation of “Huaxia” during the time when an empire becomes a nation state.²⁰¹ The formation of China plays a key role in understanding the epistemological transformation of performance, which is formed in the postcolonial period and later becomes the theory of performance in the colonial period.

3.12 Imperialism and Xiqu

I have introduced how Xiqu is born within the historical condition of China in peril invaded by imperialism in the earlier chapters. To put it simply, Xiqu as a particular form of cultural performance is born in service of representing the Chinese nation state. Xiqu on the one hand represents a cultural and traditional China, which paradoxically is the obstacle of a modern China. In other words, Xiqu needs to be preserved, yet it needs to be transformed at the same time.

²⁰¹ S. SUNG-CHIAO, “]: Wo Yi Wo Xue Jian Xuanyuan–Huangdi Shenhua Yu Wan Qing De Guozu Jiagou [],” *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan*, Ausgabe (1997).

Jingju is one of the Xiqu performances known in China of the late nineteenth century after it gains its popularity. The Chinese intellectuals are also interested in Jingju in addition to Jingju's popularity in the common people after the Republic of China is founded. The intellectuals have many moments of debate on the preservation, improvement, as well as abolishment of Xiqu.²⁰² The debates basically focus on moral functions and content warnings of Xiqu²⁰³ in addition to a necessary improvement and progress of the form of Xiqu.²⁰⁴ Generally speaking, the intellectuals are concerned with the way in which Xiqu represents the nation. This concern indicates the formation of the identity correlation between Xiqu as traditional performance and the nation.²⁰⁵

3.13 Nationalization of Jingju

Current scholarship has discussed the process during which Jingju becomes the national drama, a representation of the Chinese nation, by intellectuals' various

²⁰² Si-Nian Fu, "Aspects of Drama Reformation," *Xing Qingnian* 5.4 (1918).

+ bo Zhou jing, *Zhong Guo Xian Dai Xi Ju Lun*. Shang Juan, Jian She Min Zu Xi Ju Zhi Lu (Bei jing: Bei jing guang bo xue yuan chu ban she, 2003) 14, Douxiu (陳獨秀) Chen, "On Xiqu," *Xin Xiaoshou* 2.2 (1905).

²⁰⁴ Shi (胡適) Hu, "On Literature Progress and Xiju Reformation," *Xin Qingnian* (新青年) 5.4 (1918), Zhou jing, *Zhong Guo Xian Dai Xi Ju Lun*. Shang Juan, Jian She Min Zu Xi Ju Zhi Lu 32.

²⁰⁵ Colonized intellectuals in Taiwan have quite different perspectives of criticizing Xiqu during the time when nationalist intellectuals in China criticize Xiqu in the early 20th century. The islander colonized intellectuals focus on the social chaos and disorder resulted from Xiqu performances and their audiences while the Chinese nationalist intellectuals mostly relate Xiqu to nationality concerning the nation's future. The former is more concerned with social order while the latter pays attention to inspiring the nation although both of the intellectuals insist the necessity of Xiqu reformation and transformation. Chong-Wen Society held an essay competition on "Xiju Reformation" in the 1920s. That is to say, intellectuals in Taiwan and China have different concerns of Xiqu in relation to the society and the nation. The competition is one of the best examples investigating colonized intellectuals' concern in Xiqu. Please see *Taiwan Daily News* 1906.09.29 vol. 4 no.2526, 1908.03.27 vol. 3 no. 2969, 1911.10.01 vol. 3 no. 4078, 1920.07.13 vol. 5 no. 7217, 1920.07.24 vol. 6 no.7228, 1920.07.25 vol. 5 no.7229, 1920.07.26 vol. 4 no. 7230, 1920.07.27 vol. 6 no. 7231, 1920.07.28 vol. 6 no. 7232, 1920.07.29 vol. 6 no. 7233, 1920.07.30 vol. 6. no. 7234, 1920.07.31 vol. 3 no.7235, 1920.08.05 vol. 6 no. 7240; 1924.05.26 vol. 6 no. 8630, 1925.12.03 vol. 4 no. 9186, 1925.12.13 vol. 4 no. 9196, 1926.08.26 vol. 4 no. 9452, *Tanan New Daily* 1934.03.10 vol. 4 no. 11554; *Taiwan People's News*, 1927.03.13 vol. 11-12 no. 148, 1927.07.10, vol. 14 no. 165

maneuvers. I want to draw attention to how the popularity of Jingju turns to the universality of the national drama, in addition to the investigation of the formation of identity correlation between Xiqu and the nation. In other words, what I am arguing here is that the popularity of Jingju is later transformed as a collective identity of national drama, which is substantiated in every national subject. This collective identity, or we can call it the relation of national identification, can be regarded as universality of Jingju. It is no doubt saying that universality of Jingju is formed by the nation state. To put it simply, you are embodied with the Jingju culture when you are Chinese and Jingju is the Chinese national drama. In other words, nationality mediates identity.

3.14 Nationalization and Localization

Above is a brief introduction of the way in which Jingju becomes as a symbol of China. However, we used to overlook investigating the relationship between other performance genres in China and the Chinese nation state when Jingju draws all of our attention to the correlation between the national drama and the modern China. Here, I try to look into the experience that other genres undergo as Jingju is nationalized, as well as the experience in relation to the discursive transformation between popularity and universality.

3.15 From Huabuluantan (花部亂彈) to Difangxi (地方戲)

There were various performances everywhere in China since the Ming and Qing dynasty. The performances are performed with different tunes, music, languages, and acting features. In the period of the Qianlong Emperor (1736-1795), all performance genres but Kunqu is generally called “Huabu” or “Luantan,”

including Bangzi, Pihuang, Xiangsuo, among others. Intellectuals and elites of that time regard Kunqu as the most prestigious genre and call it “ya,” literally meaning, “elegant,” by discarding others called “hua” or “luan,” which mean “messy.” This is apparently a distinction drawn by the consciousness of class between intellectuals and elites, and the folks. Kunqu is welcomed by the former while Huabu is popular among the latter. In contrast to Kunqu, genres of Huabuluan were usually called “difangxi,” meaning “local performance.” The popularity of Huabuluan also signifies the arrival of a period in which non-elite performances gain attention on the stage. Handiao and Huiju, from which Jingju originates, are ones of the Huabu performances.²⁰⁶

It is also noteworthy that performances in the imperial period are trans-lingual. For example, Kunqu appears in the area of Kunshan in southeastern China around the interval of the Yuan and Ming dynasty (the 14th century) and later gets popular among intellectuals everywhere. Due to circuits of Kunqu troupes, Kunqu is well received in Beijing, Hunan, Sichuan, Quichou, and Quangdong. In other words, it is popular in northern, central, western, and southern China. Another example can be found in Huabuluan is Jingju, which is born in Anhui and later travels to Beijing, and becomes a popular genre everywhere including Shanghai and Taiwan. Many audiences who speak different languages in their everyday life indulged in Jingju.

Nevertheless, the fluidity of trans-lingual-ness undergoes a connotative transformation after the nation-state is being requested and formed since the late

²⁰⁶ In other words, Jingju has been popular among non-elite in the folk society until the beginning of the Republican era in which nationalist intellectuals intend to transform Jingju into national drama.

Qing period. The transformation is made through the localization of performance in tandem with nationalization.

3.16 Localization and Ethnicization of Difangxi

Historian Cheng, Meibao has a thoughtful observation on the emergence of local culture in the relationship with national culture. By analyzing “Cantonese culture,” she argues that the so-called local culture is constructed in the same discourse of national culture. Cantonese Culture is not invented and defined until the 1940s, after a series of political and cultural activities have been done by local intellectuals since the late Qing. “It is the process during which local culture is being formed that nationality since the late Qing is intensified and solidified.”²⁰⁷ In this historical context, local culture goes hand in hand with national culture for “Chinese culture in Guangdong is what signifies when Cantonese culture is stressed.”²⁰⁸ For example, Hakka people will never hinder from identifying them as Chinese or Han people when they emphasize their particularity of the Hakka ethnic.²⁰⁹ In other words, the so-called local culture created by intellectuals is the other side of Chinese culture.

In an article discussing Cantonese opera and music, she illustrates that these kinds of art, which most represent Cantonese culture, gain recognition in Shanghai in the 20s and 30s, a location of foreign culture. She argues that this kind of local

²⁰⁷ Meibao Cheng, *Di Yu Wen Hua Yu Guo Jia Ren Tong : Wan Qing Yi Lai "Guangdong Wen Hua" Guan De Xing Cheng* (Beijing Shi: Sheng huo, du shu, xin zhi san lian shu dian, 2006) 300.

²⁰⁸ Cheng, *Di Yu Wen Hua Yu Guo Jia Ren Tong : Wan Qing Yi Lai "Guangdong Wen Hua" Guan De Xing Cheng* 13.

²⁰⁹ Cheng, *Di Yu Wen Hua Yu Guo Jia Ren Tong : Wan Qing Yi Lai "Guangdong Wen Hua" Guan De Xing Cheng* 314.

culture is involved with many foreign materials while it is being invented in the process of “China-in-creation.” Nevertheless I find it problematic while she emphasizes a sort of trans-locality in local culture, which is inspired by other cultures.²¹⁰ In my regard, the feature of the so-called trans-locality is inscribed in nationality. It is a beginning of restricting “the local” by the correlation between ethnicity and local identity. I would instead call it “localized culture” rather than “local culture.” I will keep focusing on the point later.

Cheng’s argument is very helpful in a further investigation on the way in which various performances of Huabuluantan are localized as ethnic performance under the formation of the Chinese nation state. The argument helps elucidate the way in which various performance genres undergo the experience of localization while Jingju is being nationalized. In fact, the conspiracy of localization and nationalization is not new in Critical Theory. It is actually a representation of the conspiracy of “particularity vs. universality” in the regime of modernity with regard to Naoki Sakai’s notion.²¹¹ It can thus be said that universality of the national drama of Jingju functions in contrast to particularity of local dramas, which turn performances into localized culture, such as “Cantonese opera of Chinese culture, Sichuan opera of Chinese culture, etc.”²¹²

²¹⁰ Meibao Chen, "The Trans-Locality of Local Cultures in Modern China: Cantonese Opera, Music, and Songs in Shanghai, 1920s-1930s," MODERN CHINESE HISTORY STUDIES.2 (2007): 17.

²¹¹ Sakai, Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism.

²¹² Xiqu scholar Fu Jing in his article of changes of Chinese drama mentions that many new “local dramas” emerge in the 1950s China. These so-called local dramas/genres are conceptually different from the so called “difangxi.” The local dramas means new genres created by local governments to represent local culture on their own. Jilingxi (吉林戲) in Northeast, Dianju (滇劇), Yiju (彝劇), Zhanghaju (章哈劇), Miaoju (苗劇), etc. are examples. Fu calls these new genres “ethnic drama.” The reasons why the new local drama emerge are lacking in Fu’s analysis. Yet, I argue that Fu’s observation provides my theory of “ethnic performance” in conspiracy with national drama in the

3.17 From Imperial Confucianism to National Identity

“For the likes of Lu Xun, and later Lao She and even Shen Congwen, regional identity was not just local identity; it was the backdrop to a personal search to create an identity in the new Republican state for the new literary elite, something to take the place of the old Chinese cultural identity, that operated above provincial identities, that Confucianism had etched out and conferred upon the Chinese literati.”

In her article *Local Identity in Modern Chinese Fiction and Fiction of the Native Soil (Xiangtu Wenxue)*, Tao Tao Liu mentions that a kind of “centrism” maintains in intellectuals’ cultural imagination during the formation of the Chinese nation state. She argues that this kind of centrism transforms from what she calls “Confucianism universality” to nationalism. The May-Forth intellectuals, such as Lu Xun (魯迅), Zhou Zuoren (周作人), Yu Dafu (郁達夫), Kuo Moruo (郭沫若), etc., who come from different dialect/language zones, all insist on forming a general baihua (vernacular) literature as the national literature. She claims that an imaginary as well as material gap between countryside/local and city/central exacerbates in the national period than the imperial period.²¹³ Shen, Congwen’s and Lao She’s work, which concern the countryside of Xiangxi or the lower class of Beijing, can be seen as the effect of centrism.²¹⁴

formation of the nation state. I here argue that not only new local genres but also conventional difangxi such as Yueju, Chuanju, etc. undergo a similar process of transformation in correspondence to local identity of ethnic performance in the 1950s. Jing Fu, "The Drastic Transformation of Chinese Drama in the 20th Century (滄海桑田：20世紀中國戲劇版圖巨變)," *Taiwan Xizhuan Xuekan (臺灣戲專學刊)*.11 (2005).

²¹³ This is to say that traditional intellectuals reside in every local areas during the imperial period while new intellectuals mostly gather in a few big cities during the Republican era. ° T.T. Liu, "Local Identity in Modern Chinese Fiction and Fiction of the Native Soil (Xiangtu Wenxue)," *Unity and diversity: local cultures and identities in China* (1996).

²¹⁴ Liu, "Local Identity in Modern Chinese Fiction and Fiction of the Native Soil (Xiangtu Wenxue)," 139-40, 55-6.

Liu indicates an important observation, which discursively resides in Modern Chinese literature. That is the so-called Native Soil (Xiangtu Wenxue 鄉土文學) literature is a literary theme, which only appears in and for the modern China. In other words, the so-called Native Soil (Xiangtu) develops solely on the foundation of an imagination of the modern China and in the written form of the vernacular literature. This kind of “Native Soil (Xiangtu)” under the gazes of the intellectuals is indeed national and universal despite it focuses on the lower and the local.

I want to follow Liu’s point with an emphasis on what she fails to elaborate, which is that every Chinese is part of Native Soil (Xiangtu) and the local through mediation of dialect and ethnicity when this nationalistic Native Soil (Xiangtu) is developed by intellectuals.

By referring to Cheng and Liu’s argument with a focus on the intellectual, what I want to further ask is how common audiences are localized when difangxi as local performances undergo a process of localization in conjunction with nationalization. To answer this question of the relationship between audience’s identity and localization is to come to terms with the establishment of local identity for the common audience, which can be understood as a nationalized or modernized status of “the multitude.” This is also to further answer how and why local performances of Huabuluan become localized culture curbed by local identity.

3.18 Race/Ethnicity: From China to Postwar Taiwan

Cheng argues that the so-called Hakka and Hakka identity is a product of the modern China after the concept of “race” is introduced. “Race plays no role in Han

people's identity. "Hakka people create their identity as part of Han people when the Revolutionist emphasizes the race issue. The formation of Hakka identity results in the name and significance of "Mingxi" or what we call "ethnicity" today."²¹⁵

When ethnicity is formed and race is introduced along with the formation of the modern China during the time from the late Qing to the early Republican era, Taiwan of the same time on the contrary does not go through the same process. Due to being ceded to Japan since 1895, Taiwan instead enters "a blank period of nationality," in which identity of nationals or citizens cannot apply to the islanders. I describe the property of the islanders by giving the term "the multitude" with an emphasis on the way in which it goes beyond colonial modernity and nationality. Nevertheless, the period fades out along with the end of the Second World War when Taiwan is taken over by China. I argue that the end of the period signifies the discursive transformation of the local and local identity.

I try to explain the transformation of the local, which results from the formation of ethnicity and nationality, by the example of Guangdong Yirenyuan. My attempt is also to argue against the conventionally political and commercial interpretations of the decline of Jingju in the Benshengren society. As introduced earlier, Guangdong Yirenyuan is a Jingju troupe organized by the islanders in the colonial period. It was founded in 1915 and became popular during the 1920s and 1930s. My question focuses on why a Jingju troupe founded by the islanders is able

²¹⁵ Cheng, Di Yu Wen Hua Yu Guo Jia Ren Tong : Wan Qing Yi Lai "Guangdong Wen Hua" Guan De Xing Cheng 95-6.

to survive in the colonial period yet rapidly declines within years of Taiwan becomes a province of China.

3.19 The Birth of Ethnicity: From Guangdong Yirenyuan to Yiren Jingban (宜人京班)

In 1945, the War is over and Taiwan is separate from its Japanese colonizer. What is different from most colonies in the world is that Taiwan does gain its independence but returns to the Chinese sovereignty. Local performances, which have been seen as “Chinese performances” and thus banned by Japanese during the wartime, are finally able to be presented publicly. According to Xu, Yaxiang’s research, Guangdong Yirenyuan had taken off “Guangdong” from its name and started a performance before a Jingju troupe from China gave a performance in February, 1946.²¹⁶ In other words, no sooner than the war is over Yirenyuan resumes its productions, which have been stopped since 1937. On July 17-27, Yirenyuan gave a performance in Zhongshan Hall of Taipei, and the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Officer, Chen, Yi, was invited to attend the show, and gave a high appraisal by saying “it is very impressive that Taiwanese can perform Jingju so well.” He suggested that Yirenyuan change its name to Yiren Jingban in accordance with Jingju troupes in mainland China.²¹⁷ I argue that the accordance between Taiwan and China formally starts a beginning of nationalization, as well as ethnicization and localization, of performances. It also seems to predict that soon the Yiren Jingban’s curtain would fall.

²¹⁶ Xu, Kejia Ju Yi Liu Zhen : Taiwan De Guangdong Yi Ren Yuan Yu Yi Ren Jing Ban 13-4.

²¹⁷ Xu, Kejia Ju Yi Liu Zhen : Taiwan De Guangdong Yi Ren Yuan Yu Yi Ren Jing Ban 15.

Three years after 1949 in which the KMT government retreats to Taiwan, the Taiwan Provincial Association for Local Theatre Developments is established. Troupes which give performances in the Min-nan dialect are compulsory members. The association takes charge of an annual competition of local drama sponsored by the Bureau of Education, Taiwan Province. Every registered troupe is requested to mandatorily participate in the competition in order to be officially licensed in the next year. While every troupe is requested to participate, performance genres that are not performed in the Min-nan dialect are exceptions. That is to say, a performance, such as Jingju, which is performed in Mandarin, does not have to participate in the competition of local drama since “local drama” here means dramas which are performed in the Min-nan dialect. It is also because that Jingju is by no means a “local” drama yet the national drama since Taiwan belongs to China. It can be found here that language functions as a critical criterion by which performances are categorized. In addition to language, ethnicity also plays a crucial role in the categorization. Yiren Jingban is categorized as a local drama troupe due to performers’ ethnicity even though it is a Jingju troupe. An ethnicity is judged by the everyday life language that a person speaks. In other words, both language of performance and ethnicity of performers are used to confirm what belongs to local drama. In this regard, the ethnicity of performers defines a performance genre. We see here the way in which “local/ethnic drama” is born.

An identity paradox as well as crisis exists in Yiren Jingban: on the one hand, Yiren Jingban’s performance is by no means a local drama of Taiwan but the national drama; on the other hand, Yiren Jingban is by all means a local troupe since it is a Benshengren’s troupe. In this sense, Jingju is separate from local

performances, which used to be practiced in the islanders/Benshengren's everyday life in the colonial period. And, troupes of Benshengren are expected to perform an ethnic performance, which is a performance by the Min-nan dialect. Yiren Jingban, as a local drama troupe performing Jingju, is losing its audiences due to its being unable to be categorized and thus identified.

The criterion of language by which to define a performance restricts what local performances used to be able to do: cross language borders in everyday life. We may also say that this categorization restricts the way in which performances are practiced without regard to any "ethnicity." In other words, what is a local drama is defined through performance language, which is also assumed to be audiences' everyday life language. What I call "local identity" is formed by the practice of the performance that is disciplined in relation to language and ethnicity. This also explains how the dialect is discursively formed. A dialect is a language that is spoken by a person in everyday life is expected to be used and received in every aspect and in any condition. The formation of dialect constitutes a relationship between audience and performance. I call it "local identity."

The establishment of local identity can also be found in the case that the performance language on the stage is expected to be the everyday life language. Yiren Jingban starts to change its speech from Mandarin to the Min-nan or Hakka language in a performance of Jingju after the War ends. "In order to make Benshengren audiences understand the storyline, we try to reduce singing and add more speech. It is a reality that no "adagio (慢版)" and "fandiao (反调)" of singing

are provided in our performance.”²¹⁸ This change of speech is “Baizihua,” which means to change a “foreign” performance language to a “local/ethnic” language. It can also be understood as a way of ethnicization. The trend toward Baizihua in service of audiences’ demand explains an expected correlation between performance language and everyday life language.

“Li, Yuliang, Li, Rongxing’s third daughter, once mentioned that her father finds it very difficult for Yiren Jingban to compete with the reality that movies of Gezaixi and Huangmeidiao are taking the whole entertainment market after he sees a Huangmeidiao movie “Jiangshang Meiren” directed by Li, Hanxiang in 1959. He was very impressed with the realistic scene, easy-learning music of Huangmeidiao as well as the excellent acting of Lin, Dai.”²¹⁹

Li, Rongxing is the leader and owner of Yiren Jingban. According to the interview of recalling Li, Rongxing’s awareness of Jingju in peril, scholars used to argue that it is because of the new form of entertainment, movie, which defeats Jingju performance. I however have a different argument. I suggest we pay attention to the relation between language and performance. I argue that the “easy-learning” reveals a critical message, which is the accordance between performance language and everyday life language. It is stated that in 1959, Gezaixi movies, which are performed in the Min-nan dialect and Huangmeidiao movies, which are performed in Mandarin, hits the market, and become most popular. The Min-nan dialect and Mandarin are the languages used in everyday life for most people in

²¹⁸ Xu, Kejia Ju Yi Liu Zhen : Taiwan De Guangdong Yi Ren Yuan Yu Yi Ren Jing Ban 29. The change of singing also transforms the Jingju performance, which used to be famous for its singing.

²¹⁹ 「李榮興三女李玉蓮就曾提及，1959年她的父親在戲院看了李翰祥導演的黃梅調電影《江山美人》之後，對片中多幢的寫實場景，動聽易學的黃梅調及女主角林黛的精彩演技印象深刻，當時，他就警覺到先是歌仔戲電影，後是黃梅調電影，宜人京班將難與此撲天蓋地的時勢現實相抗衡」 Xu, Kejia Ju Yi Liu Zhen : Taiwan De Guangdong Yi Ren Yuan Yu Yi Ren Jing Ban 25.

Taiwan. It can be said that a performance has been expected to be performed in either the dialect or national language since the early 1960s.

3.20 Disappearance of Baizixi and Naturally Local Identity

Evidence that supports the expected correlation between performance language and everyday life language is the disappearance of the genre “Baizixi.” Baizixi is as one of the major genres according to Sadayoshi Takeuchi’s *Taiwan in 1915*, Iwao Kataoka’s “*Taiwan Fengsuzhi*” in 1921, Yoshiichi Tsubakimoto’s “*Taiwan Taikan*,” and an official survey of performance genre made in 1928. It can be confirmed that Baizixi has been an independent performance genre that is distinct from others until 1928. In the colonial period, Baizixi is a specific and distinct genre, yet “baizihua” (to use a common language in the performance) can be found in many other genres such as Nanguan, Qizi, Gezaixi, Kejiaxi, etc.²²⁰ In other words, no identification or imagination is attached to either Baizixi or the phenomenon of baizi at the time when Baizixi or baizi is popular in the 1920s and under attack and criticism by intellectuals.

Why does a performance genre, which is so popularly emerging before the war, suddenly disappear in any historical records in the postwar period? I surmise the only possible explanation is the way in which audiences recognized Baizixi had changed. In other words, Baizixi in the postwar period is not the Baizixi that used

²²⁰ A baizi performance can be Luantanxi, Kaojiaxi, etc. Research Yung-Chang Lin calls this kind of bazi performances (vernacularization) in all genres “*Taiwan Baizixihua*” (Taiwanese vernacularization of drama) in the colonial period. See Yung-Chang Lin, “The Development and Transformation of Gezaixi in Tainan City,” *National Cheng Kong University*, 2005, 51-63. It is worth mentioning that the so-called “*Waijian*” usually refers to Luantanxi, yet it can also be Zhengyin, Jingju, etc. In other words, Baizi and Waijian indicate a general description of location and vernacularization with no connotation of ethnicity

to be recognized in the colonial period. Baizixi in the postwar period no longer exists as a distinct genre yet it is a general term which describes every performance. That is to say, all performance genres are Bazihua. Since every genre is Baizixi, “Baizixi” cannot be used as a term for a specific genre any more. The example I gave in Yiren Jingban’s Jingju performance is one of the best examples. We can also find similar cases in performances of Luantan, Jiujia, Siping, etc. According to archives, there is only one Luantanxi troupe left since 1977.²²¹ Luantanxi, which used to be popular in the Qing and colonial period, is almost gone, like Jingju, in the Benshengren society. Sipingxi serves as another example. In the colonial period, no records show that Sipingxi is performed in baizi. In the postwar period, Sipingxi troupes however change the speech from Mandarin to Hakka or Min-nan when they give a performance in Hakka or Min-nan residential areas.²²²

The disappearance of “Baizixi” comes to a certain accord with baizihua of all genres but Gezaixi and Kejiaxi in the Benshengren society.²²³ The reason that Gezaixi and Kejiaxi are exempted is because they are performed in baizi, the common language, from the inception. In other words, what I mean here is that Baizixi with a capital B is replaced by baizixi performances, which are expected to be performed in the language that accords with the everyday life language. The accordance can be understood as the process of ethnicization in performance. In this regard, performances are ethnicized. In addition, I argue that the request for

²²¹ Liang, "A Study of Taiwanese Luan-Tan Opera Vernacularization," 13.

²²² Li, Taoyuan Xiang Si-Ping Xi Diao Zha Yanjiu. 59-119.

²²³ Jingju that comes with the KMT government and military is another exception. It is under the state’s protection and does not experience “baizihua” or “localization” since it has been nationalized. It is fair to say that the Jingju is different from Yiren Jingban’s Jingju, which has a different route of development since the colonial period to the postwar period, from the Islander’s society to the Benshengren’s.

baizi not only indicates the process of ethnicization but that of subjectification, in which identity is formed between audience and performance through the mediator of language and ethnicity.

Discursively speaking, the formation of ethnicity and the appearance of ethnicized performance derive from the (re)construction of nationality in the postwar period. The breakup of the relationship between Jingju and Benshengren approves the ethnicization and localization of performance. In other words, ethnicization and localization are in conjunction with nationalization. Jingju is not a unique case. Luantanxi, Jiujiaxi, Sipingxi, among others, which are not performed in bazi, first change to a baizi performance, later decline and fade into disappearance. Or we can also put it this way that it is not that the performances disappear; instead, they all become “Gezaixi,” or are dissolved in Gezaixi.

Ethnicization is also localization by taking over the Baizixi development in the colonial period, making the formation of local identity in conspiracy with nationality. The formation of local identity further fails to maintain the capability of appreciation of multi-lingual performances and results in audiences’ lack of multi-lingual experiences and capability in performance. In the colonial period, it is never a difficulty that islander audiences and performers appreciate and learn Jingju while it is getting less and less possible for Benshengren to understand Jingju in the postwar period. We may say that the initial request for baizi in the performance is probably the beginning of ethnicization. When all performances become baizixi, “to directly understand a performance” is the rule, or say, theatricality.

3.21 Theatricality and Ethnic Performance

I have mentioned in the previous chapter that different from the way in which the intellectuals expect to build up modern citizens by an ideal of baihuawen (the vernacularized written language), baizihua was formed as a performance speech with an emphasis of direct communication with audience. The phenomenon of baizihua reveals significance of ethno-theatricality. In other words, when baizihua looks like a naturally performative transformation of language, yet it in fact changes the relationship between performance and audience. I argue that the baizihua during the colonial period turns out to be “natural” theatricality between audience and performance in the postwar period. The phenomenon, which all genres of performance move toward baizihua, mainly in the Min-nan dialect, illustrates the transformation of theatricality: from the performance language that does not need to be the everyday life language, to the performance language that is expected to be the everyday life language. The transformation of theatricality changes the relation between audience and performance, and reveals the expectation toward which common audiences go to an ethnicized performance. Ethnicity becomes the lens through which practice, behavior, and performance seem to serve as natural representations and imaginations of culture. In this regard, ethnicity and language become the foundation of performance that can be only identified with, and become a part of ethnicization. It is in the same vein that the so-called local performances are thus determined by the performance language. In other words, this transformation of theatricality is not performance itself. It is instead due to the establishment of local identity that changes radically the relationship between

performance and audience. The establishment of local identity is the discursive formation of what I call “ethnic performance.”

“Chinese theatre” is from the inception seen as an ethnic performance. I have mentioned in the first chapter that the notion of “Chinese theatre” is indeed racialized when it appears in the context of imperialism. For example, he/she usually receives a high appraisal, such as “you act like Chinese, or you are more Chinese than Chinese” when a “foreigner” performs Jingju. In other words, Chinese theatre is by all means Chinese. Along the same line, that Gezaixi is by all means of the Min-nan ethnic people has been known in my earlier discussion as the result of nationalization, ethnicization, and localization. The ethnic identification in the performance now serves as the theoretical foundation of what “local drama” is. By calling it ethnic performance, I mean the performance that is recognized by, identified with, and related to the dialect of audiences in relation to audiences’ “ethnicity.”

Ethnic performance stems from the way in which human beings are recognized by categorization of race in the epistemological order of modernity. As been discussed, the recognition is also made possible by nationality, in conspiracy with which local identity forms the relationship between ethnicity and performance. In other words, a performance which has nothing to do with audiences’ origin turns out to be a practical carrier of the performative in the baizihua, the establishment of which is the so-called identity, or in other words, ethnicity. Ethnic performance is like the nation. It on the one hand forms a self-sufficient and particular system of aesthetics, and on the other hand distinguishes a universal and modern form of representation, which is usually called “modern theatre.” Previous

scholarships tend to focus on the way in which Chinese identity is invented through the imagination of the nation. I rather would like to emphasize the so-called “local drama” is actually formed by ethnic performance yet in an ostensible way attached to Chinese identity. As such, a nation-state is indeed a compound body that comprises different ethnic groups, and ethnicity is used well to vindicate difference in nationality.

Ethnic performance restricts a further understanding of difangxi. That is to say, difangxi is usually regarded as local drama, which is embodied with local particularity and Chinese nationality during the formation of the Chinese nation state. Difangxi is undoubtedly seen as a cultural branch of Chinese theatre. Ethnic performance changes the recognition and feeling toward theatricality by local identity.

It is by local identity that a border between the local and the foreign can finally be drawn. A foreignness recognized by people between each other is defined in the set of local identity in the relationship with ethnicity.

3.22 Subjectivity: the Local and the Foreign?

The distinction of the local and the foreign usually serves a premise of a homogeneously ethnic society on which Xiqu is theorized. It is usually assumed that a local drama is a performance genre that is performed in a dialect which audiences speak in everyday life. In other words, the only element to determine whether a performance can be categorized as local or as a part of the audiences’ tradition is to see if the performance language is used by audiences in everyday life. Yet, we have clearly analyzed that local performances in the colonial period are

never restricted in identification with language or ethnicity. On the one hand, we see that Shanghai Jingju troupes in the colonial Taiwan, Guangdong Yirenyuan by Hakka people, and all sorts of Jingju practice in religious, political, commercial, and social affairs, all reveal a local genre of Jingju, which is by no means the same as “a foreign genre of Jingju” in contemporary Benshengren’s mind. On the other hand, we also find that Baizixi, which used to be one of the genres popular in the colonial period, disappears in the baizihua of all genres when a dialect/baizi performance becomes desired. It is clearly presented here that local identity is never taken for granted yet is a discourse in which it is made in relation to ethnicity and nationality. Nationality here signifies not only the way of the state’s governing people but, more crucially, the way in which every national recognizes him/herself as a subject in differentiation from others in ethnicity. I argue that the subjectivity that is formed upon practices of ethnicity is the radical reason that formulates the regime of the local and the foreign.

In other words, the regime of the local and the foreign is set upon an enclosed recognition and a self-sufficient imagination of dialect and ethnicity. It is also a regime that is formed after local identity is installed. The significance that Jingju in the colonial period as a so-called “trans-ethnic” performance does not lie in the way in which it crosses the boundary of ethnicity, yet in articulating the fact that the boundary of ethnicity does not even exist. The boundary is a post-construction which is made after ethnicity has been imagined along with nationality in postwar Taiwan.

From the colonial period to the postwar period, we see the transformation of theatricality and the formation of ethnicity as well as subjectivity. The formation of

subjectivity does not come from an identity that is naturally local than from the national formation emerging with imperialism. We clearly see the way in which subjectivity emerges in relationship to ethnicity by legitimating practices in history.

The formation of ethnicity in postwar Taiwan is also an epistemological project. It shapes the relation between performance and ethnicity by local identity, which radically reformulates the way in which local performance is received by and related to audiences. The reformulation is based upon the ontology of Chinese theatre, which is in fact an epistemological construction of the Xiqu by coerced nationalism under imperialism. To put it simply, it is a reproduction of colonial modernity. We can finally come to terms with that the way of understanding performances in colonial Taiwan stems from an epistemological reconstruction in postwar Taiwan. In other words, the relationship between Jingju and the islanders relies ostensibly on the interaction between Jingju as the national drama and Benshengren. Gezaixi, along with the formation of ethnicity, turns out to be the only local genre, which is particular to Benshenren. What I want to emphasize here is that the islanders' memory of Jingju in the colonial period is erased by the epistemological reformulation in the postwar period. The reason of the erasure lies in the transformation of relation with local performance.

Local identity is formed in relation with ethnicity and dialect identity after Taiwan becomes a province of the Chinese nation state. Local identity restricts openness of difangxing. It however does not mean there is no idiosyncrasy in performances of colonial Taiwan compared to other places or periods, since they are endowed with difangxing rather than local identity. What I want to point out is

that the performances are never shaped in a cultural imagination relying on the so-called “identity.”

This chapter argues that Jingju is not only performed by troupes that come with the KMT government and military after the end of the War but is a performance genre in which islanders/Benshengren used to actively participate. In Taiwan, that Jingju is identified as the national drama is a postwar cultural construction, which works hand in hand with Gezaixi identified as the local drama. The categorization of the national and the local is an epistemological regime of ethnicity, nationality, and universality. During the time when Chinese nationalism still applies to Benshengren, Jingju is the national drama instead of the local drama of Benshengren because Benshengren is also Chinese. When Taiwanese nationalism arises in the 1980s, Jingju becomes a foreign genre since it is not performed in the dialect of Benshengren/Taiwanese. In the performance, ethnicity and dialect function in the conspiracy between the national and the local. In this regard, we can say that performance genres serve identity politics in the relation of, or alternatively, in the structure of feeling with audiences. It is also in the sense that all performance genres that used to be performed in all sorts of languages later fail to survive in the formation of local identity in postwar Taiwan.²²⁴

The ethnic conjunction between language and performance begins with the epistemological categorization of race under colonialism, and is later structured under nationalism in the postcolonial period. It is in the end completed by a perfect

²²⁴ Qiu in his thesis writes that Luantanxi declines in the postwar period due to it does not fit in the national or ethnic imagination. The observation points out the condition on which Luantanxi, among others, which do not perform by any “local/native dialects” of Taiwan, face the problems of lacking states’ attention as well as audiences’ reception. Qiu, “Luantan Troupes in the Early Postwar Period of Taiwan”, 150.

correlation between practice and identity. In other words, that audiences go to an ethnicized performance represents the ethnic identity of audiences; only audiences who identify themselves with the ethnicity go to see the ethnic performance.

A conventional understanding of difangxi/local drama is based on the correlation of language and genre, believing that the particularity of local drama comes from the diversity of language in music and speech. Yet, I argue that it can be problematic regarding the de-historicization of local drama, particularly relying on this ethno-theatrical theory of ethnology and aesthetics.

To put it simply, I argue that different concepts of “locality” such as: the local, difang, local identity, etc., should have different connotations in different historical contexts. The concept of locality experiences a rupture during the formation of the Chinese nation state. It is a vague and indefinite distinction of popularity in the pre-national period, which distinguishes the so-called difangxi, as a performance popular in certain areas, from Kunqu, as a performance popular in more areas. The reason of the distinction and popularity also has much to do with a class gap between folks and intellectuals. Yet it is the regime of particularity and universality in the national period, which distinguishes local dramas from the national drama, in addition to the formation of local and national identity through ethnicity and citizenship. As such, local dramas, such as Chuanju, Yueju, Yuju, etc., represent Sichuanese, Cantonese, Henanese, etc., of Chinese respectively when Jingju represents one of the legacies and cultural symbols of modern Chinese people. In other words, the so-called local drama is the local culture that is formed in configuration with the national culture. The local stands for particularity if the nation represents universality. Dialect and ethnicity serve as the embodiment of local

identity in the same way as language, culture, race, etc., are used in creation of the imagined community of the nation. The conventionally ethnological notion of difangxi/local drama easily overlooks the discursive relation between genre, language, ethnicity, and audience.

The chapter also argues that theatricality is transformed along with the change of difangxi/local drama. While audiences in the colonial period might be attracted to acting, narrative, singing, stage scene, etc., in addition to language, audiences in the postwar period only identify with accessibility of language in the performance.

3.23 The Local as the Transnational

In the postwar period, nationality serves as the only channel, through which life experience is shared, and ethnicity creates subjectivity with identity. Memories of the colonial period are gone due to not only the state's nationalization project but also audiences' recognition of subjectivity in co-figuration with ethnicity and dialect. As such, Min-nan people or Hakka people no longer experience performances performed in different languages in everyday life, but learn how to experience performances of other ethnic groups through education or additional training. That is to say, the performance experience based on the operation of co-figuration between the national and the local intensifies and reinforces ethnic imagination and dialect identity instead of creating a "trans-ethnic" environment. Regarding theatricality, performance appreciation is completely restricted by ethnicity and dialect. Performance becomes something that needs to learn and to be taught.

In contrast, Jingju in the colonial period goes beyond any restriction of ethnicity and language. The islanders' experience of Jingju forms difangxing, which indicates a transcendence of the regime of the co-figuration of the national and the local, namely, nationality.

Difangxing is enacted by what I call "the multitude," embodying a yet-to-be-articulated understanding of humans, who are not nationalized or localized. The multitude are modern but not ethnicized. The colonial period provides a space in which the multitude survive although racialization and ethnicization are also in formation. Local performances in the colonial period are the embodiments of difangxing. Jingju is one of the representatives.

The previous chapter looks into the way in which the traditional and the modern are dichotomized by colonial modernity, resulting in an effect that people and audience are imagined. This chapter further focuses on the way in which ethnicity implicitly functions in the co-figuration of particularity and universality. Local identity, in relation to which ethnicity is formed, de-historicizes performances and erases the memory of Jingju in postwar Taiwan. In other words, what I am concerned with is that Jingju in the colonial period provides a realm in which a trans-nationality can be articulated by distinguishing the local from local identity, from the colonial period to the postwar period. By so doing, I hope to redefine what the local is; as well as, by so doing, a possible re-articulation of the episteme of "Chinese theatre" can be made.

For me, to trace the transformative process of difanxing is to reveal the way in which nationality is involved in the discursive relation between genre, language,

ethnicity, and audience in the postwar period. To put it simply, ethnicity is a biopolitical representation of the nation. To transcend ethnicity is to deconstruct nationality.

3.24 Postcolonial Xiqu?

This chapter analyzes the way in which the episteme of Chinese local drama is formed in relation to local identity through the recognition of ethnicity. This kind of local drama is what I call ethnic performance. I argue that ethnic performance distinguishes “Western” and “modern” theatre on the one hand, and dominates feelings of performance by local identity.

The completion of ethnic performance in postwar Taiwan forecloses Jingju, among others, which are not performed in the Min-nan or Hakka, from Benshengren’s local identification. Only Gezaixi, which is performed in the Min-nan, or Kejiaxi, which is performed in the Hakka, can be respectively identified by Benshengren (Min-nan people) and Kejiaren (Hakka people). Two cultures of Benshengren and Kejiaren are thus created.

Today, the Taiwan government tends to celebrate cultural authenticity on the one hand, and encourages people to do cross-cultural interactions on the other hand. Cultural authenticity and cross-cultural interaction by no means contradict each other. It is actually by cross-cultural interaction that cultural authenticity is reinforced. I would argue that any naïve encouragement of cross-cultural interaction indeed avoids a historical investigation in which knowledge and power are intimately linked. As such, we can say that it validates that the so-called open and hybrid Taiwan is central to a cultural homogeneity based on ethnicity and

language by adding other cultures. That is why it looks so coherent that Taiwanese subjectivity gets even more solid by emphasizing that Taiwan has been a pidgin during times of political dominance of Dutch, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, etc.

What I want to suggest here is that it is crucial to keep critiques focused on the way in which difference is imagined and thus invented, rather than cultural diversity or cultural interaction. Any narratives without being historicized, despite its proclamation of multiplicity or hybridity, function in an attempt to form a single and homogeneous subject. In this chapter, I analyze the formation of local identity by shedding light on Naoki Sakai's notion of translation, in which subject is formed in translation.

I also want to suggest that to introduce *difangxing* by redefining the local is to redefine trans-nationalism. Transnationalism is commonly used by neo-liberalis as a form of celebration of globalization since the 1980s. Yet, by using transnationalism, I mean to critically and radically challenge the epistemological regime of nationality by transpassing the geographical boundary of the nation state and by transcending the linking between the episteme of nationality and identity. There are two reasons why the term "transnationalism" remains to be used. I intend to highlight the way in which the epistemological construction of trans-nationality during the time when border-crossing gets obvious and popular in the globalization. In the same time, I also mean to pay attention to the fact that nationalism is not void, by emphasizing that its empirical being needs to be transcended. In addition, I argue that transnationalism is possible only by means of deconstructing nationality, which examines space and time that are beyond the national episteme and the national history. While most try to seek a higher structure of identity or consciousness with

reference to transcending nationalism, I instead look for an alternative of community other than the nation state. The multitude might serve the quest.

At last, the chapter shows that to redefine the local is to redefine transnationalism by de-linking “identifying” from “to be identified.” If nationality serves to constitute people’s identity, only by challenging nationality are we able to challenge the link between identities of “who I think I am” and “who others think I am.” For example, can people who speak the Min-nan language go beyond Gezaixi as their identified genre?

Chapter 4

Imperial Body: Transformation of the Empire and Inheritance of the Colonial

*It was enough for Taiwan, which used to serve Japan as a rice and sugar warehouse, yet it is not anymore in the same case today. Taiwan now serves as the front gate of holy Japan to the South, and thus is supposed to act like the gate of Japan. People in there are not allowed to be cultivated without manners of Japan's. That is why the Kominka Movement is important for the islanders. It may not be appropriate to name it the Kominka Movement. Yet, it is an abbreviation of the Movement of Strengthening Imperial Citizen's Spirit, which aims to make them like real Japanese. This is the Kominka Movement.*²²⁵

*The war exerted serious impacts on Gezaixi troupes. The colonial government never controlled or limited any performance contents or styles of the troupes before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident occurred, while the General of the Taiwan Military started to promote modern dramas of kimono or modern suits, which were also called New Drama (Xinju) after the incident. Gezaixi and Jingju were forbidden in the urban areas of Taipei and Keelung, but still got chances to perform in the central and southern areas. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Wartime Law was announced, the Kominka Movement complied, and Chinese dramas and Chinese music such as Qizi, Zanian, Xipi, Erhuang, etc. were totally banned. The New Drama was enacted by law.*²²⁶

The previous two chapters come to terms with the problematic of colonial modernity, which directs the shapes of how people/ audience are imagined and

²²⁵ 「(台灣)往年作為日本的米倉、砂糖倉就足夠了，今日則非如此，而是神國日本的南方玄關，因此要在台灣做出相應於南方玄關的狀態。並且該地方的人不可以不有神國日本之玄關人的教養，因此必須致力於本島人的皇民化運動。皇民化運動這種說法或許有些不太恰當，總之，就是皇國民精神強化運動的省略，讓他們變得像真的日本人一樣，這就是皇民化運動。」見小林躋造〈台灣近情〉，《文明協會》第 165 輯，1940 年 7 月號，頁 18。Cited from Jialin Qi, *Taiwan Shi* (Taipei Shi: Qi Jialin, 1998).

²²⁶ 「戰爭」待給歌仔戲班很大的衝擊，「支那事件」之前，日本政府從未箝制過戲班，任何演出的型態和戲齣內容，「支那事件」之後，「臺灣軍司令」開始在台北、基隆等都會地區，推行和服古裝時代劇、時裝現代劇等新劇，禁演歌仔戲、京劇，但中、南部地區依然照常演出歌仔戲、京戲。大東亞戰爭爆發後，因宣佈實施〈戰時體制〉，厲行皇民化政策，嚴禁所有劇團演出支那戲，禁唱七字仔、雜唸、西皮、二簧，全面強制演出新劇。Fulu and Liao Lu, Xiuorong (呂福祿口述、廖秀容記錄整理), "Tangshan Guo Taiwan (Relocating in Taiwan 唐山過臺灣)," *Taiwan Times 臺灣時報* Dec. 1-Dec.7 2009.

local identity figured. Chapter 2 deals with the way in which local performances provide an articulation of modern people by what I call “the multitude,” which transcends colonial modernity by the colonial regime and colonized intellectuals. Base on the concept of “the multitude,” Chapter 3 examines the discursively epistemological formation of the local in both the colonial Doka period and the postwar period, and challenges the notion of ethnic performance as well as ethnic audiences in attachment to so-called “Chinese drama.”

The chapters tell a story of theatrical episteme by analyzing how local performances become Chinese Xiqu with local identity. This story helps explore the way in which colonial Taiwan as well as national China can be understood in postwar Taiwan. As has been shown, “Taiwan” serves as an ambiguous and transformative concept politically and ideally. In the colonial Doka period, colonized intellectuals call for “colony Taiwan” in solidarity with efforts of various sorts of language and literary experiments of Baihua, yet the multitude live beyond the colony Taiwan as shown by the example of local performances of Baizi. Taiwan is a collective formation for and of the islanders by the colonized intellectuals. In the postwar period, Taiwan represents an ethnic origin where local language and identity can be culturally imagined and placed, according to which local performances used to exist beyond ethnicity turn out to be ethnic. It can be said that the political “Taiwan” in this sense is a modern product that comes into being with colonial and intellectual reflection upon subjectivity of culture, nation, language, and people. It is discursively cultural and political, local and global simultaneously.

Local performances in the colonial Doka period (1895-1937) helps expose the problematic of colonial modernity and the discourse of theatre episteme in the postwar period (1945~). The last chapter deals with islanders' performances, Gezaixi in particular, during the wartime, usually known as the Kominka period (1937-1945). How do we look at Gezaixi in the Kominka period, which is usually described as "Taiwanese opera mixed with Japanese culture"?

It is mentioned in Chapter 2 that the eruption of the second Sino-Japanese War plays a crucial role in Japanese colonial ruling on Taiwan. The prewar period is the time when the islanders as "incomplete citizens" economically support the colonizer by human labor and natural resource. "Difference" is the theme of the colonial ruling, as a result of which islanders' religion, drama, entertainment, everyday life, habits, etc. are able to be maintain under the rubric of "Respecting Old Custom." Gezaixi, Jingju, among other local performances are popular among the islanders before the war.

The colonial ruling changes after the eruption of the war. With the exacerbation of the war, the islanders not only provide economic support for the colonizer but need to serve as soldiers to participate in the battle. "To die for the nation" changes completely the form of rule. In order to make sure that the islanders will die for the Emperor of the Japanese nation against British-American imperialism, the colonizers need to transform the colonized, making them "Japanese." "Sameness" is the theme for colonial ruling in the wartime. Local performances are politicized in a sense that Jingju is by all means "Chinese" and has to be extinguished in Taiwan. Jingju troupes, which had given a performance in Taiwan for almost 30 years before the war, were prohibited from traveling to

Taiwan. Commercial theatre performances are reduced to Gezaixi troupes and Jingju troupes managed by the islanders. With more and more regulations imposed on theatrical production and presentation by the colonial government, performances survived with difficulty.

The war not only restricts performances but also changes Gezaixi. Gezaixi troupes were no longer able to give a Gezaixi performance due to the restriction. They nevertheless changed their name to New Drama troupes, and gave a performance about patriotic or Japanese stories with actors in modern suits with popular songs. My questions are: what is the relationship between the performance and the wartime colonial nation? How does the relationship later transform into “Taiwanese culture” in scholars’ regard? How does Gezaixi as islanders’ culture contribute to the nation during the wartime? How is the performance in relation to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere? How does the performance provide an examination in the discourse of the islanders’ turning into Komin of imperialization? How can the performance help understand the relationship between the Kominka/imperialization and modernity?

This chapter will also conclude with the performance, Gezaixi in the wartime. In an attempt of regarding performance, theatre, or drama as representation of society or history, this dissertation finds a way in which performance and theatricality over the past hundred years in Taiwan are deeply involved with the colonial, the nation, and modernity. It argues that the understanding of performance, the episteme of drama, or the history of theatre is itself constitutive of modernity and its representation.

4.1 The Eruption of the War: the Movement of Strengthening Imperial Citizen's Spirit to the Kominka Movement

Generally speaking, historians separate the two periods of the Doka and the Kominka of colonial Taiwan by the eruption of the Second Sino-Japanese War on July 7, 1937. The two periods represent the beginning of the war, and the change of everyday life, as well as the transformation of the colonial ruling as has been mentioned. Yet, the war had been on the verge since the middle of the 1930s. Many clues have shown in colony Taiwan that East Asia was in an unstable situation. Kobayashi Seizō took office as the 17th Governor-General in Colony Taiwan. As a military officer, he ended an almost twenty year long period of colonial governance by the civil official since 1919. Some would argue that colony Taiwan was about to enter the so-called wartime period, during which imperialization, industrialization, and the preparation of Taiwan to be a base for Japan's southward advance became the governing policies since then.²²⁷ In April 1937, The Office of Governor-General of Taiwan eliminated Chinese columns in the newspaper, which used to be one of the main sources for the islanders. On September 10, 1937, "the Principles for the Movement of Strengthening Imperial Citizen's Spirit" was announced. It contains two aspects: 1. Propagating the importance of the war and promoting all sorts of martial arts, sports and races, gymnastics, outdoors activities, and military songs, in service of boosting up the morale of people, 2. Advocating national education and mobilizing people's

²²⁷ Tsai Chin-tang (蔡錦堂) Tsai, "The Kominka Movement Revisited (再論「皇民化運動」)," *Tamkang History (淡江史學)*.18 (2007).

spirits.²²⁸ The idea of Strengthening Imperial Citizen's Spirit was introduced by the First Konoé Fumimaro cabinet in Oct. 1937. It features the goal of "devotion to the nation, support for the nation, and sacrifice for the nation." A headquarter of the Movement office was set up in Japan to develop the Japanese spirit and the spirit of respecting deities, and promote buying national debts, encouraging savings, cherishing national resource, and devoting to the public in service of the potentiality of a lasting war.²²⁹

As far as theatre is concerned, the police started to execute commands of strengthening citizens' spirit as early as in 1936, according to Xu, Ya-xiang's research.²³⁰ Archives show that Tian-chan Jingju Troupe still gave a performance in the Yongle Theatre in Taipei, the Tianweitian Theatre in Taichung, and the Zong Theatre in Tainan in March of 1936.²³¹ A theatre troupe from Fuzhou has a record of giving a performance in the First Theatre in Taipei in early 1937.²³² No record shows that any troupe from China gives a performance in Taiwan after 1937. Instead, more and more reports regarding prohibition against Gezaixi in the name of the Kominka are shown in the newspaper.

As been discussed in chapter 2, many intellectuals have been requesting a prohibition against Gezaixi since the 1920s. Nevertheless, there is a clear

²²⁸ Hsueh-chi (許雪姬) Hsu, *The Dictionary of Taiwan History (臺灣歷史辭典)* (Taipei City: Council for Cultural Affairs 2004) 0708.

²²⁹ Hsu, *The Dictionary of Taiwan History (臺灣歷史辭典)*.

²³⁰ Yaxiang zhu Xu, *Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Qu Shi Lun : Xian Dai Hua Zuo Yong Xia De Ju Zhong Yu Ju Chang* (a Historical Analysis on Chinese Music Dramas in Colonial Taiwan: Theatre Genre and Theatre under Modernization (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju, 2006) 253.

²³¹ Xu, *Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan* 90.

²³² Xu, *Ri Zhi Shi Qi Zhongguo Xi Ban Zai Taiwan* 101.

distinction between the prohibition against Gezaixi in the prewar period and in the wartime. The prohibition request in the war time usually aims for a reformation by the name of the movements of the Kominka and of strengthening imperial citizen's spirit. Breaking up superstition,²³³ abandoning bad habits,²³⁴ reforming temple, banning paper money,²³⁵ as well as prohibiting Gezaixi²³⁶ are usually put altogether in the request.

²³³ 舊習的改善與 陋習的破除 期許新竹州中元祭【新竹電】處於事變下的社會教化，在敬神祭祖、陋習迷信的破除等各方面皆日漸展現成效。此次新竹州如下記，決定於七月十五日全州一起舉行本年度的中元祭典，注意事項如下：一、牲豬全部廢止，二、廢止焚燒金銀紙，改設捐獻箱，三、除牲豬以外的貢品必須使用農作物（穀物、水果及餅類），四、廢止貢品贈與，五、表演活動中的本島戲劇必須改良，六、盡量節約祭祀費以轉作國防獻金或是捐獻給其他慈善事業等。臺灣日日新報 1938.06.01 第十一版 第 13720 號

Reformation of Old Customs and Eradication of Bad Habits [Xinzhu Tel] Effects are gradually shown on the eradication of bad habits, superstition, and worships for deities and ancestors in service of social transformation after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. The Xinzhu county has decided to hold a countywide Ghost Festival altogether on July 15. The followings are enforced: 1. Animal sacrifice needs to be abolished, 2. Burning paper money is not allowed. A donation box will be set up, 3. Worship offerings other than animal sacrifice must be vegetarian, such as plants, vegetable, or cakes, 4. Worship offerings and gifts need to be abolished, 5. Islandes' drama and performance have to be reformed, 6. Economy is the policy that needs to take into account in the festival. Donations for the military, national defense, or other charities are encouraged. Taiwan Daily News, No. 13720, Vol. 11. 1938.06.01. Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

²³⁴ 將盆祭的期間統一限定於農曆七月十五的一日間，祭典以肅穆為旨，當日活動僅限於清掃祖先靈前供奉果物，齊家誠心祭拜表達感恩之情，下列陋習則絕對禁止：1. 全面廢止牲豬、肉山、雕刻、飯擔，2. 全面廢止爆竹使用、焚燒金銀紙錢，3. 臺灣戲劇、道士亦全面廢止，4. 集團性的盆祭、戶外盆祭等亦廢止等等。臺灣日日新報 1938.07.28 第八版 第 13777 號

The ritual of the ghost festival will be limited to a day on July 15 of the lunar calendar. It should be in a form of solemnity. To be in memory of the ancestor, nothing but cleaning graves and worshipping with fruit is allowed. Bad habits that follow are absolutely forbidden: 1. Sacrifice animals of pig, meat packs, carving food, and rice, 2. Exploding firecrackers and burning paper money, 3. Taiwanese drama and Taoist rituals, 4. Any group or outdoor worships. Taiwan Daily News, Vol. 8, No. 13777, 1938/07/28 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

²³⁵ 無視於皇民化運動 上演臺灣戲劇 望當局加以取締 Disregard for the Kominka Movement: Calling for the Authorities to Suppress Taiwanese Drama

【花蓮港電】自事變以來內台蕃人皆協力一致鞏固後方，將全力投注於皇民化運動、國語普及以及徹底破除弊風。但由於時局非常，花蓮港街內竟泰然准許台灣戲劇的上演，本島人家庭中還夜夜播放台灣音樂的唱片以為娛樂，此類認知不足的傢伙還不在少數。台灣戲劇及台灣音樂等的禁止已於去年昭和十二

年一月的花蓮港廳民風振興委員會的會議中以一致通過達成決議，其後通知當時的各支廳及街坊的民風振興會實施之，但其後隨著七七事變的爆發開始實施國民精神總動員，加強皇民化運動的推展，因此寺廟的改善、焚燒金銀紙等本島人的弊風漸漸改進。但唯有台灣戲劇以及台灣音樂卻依然未受撤廢，警察當局竟准許此等演出，完全違反了國民精神總動員的宗旨，為皇民化運動的徹底執行投下了一抹暗影，當受責難。如今為了貫徹民風振興會的宗旨，將之斷然全部廢止可說是當務之急。是以必須擺脫受制於規則的僵習，於此非常時局應由顧及大局入手，以完成本島人及高砂族的皇民化為第一目標，另一方面則顧及國民精神總動員的宗旨，採取最符合當前時局的措施，以上為一般有識者的意見。臺灣日日新報 1938.05.06 第五版 第 13694 號

[Hualien Port Tel] Since the Incident, the Mainlander, the Islander, and the Barbarian/the Gao-sha people all work with solidarity to support the nation. The Kominka Movement, the national language movement, as well as the bad habit eradication movement are being promoted. Yet, during the emergent period, Taiwanese drama is still allowed performing in the Hualien Port area, and Taiwanese music is heard in the islanders' family. There seem many people of this kind who cannot understand the nation in emergency. The committee of Social Reformation of the Hualien Port has had a consensus of banning Taiwanese drama and music last January. All the districts of the Hualien Port have been informed to carry out the ban. With the Movement of the General Mobilization on Citizen Spirit as well as the Kominka Movement, which were put into practice after the Incident, the reformation of temples and prohibition against burning paper money, etc. which belong to the islanders' bad habits have been improved. To people's surprise, Taiwanese drama and music are still active without revocation by the police. This is totally against the goal of the Movement of the General Mobilization on Citizen Spirit, and delays the completion of the Kominka Movement. It is critical and emergent to abolish all of the drama and music in order to implement the goal of social reformation. People should get rid of the bad habits and devote to the nation during the period in service of the purpose of imperializing the islanders and the Gao-sha people. It is generally believed that the authorities should take action to satisfy the need of the Movement of the General Mobilization on Citizen Spirit. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 5, No. 13694, 1938/05/06 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

違反時勢的 臺灣戲劇 望徹底取締【花蓮港電】在舉國一致以盡忠報國的赤誠往皇民化運動邁進的此時，於花蓮港街竟依然公然演出台灣戲劇及台灣音樂。對於花蓮郡警察當局准許演出一事，社會上有相當多的責難，最近居住於上演台灣戲劇的花蓮座附近的本島人還對當局提出取締台灣戲劇的陳情等，此一問題已越來越尖銳化。由於先前於民風振興委員會已全場一致同意將之廢止，因此當局也應持強硬態度，無論如何都希望採取徹底執行的方針。關於此點，釜田廳警務課長發表以下談話：在我先前任職的能高郡等地絕對沒有臺灣戲劇的演出，對於臺灣戲劇的演出申請者，我命令他們官吏的台詞以及服裝打扮都必須以日本形式來演出，因此最後就沒有人要演出了。就國民精神總動員的觀點來說，現在演出臺灣戲劇也不有趣，特別是一方面要求改善寺廟及燒毀金銀紙錢的習慣，另一方面卻讓臺灣戲劇上演，可說過於矛盾。有關此事，我會在詳加考慮後採取適當的措施。臺灣日日新報 1938.05.21 第九版 第 13709 號

Outdated Taiwanese Drama Called for Revocation

[Hualien Port Tel] In the moment of the Kominka Movement in progress and the whole nation in solidarity, Taiwanese drama and music are seen in public in the Hualien Port area. There have been disagreement and blames on the police's authorization of the performance. The islanders living around the Hualien Theatre House appealed the revocation of Taiwanese drama to the authorities. The whole issue has been taken into discussion. The authorities took a firm stand on the revocation according to the consensus of the committee of social reformation. The chief police officer of the Fu-tian District shared his experience and said "there was no Taiwanese drama performing at all at the Neng-gao County because I commanded that all applicants for Taiwanese drama be in Japanese costume and speech in performing officials. They cancelled their applications eventually. With regard to the General Mobilization on Citizen Spirit, Taiwanese drama makes no sense at all, particularly concerning that it is contradictory that the reformation of temples and the ban on burning paper money has been put in force on the one

In other words, the request for prohibiting Gezaixi is due to the reason that “Taiwanese drama is so wasteful so that it obstructs from strengthening citizens’ spirit,” and “it should be reduced to a minimal production due to its harmfulness for public security and custom.”²³⁷ It can be known that the prohibition against Gezaixi is not enforced completely as can be seen from Gezaixi performances were occasionally given from place to place.²³⁸ It can be argued that the prohibition against Gezaixi cannot be fully attributed to a racial concern. Instead,

hand, and Taiwanese drama is being permitted on the other. I will take an appropriate action regarding this issue. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 9 No. 13709, 1938/05/21 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

²³⁶ 近期於台北州將通令各郡署加強對臺灣劇及電影等興行的取締 基於促進皇民化運動的立場，隸屬臺北州下的臺灣劇因前年七月的統制幾已銷聲匿跡，但最近向州當局所提出的檢閱申請卻突然激增，每月平均達四十齣，本年度至目前為止已高達去年總數的約三百齣。有鑑於即使是通過檢閱的臺灣劇，在實際演出時有時仍會出現相當猥褻狀況，因此州保安課決定明文化既有的興行取締方針，對臺灣劇進行更嚴謹的檢閱，並禁止野台戲演出，使之前因種種理由而處於敷衍狀態的興行檢閱復活，斷然從臺灣劇中排除不合時宜的支那式服裝、音樂等。同時，在電影方面，則禁止放映有悖於興亞聖業之達成的支那電影，還有徹底執行使用國語解說電影等。為了更進一步的強化對興行的取締，將於近期對各郡屬發佈通知。臺灣日日新報 1939.07.27 第七版 第 14139 號

Taipei County is Banning Taiwanese Drama and Movie All over the Places. Because of the enforcement of the Kominka Movement, Taiwanese drama in Taipei County has disappeared since the prohibition last July. However, applications for Taiwanese drama have been unexpectedly increasing. There are forty applications in average for a month, and have accumulated to 300 applications so far this year, reaching the total amount of last year. The security department decided to make regulations on the permission of Taiwanese drama due to some previous permitted performances still giving contents that were not allowed during a show. More strict censors will be put into practice, for example outdoor performances are forbidden, outdated Chinese costumes and music need to be excluded in Taiwanese drama, etc. As for the movie, any Chinese movies that violate the holy object of constructing a greater Asia are not allowed. All movies have to be interpreted in the national language completely. A new command regarding more of the enforcement will be released to all the townships of Taipei County soon. Taiwan Daily New, vol. 7, No. 14139, 1939/07/27 Xu, "Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Bao Kan Xi Qu Zi Liao (the Archive of Xiqu in the Newspapers of Japanese Colonial Period) 日治時期台灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟," vol.

²³⁷ The Police in Tongshi Township: Suppressing Bad Habits of People; Promoting New Society by Entertainment 東石郡警察課 民風改善取締 利用娛樂興行 積極作興民風，Tanan New Daily, 1936/8/3, No. 12430, 台南新報，1936.8.3, 第 12430 號。Also see Xu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Qu Shi Lun : Xian Dai Hua Zuo Yong Xia De Ju Zhong Yu Ju Chang (a Historical Analysis on Chinese Music Dramas in Colonial Taiwan: Theatre Genre and Theatre under Modernization 254.

²³⁸ Fulu Lü and Yaxiang Xu, Chang Xiao : Wu Tai Fulu (Taibei Xian Luzhou Shi: Bo yang wen hua shi ye you xian gong si, 2001) 45-9. Xu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Qu Shi Lun : Xian Dai Hua Zuo Yong Xia De Ju Zhong Yu Ju Chang (a Historical Analysis on Chinese Music Dramas in Colonial Taiwan: Theatre Genre and Theatre under Modernization 261.

the prohibition could be due to an expectation of resource management during the wartime that the Taiwanese drama can by no means meet. That is to say that the prohibition against and reformation of Gezaixi during the wartime might have to do with reducing material losses and increasing human resource. What I want to point out is that the prohibition against and reformation of Gezaixi should be treated as a part of a plan for administrative reformation concerning national defense and preparation for war.²³⁹ A simply racial regard of the prohibition and reformation may fail to articulate complicated relations between war and performance due to an epistemological assumption on the dichotomy of the colonizer and the colonized. It is fair to say that the Kominka Movement provides a chance to direct “the uncontrollable islander masses of Gezaixi” to a modern and colonial order. This kind of direction has been heard from the discrimination against and rejection to Gezaixi by the colonial regime and intellectuals since the 1920s. In a word, the prohibition and reformation is meant to serve the purpose of collecting colonial resources in service of war preparation. Islanders’ body and its representation in theatre are involved in the relation of the nation and the islanders during the wartime.

²³⁹ 1937年4月22、23日的地方長官會議，也就是小林首次揭櫫「類似」治台三原則，：敬神尊皇、吏道刷新、地方團體營運、稅制整理、兵事事務整備與國民防衛、教育之徹底刷新、島民教化的徹底、國語常用、社會事業的刷新強化、警察行政的擴張、民情查察與外國人取締、衛生的改善、理蕃行政，以及殖產方面的糖業、青果產業、茶業、國家之有用作物獎勵、畜產、礦業、林業、水產業、移民事業、米穀自治管理、米穀檢查、工業、貿易、台灣拓殖會社、家計調查、專賣等等。Tsai, "The Kominka Movement Revisited (再論「皇民化運動」)," 38-9.

The meeting of local governors held on April 22 and 23, 1937 was where Governor-General Kobayashi Seizō introduced his reformation policies of the Three Principles. The policies includes: respecting the emperor, reforming appointment methods of officials, arranging tax system and local organization, preparing civil-military services and national defense, renovating education, educating the islanders, promoting the national language, intensifying social careers, developing police administration, hearing public will, revoking foreigners, reforming hygiene and the administration of the Gao-sha people, advocating agricultural productions of sugar, fruit, tea, economic goods,

4.2 The Attack on Pearl Harbor

Japan attacked on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The next day, the Pacific War officially began. The Japanese empire planned it to be a war that could finish in three months when the Marco Polo Bridge Incident happened. Yet when the Pacific War started, the time of the war was destined to be prolonged, and the battlefield was extended from East Asia to South Asia and the Pacific Ocean. The Pacific War once again changes the relationship between the Japanese colonizer and the Taiwanese colonized. The Imperial Aid Association was founded a year before the Pacific War erupted. It purports to propagate all citizens to “support the Emperor and obey his order.” Scholars generally regard the appearance of the association as the war’s entering a new stage. On July 26, 1941, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was formed. On April 19 1941, Kominhokokai, literally "Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects," was established; two months later the Office of Governor General of Taiwan announced that a system of volunteering islander soldiers would take place the next year.²⁴⁰

Many scholars have talked about many aspects of the wartime period very well. I want to focus on the transformation of the national concept “Japan” in relation to its colonies, occupied territories, among others. The formation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere gives a good hint to show how the relation between “the colonizer and the colonized” is in transformation. The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere features a cooperative political structure among Japan,

animal raising, mining, foresting, aquatic products, immigration, rice self-management and examination, industry, trade, Taiwan development, household investigation, monopoly sale, etc.

²⁴⁰ Wan-yao 周婉窈 Chou, "Japan's Military Mobilization and the Taiwanese Overseas War Experiences, 1937-1945 日本在臺軍事動員與臺灣人的海外參戰經驗(1937-1945)," *Taiwan Historical Research 臺灣史研究* 2.1 (1995).

Manchuria, and China, which aims for a new order of East Asia led by Japan.²⁴¹ It is noteworthy indicating that it is an international political structure among the three countries of Japan, Manchuria, and China. Apparently, Taiwan and Korea, the two colonies of the Japanese empire, are not mentioned in the international relation. How do we locate Taiwan and Korea in the structure? I argue that the relationship between Japan, as the colonizer, and Taiwan, as the colonized, is experiencing a discursive transformation during the formation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere.

There were two important literary and cultural journals coming into being in 1940 and 1941. They are *Literacy Taiwan* (Wenyi Taiwan, 文藝台灣) and *Folk Taiwan* (Minsu Taiwan, 民俗台灣). These two magazines, which feature “Taiwanese/Islander Culture,” are closely affiliated with the colonial government. While what the islanders are and do used to be beyond the concern of colonial ruling before the wartime as mentioned in chapter 2, this affiliation during the wartime explains the way in which the colonizer really wants to reform its relation to “Taiwan.” This “eagerness” to know about Taiwan is by no means the same as the period of colonization since 1895. The colonizer has been trying to “know” about islanders’ customs through all sorts of investigation since the beginning of the colonization. These anthropological investigations nevertheless are founded on a premise of controlling and governing “the other race.” Yet, this kind of governance no longer serves the colonizer’s need in the wartime for more and

²⁴¹ Wenqing Li, *Gong Rong De Xiang Xiang : Di Guo, Zhi Min Di Yu Da Dong Ya Wen Xue Quan (1937-1945)* (Taipei Xian Banqiao Shi: Dao xiang chu ban she, 2010) 1-67. Shu-Chin (柳書琴) LIU, "Total War and Local Culture: Discourses on the Local Culture in Taiwan, Revival of Taiwanese Culture, and Professors of the College of

more soldiers are requested on the battlefield. The islander colonized, who used to be “the Other race” who cannot take the obligation of military service,”²⁴² needs to “raise their self-consciousness of being a royal imperial citizen under the policy of “the Sameness.”²⁴³ To put it simply, consciousness is now directed to “creating an imperial subject.” In order to raise this form of consciousness, it is important to make the islanders regain their self-respect while treating them without difference. The transformative relation to the islander colonized by the government’s emphasis on Taiwanese/Islander Culture should be regarded in the context of regaining the islander’s self-respect.

In other words, the ever larger war changes the colonial ruling over the colonized islanders in terms of national defense, transforming the relation between the Mainland and the Island, Japan and Taiwan, the empire and the colony. The transformation radically changes the previous relationship between the Japanese colonizer and the Taiwanese colonized.

The change also affects the colonizer’s attitude over islanders’ drama by making it as “local culture” of “the nation.”

In November of 1940, the new Taiwan Governor-General Hasegawa Kiyoshi expressed that “traditional religious worships, habits, folk crafts, and living styles are allowed to stay in the islanders’ living under a principle that doesn’t violate ruling. Temple rituals, non-local Jingju, Piyongxi (shadow drama), Budaixi (puppet drama), and entertainments of

Liberal Arts and Law of Taipei Imperial University ([總力戰] 與地方文化地方文化論述, 台灣文化甦生及台北帝大文政學部教授們)," *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* (台灣社會研究).79 (2010).

²⁴² Tsai, "The Kominka Movement Revisited (再論「皇民化運動」)," 233.

²⁴³ 「一視同仁的聖旨之下，要使台灣島民有身為忠良帝國臣民的自覺」 Tsai, "The Kominka Movement Revisited (再論「皇民化運動」)," 234.

the like that have an infinity with the islanders are included.” The Governor-General also emphasizes that “Japanese mainland culture and entertainments should be introduced, too.” He mentioned an ideal practice of progressive assimilation by giving an example of the Western fable “The North Wind and the Sun.”²⁴⁴

Budaixi is one of the examples representing islanders’ activity turning into “local culture.” Scholars usually regard this “authorization of local culture” as a colonizer’s recognition gained by the colonized intellectual. Liu, Shu-qing argues that a colonized recognition found in the period transcends nationality by saying:

There are many factors that make possible the colonizer’s recognition of islanders’ culture. The space reshape of the empire, the need for resource confiscation, Taiwan serving as a front door to the South for military, as well as the flows and cooperation between cultures of places of the empire are taken into consideration. This recognition helps find a new way talking about local culture, which transcends a nationalist or socialist approach to the wartime Taiwan. This recognition approves a strategy of the colonized Taiwan, which gains its space through an expansion of the empire and the reality of colonial ruling. This strategy is indeed “Taiwanese local culture,” which represents the multicultural community of the Greater East Asia.²⁴⁵

She continues to argue that this kind of possibility of islanders’ culture recognition in the wartime is to maintain a legacy (“blood and pulse” in her word)

²⁴⁴ Chinese:一九四〇年十一月底上任的臺灣總督長谷川清 Hasegawa Kiyoshi 曾宣示,「傳統宗教祭祀、慣習、鄉土藝能、生活方式,如寺廟祭祀行事、外來的京劇、皮影戲、布袋戲之類與島民毫無隔閡的娛樂,在不違反統治主旨的原則下容許存在」;長谷川總督也強調「不要忘了介紹日本內地的文化、演藝。」他特別舉西洋寓言「旅人脫衣」強調漸進式「同化」真諦。Chiu Kun-Liang 邱坤良, "Japanese Dramatists and Theatre in Taiwan During the War (1937-1945)—a Case Study of Matsui Toru 戰時在台日本人戲劇家與台灣戲劇——以松居桃樓為例," *Taipei Theatre Journal 戲劇學刊*.12 (2010): 14.

²⁴⁵ Chinese:「帝國空間重塑、資源徵用需求、南方戰略地位,以及帶有儀式性的帝國境內各地文化代表的流動及串聯,多種因素都刺激地方文化的活絡,因此也為本土地方文化論述找到了超越民族主義或社會主義邏輯的新論述資源。一種從帝國擴張及殖民地統治歷史化的現實中,摸索出來的空間戰略,這個戰略也就是在「大東亞」共同體內部發揮多元文化演繹的——台灣地方文化。」LIU, "Total War and Local Culture: Discourses on the Local Culture in Taiwan, Revival of Taiwanese Culture, and Professors of the College of Liberal Arts and Law of Taipei Imperial University ([總力戰] 與地方文化地方文化論述, 台灣文化甦生及台北帝大文政學部教授們)," 116.

of Taiwanese culture by a compromising negotiation with the colonizer. This recognition is made by the efforts of intellectuals' paying attention to Taiwanese language and culture since the 30s.²⁴⁶ For scholars who talk about "Taiwanese culture" by a belief of its originality and authenticity, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere provides a space and a chance in and through which Taiwanese culture is finally able to show up with its own features by creating the Empire's future with other cultures of races of the empire. However, I argue that we cannot articulate the way in which the local culture is formed in relation to the discursive transformation of colonial ruling unless we first investigate the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

4.3 The Birth of a Multiethnic Nation: the Discursive Formation of the Great East Asia

Most research on the relationship between Taiwan and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere talk about how Japanese culture expands, how Taiwanese culture resists, how Taiwanese culture is Japanized, or how Taiwanese culture survives. Researches of the kind usually begin with a clear and self-sufficient concept of what Taiwanese culture and Japanese culture are. They are conceptually equal to "race/ethnic studies," which has an a priori subject of who and what they investigate. This theory usually decides their research approach. Liu, Shu-qing talks about the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in Taiwan by arguing that three cultures are confronted: colonial culture, culture of the colonizers in Taiwan, and

²⁴⁶ LIU, "Total War and Local Culture: Discourses on the Local Culture in Taiwan, Revival of Taiwanese Culture, and Professors of the College of Liberal Arts and Law of Taipei Imperial University ([總力戰] 與地方文化地方文化論述, 台灣文化甦生及台北帝大文政學部教授們)," 116.

local Taiwanese culture. Yet, I argue that it is actually the appearance of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, which provides a chance by which three cultures are created, particularly the so-called local Taiwanese culture.

Here, it is important to examine Leo Ching's argument that the war radically and drastically changed colonial rule. I have emphasized this point many times in my dissertation that difference is the policy of Japanese colonial rule, which makes theaters and performances prosperous in the prewar period. Yet after the war erupted, sameness replaced the policy of difference in order to assimilate the islanders i so as to call for more volunteers in the war. With regard with Ching's observation, I want to further argue that the colonial relationship between Japan and Taiwan should be transformed from "empire-colony" to "nation-area/local place." Only seen in this vein of discursively political transformation can "islanders' culture" be "co-prosperous" with "Japanese culture." The implication behind the co-prosperity is a question of life and death. That is to say that only by turning the islanders to nationals and making colonies nationalized can national mobilization be summoned. In other words, the transformation of the political relationship has to do with the transformation of the political identity of the islanders. National survival can be expected only by making whom I call "the multitude" in chapter 2 Japanese nationals with endowed citizenship. The significance of the eruption of the war relies not only on changing the colonial ruling by making the islanders become Japanese, but on the constitution of the nation by making every islander a citizen. The constitution of the nation during the Kominka period is completely distinct from that of the Doka period. To put it simply, the islanders participate as

ethnos to be part of a multi-ethnic nation (kokumin),²⁴⁷ the wartime Japan during the formation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Instead of being imposed by intensification of colonization in the period, the way in which the islanders are in relation to the Japanese nation is radically transformed to participation. The colonial governance and the constitution of “colonial people” are also transformed. This explains why Taiwan is absent in the statement of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. It is because that Taiwan is Japan at this stage theoretically, and Taiwan is included in the nation. Seen in this vein, Budaixi of the period can by no means be treated as culture of the colonized; it is instead a local culture of the Japanese nation. I argue that a formation of local identity, as has been explained in chapter 3, takes shape. Local identity functions via nationality.

Instead of the local culture serving as a part of the multi-cultural Greater East Asia by a transcendence of nationalism as argued by Liu, the local culture during the wartime is by all means nationalistic. Rather than the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as a space where three cultures confront, I argue that the formation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere provides a discursive space in which a local culture of “the Japanese,” which generally represents all the islanders, emerges. This space, for the first time, creates a formation of cultural identity for every islander. This general identity later turns out to be one of the origins where identity and sovereignty of Taiwan lie in crisis in the postwar period. I think that the formation of a general identity of the islander culture has a lot to do with the way in which Gezaixi in the wartime stands in relation to the nation.

²⁴⁷ Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism*.

4.4 Post-Colonial Drama? Fiber: the Reformed Gezaixi

In this section, I want to look into the relationship between the body representation of Gezaixi in the wartime and the modern nation. It is noteworthy that Gezaixi, which was the most popular performance genre, is ignored, while Budaixi by contrast becomes a representative of local culture in the Japanese nation. Governor-General Hasegawa Kiyoshi's statement deserves our attention once again. He said "traditional religious worships, habits, folk crafts, and living styles are allowed to stay in the islanders' living under a principle that doesn't violate ruling. Temple rituals, non-local Jingju, Piyongxi (shadow drama), Budaixi (puppet drama), and entertainments of the like that have an infinity with the islanders are included." As can be seen here, Jingju, Piyongxi, Budaixi, etc were mentioned in particular in the statement, yet Gezaixi, which has been popular among the multitude yet despised by intellectuals since the 1920s, was neglected.

My question is: why are there things like Budaixi, which can maintain its property and becomes local culture of the nation, yet there are things like Gezaixi, which needs to be eradicated, and later transformed into a modern drama.²⁴⁸ I argue that this question helps us look into the discursive transformation of the Reformed Drama, Gezaixi in the wartime.

²⁴⁸ Both Budaixi and Gezaixi are forced to transform in the Kominka Movement. People generally call this transformed drama as "the Kominka Drama," in which Japanese elements are added. Yet, there is a clear distinction between the transformed Budaixi and Gezaixi in the sense that the former maintains the way how to enact yet the latter changes the entire performance. Budaixi still keeps a puppet performance, but the distinct styles of Gezaixi, such as the Qizi tone, the Crying tone, etc. in music, and gestures in performing, have been completely changed into a realistic performance. In other words, as far as Budaixi can be seen as tradition, Gezaixi is by all means "modern" after the transformation.

Starting the 1920s, a new form of performance, usually known as New Drama or Modern Drama, was introduced to Taiwan by the colonial government and the colonized intellectual. The Drama is meant to be introduced as a means of instruction by which intellectuals enlighten “the masses.” Nevertheless, Gezaixi, Jingju, etc. so-called the “tradition drama” is far more popular among the islanders. This performance imbalance and preference did not change until the eruption of the war. The war stops the communication between China and Taiwan. Jingju troupes from China are banned, and Gezaixi were suspended or changed to “the Reformed Drama.” The so-called “Reformed Drama” is basically a play which satisfies the nation’s need in the content and in the style, and is enacted by actors who used to perform Gezaixi. Followings are some of records and descriptions of the Reformed Drama.²⁴⁹

“To change the imperial court to the company, the emperor to the president, the prime minister to the general manager, officials and officers to staff, etc.”²⁵⁰

“The emperor becomes the president; the prime minister becomes the general manager; royal concubines become secondary wife; actors perform in modern suits and kimono while singing Qizixi. It can be imagined how strange it is.”²⁵¹

“(Gezaixi troupes) do perform in modern suits with a Japanese story in the first hour. Yet, the gongs and drums of Chinese music go off, and stories of the Three Kingdoms follow immediately after Japanese polices leave.”²⁵²

²⁴⁹ The Reformed Drama is also called “Biantiju,” “Taiwan Xiju/New Drama,” or “Taiwan Geju/Ppera.” Please see Kunliang Qiu, Piao Liang Wu Tai : Taiwan Da Zhong Ju Chang Nian Dai (Taipei Shi: Yuan liu chu ban shi ye gu fen you xian gong si, 2008) 225-47. Lu, “Tangshan Guo Taiwan (Relocating in Taiwan 唐山過臺灣).”

²⁵⁰ 「將朝廷改為公司，皇帝改為董事長，首長改為總經理，文武百官改為職員」Guanghua Mo, Taiwan Ge Zi Xi Lun Wen Ji Lu (Taizhong Shi: Taiwan Sheng di fang xi ju xie jin hui, 1996) 73.

²⁵¹ 「皇帝成了董事長，丞相成了總經理，皇妃成了三姨太，穿著西裝、和服唱七字仔，其不倫不類可想而知。」Geng Chen and Xuwen Zeng, Bai Nian Kan Ke Ge Zai Xi (Taipei Shi: You shi wen hua shi ye gong si, 1995) 102-3.

“During a performance, actors were in a modern suit or kimono, and the contents were modern. Nevertheless, the way of speaking and acting were no difference from Gezaixi, yet singing popular songs.”²⁵³

“To people’s surprise, actors do a martial-art performance with Japanese swords. The magnificence of this theatrical show reaches an extent to which realist movies cannot compete with. The show is usually accompanied with Western drums and trumpets since Chinese music does not fit well. After a martial-art scene, Chinese music comes back. How strange it is! ...The Reformed Drama is a product in the purpose of cheating officials by changing Gezaixi. Most people who perform the Reformed Drama are Gezaixi actors. They wear modern suits, national suits, or Taiwanese suits, yet there must be actors in traditional customs. What is different is that the Chinese General Guang-gong with a long beard becomes Caesar with a short mustache. A conventional red face of Guang-gong turns out to be a clean face. The role of the hell administer, which used to wear a black and ferocious face, now has an image of a modern robe with a pair of glasses.”²⁵⁴

“There must be people who watch Japanese police during a Gezaixi performance. Actors will be noticed when the police approaches. Kimono is always ready on the side stage. Actors put on Kimono and turn a Gezaixi performance into a Japanese drama. It is said that there was a time in which a Japanese police officer comes when a scene of beating a maid in “Palm Civet for Prince” is performed. “Hurry up, Hurry up, a Japanese police officer is coming!” Actors put on Kimono right away and continue their performance. The scene turns out to be “beating a Japanese maid.”²⁵⁵

²⁵² 「當時戲班裡前一個小時確實是演日本劇情，穿時裝的，但一等日本警察走了之後，鑼鼓聲立即大作，三國誌又再度登場。」Fuling Yang, *Taiwan Ge Zai Xi Shi* (Taizhong Shi: Chen xing chu ban you xian gong si : Zong jing xiao Zhi ji shi ye gu fen you xian gong si, 2002) 97.

²⁵³ 「演出時，穿的是現代服或和服，劇情是現代題材。但是念台詞的方式和動作都和歌仔戲一樣，演唱用當時的流行歌。」Fang Chen, *Taiwan Chuan Tong Xi Qu* (Taipei Shi: Taiwan xue sheng shu ju, 2004) 97.

²⁵⁴ 「叫人吃驚的是，還拿出武士刀演起連電影都要相形見絀的強巴拉武打。音樂方面由於中國的會不搭調，就另以西洋的鼓與喇叭伴奏。打完又是嗩吶啊絃仔等響起，真是怪誕的交響樂。...改良戲是為了蒙面上面的人將歌仔戲稍作改良的產物，大部分跟歌仔戲團是同一團體。服裝上將就使用洋服、國民福或臺灣服，但是舞台上三個人中必定有一個人穿著戲服。...不同處只在於關公的長鬚變成凱撒的短髮、畫得紅通通的臉露出些素顏。閻魔王以前黑臉很兇惡的模樣，現在改穿大禮服並掛上眼鏡。」Xu, Ri Zhi Shi Qi Taiwan Xi Qu Shi Lun : Xian Dai Hua Zuo Yong Xia De Ju Zhong Yu Ju Chang (a Historical Analysis on Chinese Music Dramas in Colonial Taiwan: Theatre Genre and Theatre under Modernization 260.

²⁵⁵ 「歌仔戲在演的時候，外面一定有人在顧，看到日本警察來，趕快進來報『日本警察來了』和服準備在旁，和服就一套，變成日本舞台劇。流傳下來，一次演出狸貓換太子，準備打死寇珠，『趕快、趕快、日本警察來了！』他們就和服一套，繼續演出，就變做『打死日本婆仔』.....」，Bai Nian Ge Zi :

“Fugui-Chunmeng, One Night in China, One Night in SuBei, etc., the movies in which Lee, Xiang-Lan features, are usually adapted by the Reformed Drama/Gezaixi. Lee plays a leading role in many movies, and each of the movies is highly welcomed by the drama. Cheongsam of the Chinese robe she wears becomes a must-have outfit for every actress. Both Japanese and Taiwanese popular songs are often used by the actors and actresses, for example: One Night in China, Aisa’s Taiwan, Herijunzailai, Tuberose, Night Melodies of Suzhou in Japanese, and Yuyehua, Wangchunfeng, Yueyechou, Sijihong, Baimudan, Ririchun, among others, in the Taiwanese language.”²⁵⁶

Generally speaking, current scholarship talks about the Reformed Drama by providing a nationalistic perspective. A paragraph that is known for describing Gezaixi during the wartime is a typical example. “This kind of performance is to brainwash Taiwanese people, a sort of slave education. But Gezaixi did not surrender to the force. The colonizer cannot cut off the familial relationship between people and Gezaixi. Gezaixi went to small cities and towns when it was banned in big cities.”²⁵⁷ “Gezaixi performers were usually nationalists yet gave a reformed performance with reluctance.”²⁵⁸ The Reformed Drama is usually seen as a “weird and strange” performance.²⁵⁹

Other scholars argue concerning the performers’ practical needs that “in order to maintain business, performers must comply with the regulation and management

2001 Nian Hai Xia Liang an Ge Zi Xi Fa Zhan Jiao Liu Yan Tao Hui Lun Wen Ji: Guo li chuan tong yi shu zhong xin.

²⁵⁶ 「李香蘭（山口淑子）主演的電影《富貴春夢》、《支那之夜》、《蘇州之夜》等，常被改編搬上舞台，李香蘭的電影很多，每一步都是變體新劇的最愛，她穿著的旗袍，還成為女演員必備的戲服……演員演唱膾炙人口的流行歌曲，如日文的〈支那之夜〉、〈亞細亞的臺灣〉、〈何日君再來〉、〈夜來香〉、〈蘇州夜曲〉。台語歌有〈兩夜花〉、〈望春風〉、〈月夜愁〉、〈四季紅〉、〈白牡丹〉、〈日日春〉。Lu, "Tangshan Guo Taiwan (Relocating in Taiwan 唐山過臺灣)."

²⁵⁷Chen and Zeng, Bai Nian Kan Ke Ge Zai Xi 102-3.

²⁵⁸Mo, Taiwan Ge Zi Xi Lun Wen Ji Lu 72-3.

²⁵⁹ Chen and Zeng, Bai Nian Kan Ke Ge Zai Xi 102.

of the Kominka movement. Many Gezaixi troupes and some Budaixi and Piyingshi troupes announce that they give a Kominka drama yet never really change their performance. They call a performance New Drama by putting on modern suits, and call it Modern Drama by adding Japanese styles.”²⁶⁰

The Reformed Drama was called “Huaiba/Fiber” during the wartime. The name comes from the Japanese word “ファイバー,” a direct translation from the English word “fiber,” which indicates a mixed and impure performance in contrast to a “cotton” performance of intellectuals’ New Drama.²⁶¹ Scholars claim that this impurity and weirdness signify the colonization process of “a nature of the mother language and the body.”²⁶²

The Reformed Drama is generally believed the origin of a postwar Gezaixi performance called “o-pe-la.” Scholars argue that the name “o-pe-la” derives from the word “opera,” which describes a performance that includes singing. O-pe-la is popular in the postwar Taiwan. Audiences are highly attracted by its performance containing dance, pop music, Western music, neon lights, machines, and stage effects.²⁶³ Scholars praise o-pe-la/the Reformed Drama by emphasizing its multi-

²⁶⁰ Qiu Kunliang (Chiu Kun-Liang 邱坤良), "Concept, Assumption and Interpretation: The Chapter of Taiwanese Modern Theatre under Japanese Rule (理念、假設與詮釋：台灣現代戲劇的日治篇)," *Taipei Theatre Journal 戲劇學刊*.13 (2011): 28.

²⁶¹ Wan-shun (石婉舜) Shih, "Staging 'Taiwan': Theatre, Modernization, and Subjectivity Formation of Taiwan During the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945) (搬演「臺灣」：日治時期臺灣的劇場、現代化與主體型構)," *Taipei National University of Arts*, 2010, 133. Lu, "Tangshan Guo Taiwan (Relocating in Taiwan 唐山過臺灣)."

²⁶² Shih, "Staging 'Taiwan': Theatre, Modernization, and Subjectivity Formation of Taiwan During the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945) (搬演「臺灣」：日治時期臺灣的劇場、現代化與主體型構)," 142.

²⁶³ , Bai Nian Ge Zi : 2001 Nian Hai Xia Liang an Ge Zi Xi Fa Zhan Jiao Liu Yan Tao Hui Lun Wen Ji.

cultural nature.²⁶⁴ Some would argue that its style of the post-colonial mixture represents what Taiwanese people are in favor of and their interests by adopting Chinese and Japanese culture.”²⁶⁵²⁶⁶ In my opinion, this way of looking at the impurity of the Reformed Drama displays an admiration of impurity, which does nothing but support a claim for an imagination of cultural authenticity or nationalism.

What if we do not accept this perspective, which caters to a formation of nationalist Taiwanese subjectivity, by supporting the impurity of the Reformed Drama? How can the Reformed Drama provide other ways of looking at the problematic of colonial modernity and revealing a postcolonial-cum-nationalist conspiracy with colonial modernity?

4.5 Nationalizing the Multitude

“There is no non-Komin literature (the Imperial Subject Literature) in Taiwan. Anyone who writes non-Komin literature will be sentenced to death by shooting.”---Zhang, Wen-huan²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ hui Hai xia liang an ge zai xi yi shu jie zu wei and hui Hai xia liang an ge zai xi yi shu jie xue shu yan tao, *Ge Zai Xi De Sheng Cun Yu Fa Zhan* ([Xiamen]: Xiamen da xue chu ban she, 2006) 492-7.

²⁶⁵ 邱坤良), "Concept, Assumption and Interpretation: The Chapter of Taiwanese Modern Theatre under Japanese Rule (理念、假設與詮釋：台灣現代戲劇的日治篇)," 30. Shih, "Staging 'Taiwan': Theatre, Modernization, and Subjectivity Formation of Taiwan During the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945) (搬演「臺灣」：日治時期臺灣的劇場、現代化與主體型構)."

²⁶⁶ Qiugui Wang, *xin Guo li chuan tong yi shu zhong, hui Yu da gang xian sheng ji nian ji jin guan li wei yuan, xue Guo li tai bei yi shu da, hui Zhong hua min guo guo ji wen hua yi shu jiao liu xie, hui Shi he zheng min su wen hua ji jin and hui Ji nian yu da gang xian sheng bai sui dan chen xi qu xue shu yan tao, Ji Nian Yu Da Gang Xian Sheng Bai Sui Dan Chen Xi Qu Xue Shu Yan Tao Hui Lun Wen Ji* (Tai bei shi; [Yi lan xian wu jie xiang]: Guo li tai bei yi shu da xue ; Guo li chuan tong yi shu zhong xin, 2009) 449.

²⁶⁷ Chinese: 「台灣沒有非皇民文學。假如有任何人寫出非皇民文學，一律槍殺。」---張文環。Ruiming Lin, *Taiwan Wen Xue De Li Shi Kao Cha* (Taipei Shi: Yun chen wen hua shi ye gu fen you xian gong si, 1996) 296.

I have mentioned earlier that all sorts of “traditional drama,” including Jingju, Budaixi, Gezaixi, etc., are prohibited or forced to undergo reformation. Yet, when the Pacific War begins, Gezaixi maintains its prohibited status while Jingju and Budaixi are allowed to be performed. My question is why Gezaixi, which also belongs to the islanders’ drama like the other two, is treated with difference. In other words, “an islander’s performance,” from a racial perspective, is obviously not the critical concern of permission or prohibition on condition that some islander’s performance, like Budaixi, is allowed to perform. I argue that there must be something beyond a racial concern in considering Gezaixi in the wartime. Gezaixi is embodied with an attribute that needs to be eradicated and reformed. This attribute has to do with the colonial rule in the wartime.

The attribute that needs to be reformed is related to the way in which the wartime Taiwan becomes a part of the Japanese nation from a colony, and the way in which the islanders become people/citizen from the multitude. That is to say, I want to draw attention to a perspective that goes beyond race in which a general understanding of the Kominka as becoming “Japanese” has been long argued. Instead, I want to focus on the way in which the islander’s body is involved in the wartime discourse.

The body that needs to be reformed is nothing but the impure body of the islanders. The so-called “the impure body” simply comes from the discursive formation of difference in colonial ruling. In other words, the impure Reformed Drama, the Huai-ba, never signifies the way in which it can be and will be modern when it performs in modern suits, or be Japanese with Kimono. Instead, it always depicts an impure body of the islanders in the way that it can and will never be

modern and Japanese even if a modern suit and Kimono is put on. To put it simply, Gezaixi performances /the Reformed Drama performed by the islanders' body are always impure under the colonial ruling. Unlike Budaixi, a puppet drama, which can be bestowed as a local craft and art by the colonizer, Gezaixi and its reformed performance, which both present and represent potential soldiers of the nation in the war, need to go through a process of purification, without which a determination for sacrificing for the nation cannot be verified. This impurity stands as a source of fear for the colonizer in the colonial politics of difference. Regarding a colonial reading of the Reformed Drama and a post-colonial reading of o-pe-la as a representation of Taiwanese culture and subjectivity by the scholars, the impurity has been inherited in the regime of the violence of difference in colonial modernity. It is because that impurity does not have to be proved by its style; rather, it is itself constitutive of the colonial discourse.

Gezaixi is also embodied with the fear of the masses since the 1920s as well as “the impossibility of purity” as I have explained in chapter 2. I further argue that the request for reformation of Gezaixi in the wartime, unlike Budaixi, has to be taken into consideration when we analyze the nationalization of the multitude.

Islander writer Zhang, Wen-huan, in “the Conference for Taiwan Literature in the Wartime” held in Taipei in November, 1943, said “There is no non-Komin literature (the Imperial Subject Literature) in Taiwan. Anyone who writes non-Komin literature will be sentenced to death by shooting.” Zhang was in the situation that attendants were suspicious of the royalty of islander writers and their work regarding the war and the nation. This statement is quoted and discussed again and again by many scholars who come to terms with questions like “What is

the Komin Literature?,” “Did Taiwanese writer write the Komon Literature?,” etc. The scholars generally believe that Zhang means to protect islander writers at the risk of being questioned concerning their identity. This understanding still sounds too nationalistic for me. It seems to say that islander writers might write something that is against the Komin policy, yet they are able to survive due to Zhang’s protection. I want to provide another perspective here by arguing that Zhang’s statement reveals the Komin policy in which everyone needs to be submitted. I would argue that the “everyone” discourse constructs the major difference of colonial rule between the prewar and the wartime period.

Shedding light on Zhang’s statement, I want to point out that the necessity of reformation of Gezaixi is attributed to the discourse that everybody is Komin. The formation of the Reformed Drama signifies that every body of the islanders has to comply with the Kominka Movement. It is that not only intellectuals but also every islander has to be Komin. The “everyone” discourse indicates the governance of a modern nation state. On the battlefield, the body of every citizen can be sacrificed in the name of sovereignty as Agamben indicates in *Homo Sacer*.

What I want to stress here is that the Kominka Movement is not only Japanization but also nationalizaing by the example of the Reformed Drama. The nationalization is reached in the name of modernization. Gezaixi is seen as an islander performance “in lack of culture and full of indecency, which is harmful to the society and the Kominka Movement.”²⁶⁸ In the name of progress and by

²⁶⁸ 斷然對臺灣戲劇下達禁止命令 東石郡當局的英斷 【朴子電】隨著本島皇民化運動的熾烈發展，其存在在各地被視為問題的領臺前遺物—臺灣戲劇，特別是歌仔戲，因其演技缺乏文化性且極盡惡劣低俗之能事，不光是對社會風教，對皇民運動更具毒害作用，因而受到一般有識者的撻伐。鑑於此一事實，

promoting racial equality, the nation is requesting an ideal citizen that serves the military. In other words, unlike other intellectuals' experiments of drama, such as Spoken Drama, Civilized Drama, etc., the Reformed Drama is for the first time a multitude's practice of colonial modernity in the everyday life. Since then, performances are national and modern.

4.6 National Realism: Xiqu and Xiju

I want to continue to look into, by the example of the Reformed Drama, the way in which the multitudes, who are neither the educated nor the intellectual, feel the distinction between Xiqu and Xiju. For the intellectual, Xiju, or a realistic performance of the modern drama, appears with the authoritative universality of modernity, defining what a dramatic performance should look like. Yet, for the multitude, the so-called Xiqu has been “the dramatic performance” since long. The intellectual's request for dramatic reformation since the 1920s has never affected and changed the taste and the recognition of performance of the multitude in favor of the performance form of Jingju, Gezaixi, etc. In other words, a performance that contains singing, painted-face performers, dancing figures, etc. is what a dramatic performance should look like for the multitude. Not until the emergence of the Reformed Drama does the multitudes experience a rupture in which a “universally”

東石郡古谷野警察課長一掃過去的警告性方針，斷然下達禁止命令以期根絕臺灣戲劇。由於臺灣戲劇即將自二十三日起由郡下消失，因此此令頗得好評。【台灣日日新報】1938.10.25 第五版 第 13866 號

Applaud for the Dong-shi Authority Forbidding Taiwanese Drama [Pu-zi Tel] With the intense development of the Kominka Movement all over the Island, Taiwanese drama, which belongs to a debris of the pre-colonization, is seen as a social problem everywhere. Gezaixi, in particular, is poisonous for the movement as well as social education due to its lack of cultural sense and its contents of indecency in the performance. The intellectual have been despising for long. With regard to the problem, the sergeant of the Dong-shi County took a strong action of eradicating Taiwanese drama, instead of warning, by forbidding its performance. His action is generally welcome for Taiwanese drama will disappear in the county beginning the 23rd. Taiwan Daily News Vol. 5, No. 13866, 1938/10/25

dramatic performance should be realistic rather than the like of Jingju, Gezaixi, etc. I call the style of performance of the Reformed Drama the “national realism” by showing that it is a realistic performance requested by and formed for the nation. The national realism may or may not meet the standard of what Realism should be, yet it is the first time in which a performance for the multitude complies with a realistic expectation, by which a distinction is drawn from previous performance styles of Jingju, Gezaixi, etc., known as Xiqu today.

The formation of the national realism appears with the war. It enforces and intensifies the combination of the body on the stage and that on the battlefield. In other words, the multitude’s political identity and theatrical identity are supposed to be identical in the wartime in order to serve the nation. This is the time in which political identity formally enters theaters and represents characters, and in which the multitude feels modernity in the theatre. As such, the realism that the multitude experiences and recognizes is political rather than aesthetic. The multitude’s reception of realism is by all means national. Since the Reformed Drama, a performance which represents the modern is understood by Xiju while the performance which the multitude used to be familiar with is Xiqu.

For me, the formation of the distinction is not a confrontation of two cultures, yet it is more like a universalization of performance in epistemology. A conceptual recognition of universal performance a priori emerges no sooner than two sorts of dramatic performance are differentiated. In other words, it is a formative process in which universality and particularity come into view hand in hand. It is through a conceptual construction of universal performance that two particular forms of performance can be distinguished. Yet, what deserves attention here is that the

formation of universality also derives from particularity. That is to say that a concept of universal performance can never be shaped without the national realism as a particular style. We may call the formative process “translation,” and the conceptual construction can be seen as “the regime of translation,” in which the difference of two ends pending in translation is formed. And the regime of translation functions through a universalizing process of particularity.

The Reformed Drama is by no means a neutral and mutual exchange of two cultures or two ethnicities. It is a process of the formation of universality and particularity in performance. It should also be seen as a trace inscribed by the regime of translation, in which the islanders become not only Japanese but also Taiwanese. Yet, the reformation of Gezaixi can never become modern just like the islanders can never become Japanese unless they die, because difference can also be found in the regime.

Ironically, the islanders may arrive in modernization, Janpanization, or imperialization through death, yet Taiwanese in the postwar period can only be pending on the road to modernity. It is because the regime of translation, which takes shape in the wartime, keeps haunting the postwar period. It is the reason why scholars generally believe that the Reformed Drama is a confrontation and hybridity of two cultures. This understanding of culture precisely illustrates what Naoki Sakai claims “the representation of translation,”²⁶⁹ by which the violent process of universalization of particularity is replaced by a dichotomist understanding of two cultures.

²⁶⁹ Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* 15.

To examine the Reformed Drama and scholar's understanding of it tells the way in which the formation of the so-called Taiwanese culture is itself constitutive of modernity. I try to argue that the discursive transformation in the Kominka Movement does not only lie in the problematic of race of "becoming Japanese" as noted by Leo Ching, but also lie in the process of nationalization, in which the multitude is being turned to a citizen. A discursive focus on race often intensifies an unexamined cultural collectivity that is taken for granted. This cultural collectivity is usually a construction in service of the post-colonial nation, which is usually supported by an imagined racial community. My investigation into the process of the multitude turning into a citizen suggests a way that goes beyond race and re-opens possibilities of how communities can be rearticulated.

4.7 After the Kominka

*"It is such a significance and delight that all of you volunteer to donate so much metal for tomorrow's Taiwan and for the nation! I am so touched with complicated feelings in my heart when thinking of all the gongs and tools you donate are what need to be used during rituals or performances of Taiwan. In other words, you are donating the important tools with which you can make a living. These are even more valuable than your life. I know you all feel the same, too. It is an emergent period of mobilization when our nation needs navy ships and weapons. You, as a citizen, awakened and donated with joy when each of the hundred millions of people of the nation is fighting for the Great East Asia War. I am moved to tears by what you do and what a greater Taiwan is shown ahead."*²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ Chinese: 「各位！為了國家，為了明日的臺灣，你們自動自發的奉獻這樣莫大的鋼鐵，真是萬分欣喜的事，想到這些銅鑼及其他臺灣的年中行事，像祭典或演戲時的不可缺的用具，換句話說也是各位用生命也換不來的重要工具拿出來，我的心中充滿了萬感交集，而各位也是同樣的心情，但是，現在我們國家需要建造軍艦、大砲，在國家總動員時期，一億人民的每一個人為了要完成大東亞戰爭而戰鬥時，各位也就是國民的我們覺醒起來，欣然地做出這種舉動。正是今日的臺灣的姿勢，清清楚楚地表現在我們眼前，我高興得不禁流下眼淚。」 Jinbo Zhou, Toshiro Nakajima, Zhenying Zhou and Xiujuan Zhan, Zhou Jinbo Ji (Taipei Shi: Qian wei chu ban she, 2002) 113.

I want to conclude this chapter with a novel published in 1943 by an islander writer in the Kominka Movement. “Xiangchou (Nostalgia)” written by Chou, Jinbo, depicts a spring trip in Taiwan during which the character of an islander “I,” who used to live in the metropolis Tokyo, experiences, ponders, and feels. The character cannot help but compare what he sees during the trip in Taiwan with his experience in Japan. The whole novel proceeds along with two aspects of the character, what he sees on the one hand and what he reflects on the other. Identity issues in Chou’s novel have been debated by scholars, which tend to pay attention to what kind of nostalgia the character indeed has.²⁷¹ Some argue that the nostalgia is Tokyo where both the character and the author Chou used to stay during studying;²⁷² others argue that it is the character and Chou’s returning to Taiwan, where his real motherland should be.²⁷³ However, I argue that the novel provides an alternative reading from the race and identity issue.

The character describes the process in which members of an amateur theatrical group, Zidiban, participate in the ceremony of metal donation. Tons of props such as knives, spears, etc. and instruments such as gongs, and the like, are donated to the government for military use in the war. I suggest that this description symbolizes a process in which the local involves in the national as well as a process in which the multitude turns to be a citizen. In the final scene of the ceremony, representatives of the members of the groups burn their group flags

²⁷¹ For more discussions regarding identity crisis of Chou, Jinbo, and Chou’s works in relation to the Komin Literature, please see Zhou, Nakajima, Zhou and Zhan, Zhou Jinbo Ji. 中島利郎, “皇民作家的形成---關於遠景出版社版《光復前臺灣文學全集》,” 周金波集, ed. 周振英編 中島利郎 (台北: 前衛出版社).

²⁷² Yuzhi Chu, Huang Min Wen Xue Yu Fan Huang Min Wen Xue Zhi Yan Jiu (Taipei Shi: Xiu wei zi xun ke ji gu fen you xian gong si, 2009) 65.

²⁷³ Zhou, Nakajima, Zhou and Zhan, Zhou Jinbo Ji 21.

with a bright flame. “The flame burns the flags. The flags eventually fall down with a break from the middle of the flag stick. The flame spurs from the top of the burning flags. The darkness of the evening has approached and surrounded. The flame brightens the people, and reveals their shadows. At the time, a weeping sound that seems to be the groups’ anthem floats in the air.”²⁷⁴

The process in which performances become national is visibly racialized and ethnicized, and invisibly epistemological as has been said in the dissertation.

In the first half of the twentieth century, dramatic performances in Taiwan experience a process in which a mono-theatricality of the national realism is formed. Communal articulations beyond the nation, multilingual capability, theatricality in irrelevance with ethnicity, etc., gradually conform to a national, monolingual, and ethnic practice of theatricality with “a universal Xiju and a particular Xiqu.”

This dissertation attempts to explain a disappearance of memory of the colonial islanders’ interests and participation in performances that transcend any ethnic and national discourse. To examine the discursive configuration of the disappearance provides a way that transcends discussions of identity by the colonial regime and the colonized intellectual, transcends ignorance and anxiety of the intellectual concerning “the masses,” who are incapable of being modernized. It also transcends the postcolonial intellectual’s perspective of looking at the performance as a pre-modern, purely aesthetic, and ethnic Xiqu performance of folks’ activity.

²⁷⁴Zhou, Nakajima, Zhou and Zhan, Zhou Jinbo Ji 114.

To understand the problematic of the disappearance of the memory is to articulate the relation between the episteme and the audience, or “the multitude.” For a long time, the folk, the local, the ethnic, etc. have been used to describe Xiqu performances. These descriptions are by all means connoted and restricted in a relationship with the expected audience. In the entire dissertation, I try to argue that this connotation as well as restriction of the relationship is in configuration with the formation of modernity in relation to identification, colonization, nationalization, and subjectification. I argue that the formation and transformation are deeply involved in the understanding of “people,” that lies in colonial modernity and nationality by examining multi-layered discursive formations of the local in the entire 20th century.

Chapter 2 deals with “modern people” in relation to the imagination of vernacularization of the writing and the speech, namely, Baihua. By the concept of the multitude of Baizixi and Gezaixi, I argue that the advocate for the vernacularization is a priori restricted to colonial modernity. Chapter 3 discusses the local identity and the ethnicity of performance are formed with and supported by the construction of post-coloniality. It reveals the discursive process of epistemology in which Baizi in the prewar period becomes the dialect in the postwar while Baihua becomes the mandarin. In an investigation into the discursive formation of the local/local identity, this chapter attempts to show that the local is not local identity such as the way in which the multitude is not people and Baizi is not dialect. At last, chapter 4 looks into the so-called postcolonial drama and Taiwanese culture by focusing on the historically and discursively transitional period of the Japanese colonial ruling.

The dissertation reflects on and challenges the aesthetics and epistemology of Chinese music drama by deliberating limits of colonial modernity hand in hand with nationality and subjectivity. In regarding theatricality as a socio-political practice and an epistemological invention rather than an aesthetic or conceptual imagination, the dissertation tackles the complication of performance, which is not only representational but also itself constitutive of power and knowledge.

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