Questioning *Homeland*, Sensing *Home*:

Performance and the Negotiation of Identity Construction in Cold War China and Taiwan

By

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the meaning and value of performance by exploring how performance enabled performers and audience to negotiate a given identity and to search for new self-definitions in the Cold War, during which the government in China and Taiwan strictly constructed peoples' imagination of a Chinese nation. Instead of treating performance as a consequence or representation of identity searching, I argue that performance is better understood as an *on-going* process of performing, seeing, (re)thinking, and negotiating the government's propaganda and individual's subjectivity. My main research method involves theoretically articulating the notion of *homeland* versus *home.* Conceptually, this study places performance on a schema intersected by two kinds of perspectives: a *homeland* circle that has specific boundary, and multiple *home* circles that have nonspecific dividing lines. By considering this model across historical time, I analyze the visual and aural sensations generated during the performance, and how the sensation guides the performers and audience member to affectively and conceptionally sense *home* and question *homeland*. In each chapter, I use a case study to demonstrate how performance inspires the performers and audience to transcend the existing frames and to rethink the mainstream values they have taken for granted. In summary, I conclude that the experience of sensing *home* through the performing and viewing process shows that performance embodies its value in raising questions and opening up alternatives rather than providing answers. The significance of this dissertation pushes the boundaries of Chinese performance studies by adding the performer and audiences' sensory engagement to the analysis. Therefore, this dissertation enriches the understanding of the sensory landscapes and the identity tensions in Cold War China and Taiwan.

Introduction

1- Disciplining an Emblematic *Homeland*, Displaying an Emotive *Home*

In 1963, the opera film *Love Eterne* set an historic Taiwanese box office record. Adopting the performance of *xiqu* 戲曲 (a general term referring to traditional Chinese theatre) and expressionistically reconstructing the well-known Chinese legend *Butterfly Lovers*, the film's resounding success was quickly interpreted by critics as a sign of Chinese nostalgia in Taiwan.[1] When the lead-actress Ling Po 凌波 visited Taiwan later that year, thousands of fans followed her, turning Taipei into a maddened city. Ling Po, much impressed, expressed her gratitude for being in the *homeland* (*zuguo* 祖國).[2] Although Ling was born in south China and then grew up in Hong Kong, most public media widely reported how Ling was warmly welcomed for her *return* to the *homeland* she had in fact never previously visited: Taiwan (officially called the "Republic of China" or the ROC during the Cold War). Later, Ling performed the operatic songs in front of the army to express respect and to entertain the soldiers. The performance, as she claimed, was just a small token of her will to support national *homeland*-building. She appealed to everyone about President Chiang's health, so "he will lead our *return to our [eventual] homeland* [in China] (*chonggui jiayuan* 重歸家園) soon!"[3]

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[1] Huang Ren 黃仁, "Jinbuhu tuibuhu? Zaitan Liang Shanbo yu Zhu Yingtai" 進步乎, 退步乎? 再談《梁山伯與祝英台》(A Progress or a Regress: On *Love Eterne*), *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), June 10, 1963, 6.

[2] Ling Po, "The unforgettable 50 hours in my life." *Southern Screen*, Jan. 1964: 126.

[3] "Ling Po 凌波, "Wo yuan canjia jianguo hanglie" 我願參加建國行列 (I am Willing to Join the Nation-building), *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報 (Central Daily News), October 31, 1963, 8.

Homeland, which is an overdetermined term, binds together the concept of territory. The recent use in national and international "security" discourse treats *homeland* as natural or even assumed rather than constructed. However, Ling's ambiguous usage of the word *homeland* concretely demonstrate that the assumption of a naturally existing homeland is problematic. How could a person *return* to a *homeland* where she/he had never been? And how could a person be rooted in one *homeland* but militarily prepare to return to another? *Homeland* was one of the most frequently used, highly manipulated words in Cold War China and Taiwan. The geopolitical tensions between the two regimes are highlighted by the ambiguous meaning of *homeland* in Ling's visit. Ling's narrative reflected that Taiwan was described as the *homeland* for people from Hong Kong and other ROC's allies, but this *homeland* was only a *temporary* one. The eventual *homeland* the KMT (the Kuomintang Party, the ruling party of the ROC) government encouraged people to yearn to return to was mainland China. Ling's case clearly showed that the notion of *homeland* was not naturally given but rather constructed by the government.

My dissertation reexamines the negotiation of identity construction in Cold War China and Taiwan by focusing on performance— including theatrical and cinematic performance— as a crucial medium. Putting more emphasis on performance than on theater, film, and dance, I highlight the *on-going process* of acting (performing, seeing, thinking/rethinking) in addition to the *result* of final works on the screen or stage. Instead of interpreting performances as a depiction of sociopolitical trends, I argue that performance is better understood as an on-going process of negotiating the government's identity construction and individuals' identity search.[4] To further understand Chinese performances as not merely art works but art events, it is

[4] In this dissertation, the "identity search" is fundamentally different from "identity construction." The former is propelled by an individual's introspection and self-examination, and the latter is constructed by the government.

necessary to expand the focus on the final performance works. Through analyzing four cases—including a modern Chinese drama, a *huangmeidiao* 黃梅調 (Huangmei tone) opera film, a modern dance, and a *jingju* 京劇 (Peking/Beijing "opera")—my study considers the sensation generated by the ongoing performing process. The sensation—as an input of a physical feeling resulting from something that happens to or comes into contact with the body—can be understood as a medium which inspires the participants to perceive and sense the abstract *home*. The experience of sensing *home* may further motivate the participants to question the *homeland* narrative and to negotiate a given definition. By theorizing *homeland* and *home* as contrary yet related concepts, I articulate the ways in which performance generates senses of *home* and questions of *homeland* to discuss the involved affection hidden in the community.

The depiction of Chinese *homeland* is closely linked to ontological constructions of Chineseness and nationalism. Taiwanese and Chinese authorities aggressively utilized cinema and theater as political propaganda to depict Chinese *homeland*, depictions which upheld their respective nation-building projects. *Homeland*, as a conceptional term, has been disarticulated from space, place, and territory at least since the Cold War. As a compound noun, *homeland* creates the impression that *home* has to be bound with a land. The current usage of *homeland*, which is often linked to national "security" discourse, has made this word even more over-determined and involve the delimitation of territory.[5]

[5] The collocation of homeland and security was frequently used after September 2001 in the U.S. and became an American ideology. The association between "homeland" and "security" has served as a basis for U.S. policy and action in a way that has obstructed the American imagination and excluded social and political alternatives that more closely reflect American aspirations. By putting emphasis on the border and travel ban, the concept of "homeland" tends to highlight the boundary of territory. Annette D. Beresford, "Homeland Security as an American Ideology: Implications for U.S. Policy and Action" *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management*, 1.3 (2004): Article 301. 1-21.

In the Chinese language, there are multiple terms that can be translated as *homeland*. Some typical terms are *zuguo* 祖國 ("the ancestral country," with an admiring and respectful tone), *guxiang* 故鄉 ("hometown," implying a nostalgic emotion) and *jiayuan* 家園 ("homestead," an idyllic way to refer to the land of one's hometown or home country). These various terms, which conceptualize *homeland* at different scales, were manipulated mutually or sometimes interchangeably to support Chinese nationalism and a national identity construction. During the Cold War between China and Taiwan, the concept of *jia* 家 ("home") and *xiang* 鄉 ("hometown" or "origin") were bonded to *guo* 國 ("nation," "state," or "country") with the divergent representations of Chinese *homeland* and Chineseness. Far from reaching a common meaning, the divergent versions of Chinese *homeland* strengthened the division between China and Taiwan. The confrontational setup of Chinese *homeland* on both sides of the Taiwan Strait mirrored the geopolitical stalemate during the Cold War when much emphasis was placed on the fight for territory, ideology, and international recognition.

However, by considering the case of Cold War Taiwan, this project challenges the predetermined geographical aspect of *homeland*-making and nationalization processes. The conceptualizations of the *Chinese homeland* in Cold War Taiwan were neither attached to a territory, nor based on shared life experiences. "China," the territory that the KMT aspired to recover and wanted to convert into a *homeland*, was not internal but already somewhere else, outside of Taiwan itself. The Taiwanese people, who had no substantial connection to or life experience in China, were made to identify with a common *homeland* located in China during the Cold War.

In order to understand this ambivalent fact, it is necessary to introduce the historical context. Although mostly suffering from various wars among warlords, the KMT government

dominated mainland China after the overthrow of the Qing Empire in 1911. However, in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) defeated the KMT in the Chinese Civil War and changed the title of the country from the Republic of China (ROC) to the People's Republic of China (PRC). The KMT retreated to Taiwan in 1949, and since then Taiwan has been the only remaining territory of the ROC. In the KMT's opinion, the PRC regime in mainland China was illegitimate, so they planned to retake the mainland and to resume the KMT regime over there.[6] In order to do this, after moving from China to Taiwan, the KMT government launched the Martial Law governance and made everyone in Taiwan, even those without any shared life experience with the Chinese immigrants who arrived on the island after 1949, identify themselves as Chinese.

The KMT included Taiwan in the ROC's national territory but did not consider Taiwan to be the *homeland* of Taiwanese people. The KMT's political agenda in Cold War Taiwan was not to *make* a *homeland here*, but to *recover* a *homeland there*. Thus, Taiwan, as the only land where the KMT regime was located, could only be a temporary *homeland* and only for people from the ROC's allies—such as Hong Kong and other Sinophone communities outside of China— instead of for the Taiwanese residents. It was politically taboo both to encourage building a nation *here* in Taiwan and to support the contemporary regime *there* in China. The *homeland*, which the KMT attempted to recover, shared the same name—China—with the hostile CCP regime. China, in this political scenario, referred to both the name of the nation and to the actual territorial area. However, the severe anti-communist policy in the ROC strictly forbade information about the

[6] For more discussion about the KMT's rule in Taiwan and how Taiwan was recognized as "another China" during the Cold War, see the first section in Wakabayashi Masahiro 若林正丈, *Zhanhou Taiwan zhengzhi shi: Zhonghuaminuo Taiwanhua de licheng* 戰後臺灣政治史: 中華民國臺灣化的歷程 (The "Republic of China" and the Politics of Taiwanization: The Changing Identity of Taiwan in Postwar East Asia), trans. Hung Yu-Ju 洪郁如 etc. (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2016).

concurrent realities of the PRC from the actual Chinese territory. Thus, the KMT's narrative of nation building had to depend on an abstraction of Chinese *homeland* rather than substantive locations attached to an actual land.

Bearing in mind the geopolitical tensions, I argue for a new emphasis on temporality in understanding the making of a Chinese *homeland*. Drawing attention to a site of culture associated within a particular territorial boundary, *homeland* has mainly been developed as a spatial concept. However, the focus on space has largely eclipsed an attention to time. Situated in time, the Chinese *homeland* that the KMT attempted to return to was not only a place but also a historical moment.[7] In addition to treating Taiwan as a temporary *homeland* for the ROC's allies, the eventual *homeland* that the KMT put every effort to return to referred not merely to the land (mainland China) but also to the past period (before 1949) when the KMT governed the territory. I argue that through the imagination of a better, more valuable and permanent *homeland* in the mainland, the KMT's retaking was actually *returning to the past in the future*. The slogan of preparing to "retake mainland China (*fangong dalu* 反攻大陸)" looked like a forward-looking plan, but it was actually not much more than backward-looking propaganda. This propaganda made Taiwanese people not only learn to long for an unfamiliar *homeland* about which they had no memory, but also experience alienation in the land in which they resided.

The KMT's *homeland* longing, which is based on little real-life experience and individual memory, also reminds us of Svetlana Boym's discourse on the two distinct kinds of nostalgia: restorative and reflective. Boym first challenges the temporal assumption by pointing out that

[7] The reconsideration of *homeland* as a historical moment is inspired by Shelly Chan's discourse on the diaspora's homeland. See Shelly Chan, *Diaspora's Homeland: Modern China in the Age of Global Migration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

nostalgia is not always about the past. Thus, nostalgia that can not only be retrospective but also prospective. She profoundly articulates the differentiation:

> *Restorative nostalgia stresses nostos and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives in algia, the longing itself, and delays the homecoming-wistfully, ironically, desperately. ...Restorative nostalgia is at the core of recent national and religious revivals; it knows two main plots—the return to origins and the conspiracy. Reflective nostalgia does not follow a single plot but explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones; it loves details, not symbols . . . Restorative nostalgia evokes national past and future; reflective nostalgia is more about individual and cultural memory.*[8]

If nostalgia is not only a longing for a place but also "a yearning for a different time,"[9] the two kinds of nostalgia show the different ways of the yearning. While restorative nostalgia tends to look at the past and the future and lay emphasis on a pragmatic movement, consolidated ideological totality, and national building, reflective nostalgia tends to concern the present and lay stress on feeling, various possibilities, and individuality. These distinct aims, purposes, and functions of nostalgia inspire me to develop my critical thoughts on *homeland* and *home*. In Boym's discussion, she uses the words *homeland* and *home* alternately to refer to an origin that restorative nostalgia points toward. However, I suggest the need to look further into the distinct aims of restorative and reflective nostalgia. The origin implicit in restorative nostalgia overlaps with what I call *homeland*, a term which is commonly used by nations to reconstruct patriotism.

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[8] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xviii.

[9] Ibid, xv.

On the other hand, the origin implicit in reflective nostalgia partially informs the term *home* as defined in this project. In the context of this study, *home* features an individual's wistful and ironic attitude toward refusing a unified imagination.

In this dissertation, I theoretically differentiate *homeland* and *home* as mainly contrary yet still related concepts. While the narrative of *homeland* is frequently utilized to support building a unitary national community, the notion of *home,* as I conceive of it, contrastively underscores an individual's self-redefinition. By emphasizing sense as an affective category of belonging, I argue that while *homeland* is a geopolitical obligation shaped by larger political contexts, *home* is particularly defined by intimate relations carved not only by personal history, but by cultural texts as well. Although the affective vocation of *homeland* and *home* can both generate convincing illusions that construct individuals' identity, I suggest that *home* has deeper affective valences and purchases. Whereas *homeland* emphasizes shared similarities of a particular community that commonly related to a regime, a political fact, or a concrete region, *home* should be an idea related to an individual's spiritual attachment or mental refuge, somewhere that is assumed to be inclusive for all kinds of uniqueness and possibilities. Consequently, while *homeland* indicates the state-sanctioned unification of people's aspirations, imagination, and loyalty to an idealized community, *home* puts more emphasis on the inclusion of difference, the acceptance of truthfulness, and the psychological situation for an individual to feel understood and balanced. The search for identity is a process of answering, "Who am I?" One has to honestly face that the "I" (her/his selfness) may not be similar to others. *Home*, as the notion of acceptance and support, allows the uniqueness of the "I" to be released. Therefore, the sense of *home*, which encourages people to rethink, question, and even challenge unified given identities

based on *homeland* narratives, can be an influential agent for individuals responding to identity construction, which is something imposed on an individual from the government.

Although I frame the concepts of *homeland* and *home* mostly in contrast to each other, it does not mean the distinction between *home* and *homeland* is fixed and neat. It is necessary to consciously notice that institutions strategically utilize, co-opt, impress, and draw in the affection generated by the sense of *home* to promote the *homeland* epistemology. The dialectic relationship between the concepts of *homeland* and *home* are seemingly opposed, but it is impossible to draw a line clearly separating these two different concepts. We should be aware of the existence of what Deleuze called the "zone of indiscernibility"[10] that features the overlap and the dynamically moving boundary between two concepts, like *homeland* and *home*. The fundamental indistinction between *homeland* and *home* can also be manipulated by authorities to construct or reconstruct people's identities. Identity not only indicates an individual's self-perception but also implies how boundaries of a community are drawn. The confirmation of community belonging inevitably involves a comparison of one's self-recognition with others. In other words, an individual's identity is the interplay between self-perception, which is the building block of a community's structure of feeling, and the received self-image, which is the feature presented and accepted by others. When the various senses of *home* held by different individuals are institutionalized and merged into a common idea, this common idea can eventually and once again become a new concept of *homeland*. Thereafter, it is likely that the

[10] The "zone of indiscernibility" is a term that Deleuze uses to explain that it is impossible to draw a clear line to separate two different species. This term is mostly expressed in Deleuze's *Francis Bacon: The Logic of Sensation*, and, most sustainedly, *A Thousand Plateaus* and *What is Philosophy?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005). This term has inspired philosophy scholars to rethink the formation of a concept. The notion of the "zone of indiscernibility" highlights how seemingly opposed concepts create two poles, but "these poles are not as a rigid, pure entity. Instead, the two poles indicate two types of movement with respect to this fundamental indistinction." Erinn Gilson, "Zones of Indiscernibility: The Life of a Concept from Deleuze to Agamben," *Philosophy Today* 51(January 2007): 98. Regarding the use of Deleuze's term to explain the formation of concepts, also see Tamsin Lorraine, *Deleuze and Guattari's Immanent Ethics: Theory, Subjectivity, and Duration* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2011).

new *homeland* becomes a source of identity construction based on nationalism. While a *homeland* narrative advocates a determinate doctrine, the value of *home* is in permitting differences rather than erasing them. Therefore, once the internal, unforeseeable, ongoing sense of *home* becomes a public, conclusive, settled pattern, it has lost vitality and degrades into a new routine. Nevertheless, a new sense of *home* will come in from new forms of performance to materialize new routes for identity searching. Thus, the dynamic between *homeland* and *home* parallels the interaction between individual affection and group feeling.

Home in this project is neither a thing nor a place, but rather a sense. The sense of *home* initiates when an individual is empowered to launch self-dialogue and feels the possibilities of emerging new identities or self-redefinitions. Distinct from nostalgia, the sense of *home* does not indicate the fantasy of returning and escaping from the present. On the contrary, the inclusion and tolerance of *home*, as a conceptional term, may be the starting point which encourages individuals to face the reality of the here and now. Thus, the sense of *home* even does not necessarily have a utopian dimension. Rather, the process of sensing *home* can be a process to recognize the unpleasant facts, and, based on the acceptance, an individual is figuring out her or his or "their" agency. While a sense of *home* may not always be a pleasure, it is dissimilar from *nostalgia* (with its suffix *algia* indicating pathologic "longing"), insofar as *home* does not have to be painful.

It is also crucial to clarify the sense of *home* as an abstract ideal and as a reflection depending on life realities as well as family experiences.[11] In real life, numerous family

[11] The meaning of *home*, from its material settings to its abstract notions, has received considerable attention from such various disciplines as: architecture, person-environment relationships, human geography, sociology, history, gender studies, anthropology, psychology, and philosophy. With reference to the reviews on the meaning of *home*, see Carole Després, "The Meaning of Home: Literature Review and Directions for Future Research and Theoretical Development," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 8, no. 2 (1991): 96-115. Shelley Mallett, "Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature," *The Sociological Review* 52, no. 1 (2004): 62-89.

experiences may make individuals believe that *home* is neither linked to safety or welcome feelings, nor is it a place that allows self-fulfillment. In these cases, *home* can be the accumulation of traumatic memories and a burden that limits an individual's subjectivity. However, the sense of *home* in this dissertation, as I elaborate on and conceive of it, goes beyond the empirical understanding of *home*. What I refer to as *home* is similar to the philosophy scholar Aviezer Tucker's notion of the *ideal home* which is distinct from the *natural home*. The understanding of the *ideal home* should remove "some confusions of home with fixed residence and place of birth,"[12] as "most people spend their lives in search of home, at the gap between the *natural home* and the particular *ideal home* where they would be fully fulfilled" (italics included in the original).[13] According to this logic, many people may never sense *home* in connection to their family, but this does not mean they would not sense *home b*eyond their real family experience. This is because a sense of *home* refers to the feeling of belonging, inclusiveness, and being understood, as well as representing a supportive condition that enables individuals to explore their subjectivity. Tucker also clarifies that the expression "runaways-from-home" is widely misused, because people "may actually run away from an abusive environment, but then they do not run away from *home*" (italics included in the original).[14] He further elaborates a multi-level structure that contains several homes on different and identical levels:

> Home *is where we could or can be ourselves, feel at ease, secure, able to express ourselves freely and fully, whether we have actually been there or not. Home is the reflection of our subjectivity in the world. Home is the*

[12] Aviezer Tucker, "In Search of Home," *Source: Journal of Applied Philosophy Journal of Applied Philosophy* 11, no. 2 (1994): 183.

[13] Ibis, 184.

[14] Ibid, 185.

> *environment that allows us to fulfill our unique selves through interaction with the world. Home as the environment that allows us to be ourselves, allows us to be* homely. *Since in a home environment we can express our true identity, home is the source of* home truth. *Home may be an emotional environment, a culture, a geographical location, a political system, a historical time and place etc., and a combination of all the above.*[15]

Adding Tucker's definition of *home*, I propose to think of *home* as a sense, a sense of being allowed, accepted, and encouraged towards more possibilities and emerging new identities or self-redefinitions. The formation of a person's identity is not a straightforward process. Instead of a simple logical implication like cause and effect, the negotiation of a given identity is significantly related to affection, feeling, and sensation. The process of identity searching is deeply connected to how one's thoughts and feelings interact with other individuals'. It is not only the recognition of one's origin and cultural attachments, but also a complicated network of people's dynamic sensations. The sense of *home*, which comes from unconditional support and allowance, plays a central role in connecting an individual to a community, but the community includes various dissenting positions rather than unifying or homogenizing such differences. Thus, one does not have to worry about being judged and criticized, because even grief and shame are welcome at *home*.

Sensing *home* refers to not only the sense of *home* as a distinct kind of feeling, but also to how to sense as well as how to make sense. Through considering performance to be an historical event that records the agency and movement of participants' sensations, this dissertation

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[15] Ibid, 184.

examines how the participants[16] were sensing and making sense of *home* in Cold War China and Taiwan. The fight for territory and international recognition between Cold War China and Taiwan, made the *Chinese homeland* one of the most frequently promoted narratives used to substantiate nation building in both sites. Given that the dominating ideology of *homeland* construction shapes people's expectation of performance, I pay particular attention to how the performances that tend to slough off the ideological conventions can spontaneously evoke within participants the feeling of transgressing barriers. This feeling can change participants' original concept of *homeland* and enable them to search for a new identity which may not align with what the government expects or promotes. The acting and viewing process in performance shapes and reshapes an individual's sense of belonging, inclusion, and being adopted, which is similar to the idealized notions of *home*. I probe how performances offer various possibilities for the participants to negotiate, modify, reconsider, or decline a given definition of *homeland*, and all possible self-redefinitions are permitted and included. This kind of tolerance and allowance generated within the performing and viewing process is what I name the sense of *home*. The sense of *home* is not an answer, a result, or a destination; rather, it is an ongoing process for self-recognition.

Sensing *home* inevitably involves the affective elements of people's consciousness and relationships, which is closely related to what Raymond Williams terms the "structure of feeling." Williams uses the term to explain a common set of perceptions and values shared by a particular generation, class, or group during a particular historical moment.[17] Much of Williams's discourse

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[16] In this dissertation, the participants refer to the performers, directors, spectators, and/or chorographer, designers, photographers and the others who jointly contribute to the process of creating the performance.

[17] It is necessary to point out that the "structure of feeling" is a term that is unlikely to be well-defined. Throughout Williams' academic career, he formulates this term in various ways. He addresses this term from its inception in *Preface to Film* (co-authored with Michael Orrom. London: Film Drama Limited, 1954) and through his deliberation in *Culture and Society* and *The Long Revolution* (Lodon: Chatto & Windus, 1961) and then offers most

on the "structure of feeling" resembles the features of the sense of *home*. The word "feeling" has been selected in order to emphasize a distinction from more formal concepts of "world view" or "ideology." Unlike "ideology," "structure of feeling" puts more emphasis on the formative processes that shape experience. Williams considers how practical consciousness, one of the foundations of the structure of feeling, "is almost always different from official consciousness."[18] Thus, the structure of feeling appears in the gap between the official discourse of policy and regulations. This idea obviously demonstrates the dissident stance of structures of feeling and reflects Williams's counter argument to Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Williams believes that hegemony, which can be thought of as either "common sense" or the dominant way of thinking in a particular time and place, can never completely describe or account for a generation's thoughts. Looking back at the context of the Cold War, Chinese *homeland* has been used to homogenize the individuals' feeling, to draw a conclusion to collective thoughts, and to produce the community as a unified entity. On the other hand, the sense of *home* features more in the emergence of new meanings, values, and practices, which, is similar to Williams's counter argument to hegemony.

Despite the similarity of the inner dynamic through which new formations of thought emerge, "the sense of *home*" is different from the "structure of feeling" in three aspects. The first involves the stance on conventions. Williams is mostly concerned with the social acceptability of a common set of values embodied in particular and artistic forms and conventions. However, the

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theoretical explication in *Marxism and Literature* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977). The concept continued to inform his last works, published in the 1980s, such as *Culture* (New York, Schocken, 1982) and *Towards 2000* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985). Despite debates raised by this term and his own difficulties with the idea, however, Williams continued to refine the concept of "structure of feeling." See Sean Matthews, "Change and Theory in Raymond Williams's Structure of Feeling," *Pretexts: Literary and Cultural Studies* 10, no. 2 (November 2010): 179-194.

[18] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 130-131.

sense of *home* emerges through the effort to change the ontological and artistic conventions. The performers' effort to seek unconventional performing forms makes *home* something creative and attainable in a journey. The audience and other participants, who are actively involved in viewing moments and adding meaning to the performance, craft new meanings of *home* that are distinct from given figures of *homeland*.

The second difference between the sense of *home* and the "structure of feeling" involves the contrasting tendencies of regulating individuals' emotive agency. Although Williams suggests that the structure of feeling "operates in the most delicate and least tangible part of our activities," he cannot avoid the trap of generalizing, regularizing, or even homogenizing a common affection which is "as firm and definite as 'structure' suggests."[19] On the contrary, the sense of *home* is fundamentally based on the introspection and awareness of generalization and homogenization. Thus, while the structural elements of a performance (a script, its staging, etc.) might remain static, the cues, personal interpretation, and affective resonances change from individual to individual. Jacques Ranciere further points out that what spectators see, feel, and understand from the performance is not necessarily what the artist thinks they must. In addition, the collective power shared by spectators "does not stem from the fact that they are members of a collective body or from some specific form of interactivity."[20] Thus, what individuals have in common is the fact that their intellectual journey of viewing and interpreting is unique. Consequently, although a performance can move participants and give them the sense of *home*, each spectator's sense of *home* can be distinct. By acknowledging the likely tension between individuals' sensory worlds, I propose a way to articulate the multiple points of a performance

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[19] Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus,1961), 64.

[20] Jacques Ranciere, translated by Gregory Elliott, *The Emancipated Spectator* (London: Verso, 2009), 16.

that can potentially make the participants sense *home*. With no tendency toward regulation, sensing *home* offers performers and spectators even more individual agency than the structure of feeling.

A final difference between my concept and Williams' involves the distinct scales of assessment. The structure of feeling focuses on considering the affective trends accumulated by relatively long-term experiences of a class, race, or society as a whole. Thus, the structure of feeling is "most readily accessible in the art and literature of a period,"[21] and it generates "the symbolism in which human communication is rooted for all cultures at all historical periods."[22] Taking into account the whole scope of society, Williams also posits that the concept of structure of feeling is the drive for the emergent culture of a new generation.[23] However, Michael Pickerin criticizes that Williams's discourse is elusive "because of the inchoate 'moment' of cultural process for which it attempts to provide a general formulation."[24] Pickerin's critique points out the intrinsic contradiction within the structure of feeling due to its macro scale.

Dissimilar to the extensive scope that causes inconsistency within Williams's discussion, the sense of *home* more flexibly probes into a more concrete performance moment. More specifically, it reflects how local powers, or even individuals, react to dominant ideologies. For the government, performance is a propaganda tool for broadcasting an official, unified, idealized imagination of *homeland*. However, for an individual, a performance that does not entirely follow propaganda lines can be a window to see the emerging possibilities. This aspect sheds

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[21] Paul Filmer, "Structures of Feeling and Socio-cultural Formations: The Significance of Literature and Experience to Raymond Williams's sociology of culture," *British Journal of Sociology* 54, no.2 (June 2003): 200.

[22] Ibid, 201.

[23] Raymond Williams, "The Analysis of Culture," *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus,1961).

[24] Michael Pickerin, *History, Experience and Cultural Studies* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 34.

light on how performance opens up various possibilities for participants to negotiate a given definition of Chinese *homeland* and search for alternative identities. In this way, the sense of *home* can be the prior motive of the structure of feeling, and my analysis proposes to enunciate *how* performance generates the sensational elements.

2- Performance

This project examines how the participants realize the sense of *home* during performing and viewing processes. My emphasis is on the process instead of the final outcome of sensing *home*. I point out that identity is not presumed as a common consensus and then accomplished by performance. On the contrary, identity is created when the sensation is emerging during the viewing of a performance on the stage or screen. Initially, a community's suppressed or forbidden emotions motivate artists, directors, and choreographers to summon their inner selves in order to release the desire for being understood and even simply being their true selves. Then, audience members take the performance as a prompt or a trigger to evoke and assure their emotion and affection, which will again become the fuel that creates new artwork. Thus, the performing and viewing process enables the participants to reimagine, rethink, and look at themselves honestly. It gives the participants power to have the freedom of defining themselves, of breaking rules and routines. Thus, every individual in a big group can find a meaningful moment, like a single puzzle piece fitting into the bigger picture of *home*. Through this showing-and-feedback process, a sense of gathering slowly emerges and achieves a dynamic equilibrium. This equilibrium does not have to follow an authoritative ideology. On the contrary, how the equilibrium challenges the initial assigned identity gives value to sensing *home*.

The notion of how the performers and spectators' affect and sense can be generated during the performing process has impacted performance studies' theoretical way of thinking.[25] However, such an aspect has drawn relatively little attention in the field of Chinese performance. In fact, performance studies as a discipline has not yet been institutionalized in either China or Taiwan. Studies of Chinese theatrical and cinematic performance have two main tendencies: One focuses on the history of a specific form of performance, instead of the performance itself;[26] another mainly analyzes how China has been formally performed on stage or screen.[27] While there is widespread agreement that theatrical performance reflects historical and political upheaval, such aspects consider performance as a result more than as an initiation. Instead of considering performance as merely a reflection of history, politics, or society, I argue performance is an active process, a historical event, and a negotiation of identity construction. I further clarify that *home* is not necessarily built *in* the performance. On the contrary, it comes out gradually while the performing is going on.

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[25] The discussion about sense and performance, see Sally Banes and Andre Lepecki eds., *The Senses in Performance* (London: Routledge, 2007). Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Sense and Sensation: Exploring the Interplay between the Semiotic and Performative Dimensions of Theatre," *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 22, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 69-81.

[26] Some highly regarded works such as Nancy Guy, *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Wang An-Chi 王安祈, *Taiwan jingju wushi nian* 臺灣京劇五十年 (Fifty Years of *Jingju* in Taiwan) (Taiwan, Yilan: Chuanyi, 2002); Tian Benxiang 田本相, *Zhongguo huaju yishi tongshi* 中國話劇藝術通史 II, III (Taiyuan: Shanxi Education Press, 2008); Lin Ho-Yi 林鶴宜 *Taiwan xiju shi* 臺灣戲劇史 (A History of the Taiwanese Theater) (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2015); Zhang Lingxia 張玲霞, *Beijing dangdai xuju mingjia lun* 北京當代戲劇名家論 (On the Contemporary Beijing Dramatists) (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2017).

[27] Some highly regarded works such as Xiaomei Chen, *Acting the Right Part: Political Theater and Popular Drama in Contemporary China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002); Daphne Lei, *Operatic China: Staging Chinese Identity across the Pacific* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Poshek Fu, China Forever: the Shaw Brothers and Diasporic Cinema (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); SanSan Kwan, *Kinesthetic City: Dance and Movement in Chinese Urban Spaces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Brian James DeMare, *Mao's Cultural Army: Drama Troupes in China's Rural Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Fu Jin 傅謹, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiju de xiandaixing yu bentuhua* 二十世紀中國戲劇的現代性與本土化 (Taipei: Guojia, 2005); Gao Yin 高音, *Wutai shang de xinZhongguo* 舞臺上的新中國 (New China on the Stage) (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju, 2013);

I suggest rethinking the process of creating and interpreting a performance as a medium that allows the participants to reframe their understanding of their own Chineseness. Chineseness, a conjunction with various conflicting notions of "China," has greatly challenged the understanding of cultural, national, or ethnic Chinese identity. Yet, the debates on Chineseness, particularly the inquiries of identity construction, seem to focus primarily on diasporic, social, or literary instances.[28] Nevertheless, the analysis of theatrical performance is either insufficiently researched or deemed as evidence of a tokenized representation that fulfills a need for Chinese identity in contact zones.[29] Thus, instead of claiming that performance demonstrates a Chineseness, I argue that the imagination of a Chineseness is not a given but instead a process of formation through practices of performing and filming, spectating and seeing. It is also crucial to critically avoid using Chineseness to reinforce Greater China-centrism, which identifies China as the center while viewing other Sinophone communities as the periphery.

My studies focus on performance as an object of analysis, a lens of history, and a research method, which enable me to go beyond the disciplinary boundaries of theater, film, and dance studies. Scholars of performance studies examine performances in two categories: artistic and cultural performances. Artistic performance considers performance as an art form which includes many practices that are usually framed by a beginning and an end, such as dance, theatre, music, storytelling, and cinematic performance. Cultural performance constitutes events that occur in

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[28] The discourse on Chineseness, see Ien Ang, "Can One Say No to Chineseness? Pushing the Limits of the Diasporic Paradigm," *Boundary 2* 25, no. 3 (1998): 223-42; Rey Chow, "On Chineseness as a Theoretical Problem," in *Modern Chinese Literary and Cultural Studies in the Age of Theory: Reimagining a Field,* ed. Rey Chow (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 132-49; Christos Lynteris, *The Spirit of Selflessness in Maoist China* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Shu-Mei Shih, "What Is Sinophone Studies?" in *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader*, eds., Shu-mei Shih, Chien-hsin Tsai, and Brian Bernards (New York: Columbia University, 2013), 105-23.

[29] Daphne Lei, *Alternative Chinese Opera in the Age of Globalization: Performing Zero* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

everyday life as performance; these are situations in which culture values are displayed, such as civic obedience and resistance and individual performance of gender, race, and class.[30] Although my analysis mainly centers on artistic performances (including theater, film, and dance), I frame each case as a cultural event that is embedded in significant historical and sociopolitical phenomena.

Performance brings people's attention from one sensible world to another. Artistic performance commonly takes place in a theatrical space that is in a way disconnected from audience members' everyday life. The temporary break from their linkage to ordinary everyday life enables the participants to enter a state of suspended disbelief. Suspension of disbelief was originally addressed by the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge and then broadly used to explain that art experience (like theater and film) is able to transfer reality. Audience members agree to accept non-reality as reality for the duration of the performance, as the performance creates an illusion of reality.[31] I use this term in a more active way: the suspension of disbelief comes from audience members' ability and courage to discern a more truthful value and self-image which may not associate with everyday realities. The sense of *home* than encourage the participants to believe rather than suspending disbelief. Artistic performance, as a relatively discontinuous event from everyday life, provides participants with a chance to step away from daily routine in order to be aware of the ordinary things or ideas one takes for granted, such as the given identities attached to the *homeland* narrative. The viewing moments also guide the audience to envision new possibilities and hopes. As Jill Dolan argues, performance provides "a place where people

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[30] Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013). Diana Taylor, "Acts of Transfer," *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[31] Roger Grainger, *Suspending Disbelief: Theatre as Context for Sharing* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010).

come together, embodied and passionate, to share experiences of meaning making and imagination that can describe or capture fleeting intimations of a better world."[32] A theatrical experience is a unique thing. The performers, audience members, and tech crews all come together at the same time in the same place for a common purpose. The significant time and space that all of the participants share makes performance an event that gives togetherness its own agency. The intimacy between performers and spectators, who gather around and upon the stage, facilitates the communication of thinking and feeling between the participants and forms a sensation community. This community, which triggers and allows the participants' further truthful self-definitions to emerge, is where individuals can sense *home*.

The formation of a sensation community during the performing and viewing process does not require a uniform interest. On the contrary, from my perspective, the sense of *home* is based on the inclusion of various identity searches, which do not necessarily need to be cohesive, bounded, and harmonic. In other words, I avoid a closed definition of *home* that cannot account for differences: differences in the sense of *home*, differences in cognition and mental processing, and differences in terms of signs that may produce a sense of *home*. Thus, the ways in which performers and spectators explore their self-redefinition through the performing/viewing process do not have to be consistent. The variety of identities, emotions, and viewpoints coexisting demonstrates the value of *home*. As interpreters of the performance, performers and audience members are jointly engaged with performers in the complex work of creating meaning. However, each spectator has his or her own way to respond to the performance. The creativity of the spectator rejects the common myth that spectators are only passively receiving messages from performers.

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[32] Jill Dolan, *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater (*Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005.), 2.

My analytic focus on performance also pinpoints how the construction of a national *homeland* is performative. In his most influential discourse on the origins of nationalism, Benedict Anderson addresses how "print-capitalism" is essential to the process of widely linking people who speak various vernaculars. As a result, millions of diverse individuals can seemingly know each other and "imagined communities" can emerge, communities which function as the foundations for forming nations.[33] Part of what Anderson attempts to demonstrate is that nationalism and national identity had underpinnings in real material conditions: newspapers printed in national languages, maps visualizing geographies as interconnected spaces, and museums as material organizations that tokenize the presentation of nations. However, I suggest highlighting that the active aspect of "imagined communities" is not the material conditions that naturally facilitate "imagined communities." Rather, the act of reading and viewing is the central mechanism for imagining communities. Anderson's conceptualization of nation actually has to be an active one that is bound up in doing, performing, and interacting—an on-going process. Accordingly, in addition to the material, printed form, the performing and viewing process and its generation of sensation are crucial interventions to enrich understandings of national identity construction.

Putting emphasis on the sensing process also avoids treating performances as the result of national identity changes. Although the timing of a performance essentially evokes how it opens new possibilities and reconstructs imagined communities, I do not treat a performance as marking an exact separation between "old" and "new" *homeland* concepts on a particular timeline. A fundamental principle in my research is that *homeland* and national identities are neither biologically nor territorially given; rather, they are organically produced or conceived by

[33] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991).

the people. People's sense of their nation is based largely on participation in shared cultural practices. Through their cultural activities, people imagine their communities, and one of the ways they do so is through watching and appreciating performances. Thus, this project aims not only at how analyzing performances can help us understand the workings of national identities but also the inverse: how analyzing national identity constructions can help us understand the workings of performances. It is necessary to mine the aesthetic process of performance that involves and addresses both the performer and audience.

3- Situating the Dissertation

The performances I study in this project are all blockbusters, making them remarkable events in Cold War China and Taiwan. The performances are remarkable not only for their financial success but in how they aesthetically or conceptionally question the meaning of performance under a nationalist narrative. Each of the performances has deeply moved the participants and created a cultural zeitgeist. Their blockbuster status reflects how effectively they have guided the participants to sense *home* and to reshape a generation's shared memory and structure of feeling. The performances also demonstrate how an inspiring performance can commonly reveal the reality of human nature rather than echoing the symbols of greatness that an official ideology promotes. The breakthrough of the performances also responds to Diana Taylor's discourse on the meaning and value of performance art, which "challenges definitions and conventions… transgresses barriers, breaks the frame, and defies limits and rules … breaking norms is the norm of performance."[34] Performance, as I conceive it, represents humans' tangled thoughts and emotions of self-understanding rather than praising neat moral standards. A

[34] Diana Taylor, *Performance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 71.

performance is not necessarily able to reverse the participants' inertial thinking, but it must, at least, attempt to change that inertia. The on-going process of performance should guide the participants to revisit the seemingly natural and right *homeland* morality and identity. Even though revisiting these concepts may still not change her/his self-perception, the process of rethinking remains meaningful, as the re-acceptance of identity is based on deliberation rather than obedience.

Conceptually, this study places performance on a schema intersected by two kinds of perspectives: a *homeland* circle that has specific boundary, and multiple *home* circles that have nonspecific dividing lines. By considering this model across historical time, I aim to identify the agency of the performances that enables participants to negotiate the national identity construction based on the sense of *home.* Specifically, I analyze the visual and aural sensations generated during the performance, and how the sensation guide people to affectively and conceptionally sense *home*. Subsequently, the sense of *home* may push participants of performance to step beyond the imagination limitation of *homeland*, and even further, to question *homeland*. By taking the question of *homeland* and the sense of *home* as the main theme, this dissertation looks into how performance mediates identity construction and individuals' self-redefinition in Cold War China and Taiwan.

This dissertation covers a wide range of performance types. My analysis includes the modern Chinese *huaju* (spoken drama) *Teahouse* (1958) which used sonic components to implicitly introduce nostalgia for old Beijing in revolutionary China; the Hong Kong-made *huangmeidiao* 黃梅調 opera film *Love Eterne* (1963) that applied modernized technology to displace regional operas and to create an imaginary classical China; the modern dance piece *Legacy* (1978) that visualized the trauma of forced silence in Martial-Law Taiwan; and the *jingju*

京劇(Peking/Beijing "opera") *Kingdom of Desire* (1986) that fundamentally challenges the national symbol attached to performance conventions.

There are several reasons for choosing the various types of performance. First of all, the various types of performances are often divided as separated study objects in terms of their relations to medium, narrative, vocal and physical representation, and the method of circulation. The gap between film and theater is particularly apparent, as theatrical performances take place right in front of the audience and need to be staged over and over, whereas film does not. Film screenings lack the immediate interaction between the performers and the audience members. Nevertheless, in terms of the effectiveness of resonating with the audience's sense of *home*, the performance within a film is no less effective. "A performance implies an audience or participants, even if that audience is a camera."[35] Considering films and theatrical productions as visual cultures, neither form is a discrete entity, but rather a hybrid of various disparate media melded together to present for its viewer something specific and impressive. Thus, the distinction between different types of performance has become more and more blurred due to the intermediation. For example, the opera film *Love Eterne* adopts the performance and music of Chinese regional *huangmei* opera, but the modernized cinematography erases the regional features and invents a generic, classical, albeit imaginary, Chinese *homeland.* This Chinese *homeland,* which is even more attractive than the traditional theater, easily summons favorable impressions from audience members for its formation of a romanticized Chinese identity. Correspondingly, the theatrical performance of *Kingdom of Desire* integrates the visual component of the Japanese film *Throne of Blood* and modern dance techniques to not only challenge the performance convention of *jingju* but also surpass the previously forced

[35] Ibid, 19.

identification of *jingju* with Chinese nationalism. Therefore, each of the performance types seems separable, but these performances are related to each other in terms of articulating the main theme of this dissertation and the ways in which sensation is generated.

The second reason for selecting these diverse cases is related to the way performance embodies a stance of challenging conventions. All of the performances I analyze are distinctive from other mainstream performances at the time of their creation; the innovation highlights the significant value of performance which challenges given definitions and conventions. All of the cases embody what Taylor advocates, "breaking norms is the norm of performance."[36] The breaking of norms is embodied in how each performance integrates various existing theatrical traditions with brand-new representations. The transformation from the "old" to the "new" was not limited to the experimental form of the performance, but it also reflects identity predicaments during specific transition periods. The innovative style, distinctive from the mainstream and existing forms of performance, effectively engaged the participants' due to its surprising-ness. This quality of surprise affectively prompted the participants to consider alternative possibilities of identity.

Finally, these four cases all have garnered scholarly attention due to their hybrid integration of performance techniques from the East and the West, their international circulation, and their inherent sociopolitical significance. Instead of interpreting these performances as depictions of sociopolitical trends, I further argue that performance is better understood as the starting point of the identity search rather than its result or representation. In this approach, identity construction is no longer a purely political movement; it is an ongoing process of emotional interaction between individuals. My analysis considers both the obvious and highly visible aspects of the

[36] Diana Taylor, *Performance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 71.

works and the performers' interactions during rehearsals. The act of rehearsing, as of performing, is a process during which the body-to-body, consciousness-to-consciousness transactions "between" are taking place. Thus, this study contributes to the literature in Chinese film, theater, and dance studies about the dynamic generation of sensation. This dissertation also adds dialogues to performance studies by examining how Chinese and Taiwanese cases function as negotiation platforms of strict identity constructions.

Despite its main focus on performance as an artistic practice, this dissertation, at numerous points, touches on the idea of performativity, a reiterative practice that shapes people's identity. According to Judith Butler, gender is constructed through continuous bodily practice (the performativity), as individuals learn how to act like men or women. Thus, the appearance of substance for gender is precisely a "constructed identity, namely, a performative accomplishment which the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, comes to believe and to perform in the mode of belief."[37] While Butler focuses on gender discourse, I argue that the notion of performativity can also apply to the constitution of national identity in the case of Cold War China and Taiwan. Both sites have their own norms for citizens to practice being Chinese. Consequently, Chineseness indicates the role that is repeatedly constructed through time and various visions of practice. The numerous propagandistic works in China and Taiwan respectively demonstrate the distinct models of being Chinese. The leading characters in propagandistic plays commonly represent the positive, flawless, and heroic Chinese figure. As a corollary, the characters' idealized physical bodies symbolize the national body. In addition to the acting, the stage settings, costume, and language all support the materialization and construction of a specific Chinese *homeland*. The propagandistic play is an active format of

[37] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 141.

public education as it sets up conventional acts that everybody should follow. Individuals are taught to be Chinese based on these specific models, and they try to understand how to be *Chinese* by *performatively doing Chineseness*. Through repetitive performance, dominant conventions of being Chinese and a unified imagination of Chinese *homeland* gradually reside in the citizens' minds and memories.

If the performativity of Chineseness promotes ways in which a standardized *homeland* imagination can be accomplished, I examine how the performances that challenge the dominant conventions initiate the sense of *home*. In contrast to the nation-symbolic body, which sets up a unitary bodily language, the performing body undertakes the struggle of self-dialogue, the release of what has been repressed (including the aspects of language, gender, and making of sound), and the new possibilities of performing Chinese selves. Through the estrangement of the mainstream "performative" plays, the unconventional performances provide the participants with glimpses of alternative possibilities. By allowing the search for new ways of maneuvering a body, the sense of *home* is hidden behind all external appearances of the performances, appearances which encourage the participants to question the meaning of *homeland.* My case studies demonstrate the negotiation of identity construction that occurs through mediating individual identity and highly nationalized performativity.

The historical period covered by this study spans from the middle of the twentieth century to the late 1980s. The time frame covers the major span of the Cold War between China and Taiwan,[38] during which much emphasis was placed on defining Chinese *homeland,* and an

[38] The term "Cold War" was first used in 1945 to deplore the worldview, beliefs, and social structure of both the Soviet Union and the United States after the end of World War II. It is recognized to have ended in the early 1990s with the collapse of the Soviet Union. See Odd Arne Westad, "The Cold War and the International History of the Twentieth Center" in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, eds. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1-19. The stalemate between the PRC (China) and the ROC (Taiwan) is not only a consequence of the conflict between the CCP and the KMT during the Chinese Civil War, but it is also an extension of the Cold War between the US and the USSR. The CCP (the Soviet Union's alliance) and

individual's primary obligation in either site was to practice the given national identity. Indeed, the stalemate between China and Taiwan can be understood as part of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States, but the Cold War in East Asian definitely has its own geopolitical and historical context. For instance, during the mid 1940s, East Asia was still suffering from real wars, and the "two Chinas" across the Taiwan Strait officially separated in 1949. The first couple years after the end of the Chinese Civil War, the preparation of military fighting was still intense, so the "Cold War" standoff was not yet clear. Therefore, this dissertation starts with Lao She's work *Teahouse* that debuted in 1958, when the Great Leap Forward engaged in aggressive speech censorship right after the Hundred Flowers Campaign which encouraged its citizens to openly express their opinions of the communist regime. This dissertation concludes its exploration the year right before the abolishment of the Martial Law in Taiwan (1987), as this abolishment marks the turning point of the democratization and identity transition of Taiwan.

This dissertation is, however, not a comprehensive history of performance in China and Taiwan across these four decades. Instead this work focuses on some particularly representative historical moments, individuals, organizations, and performances. Yet I address broad critical issues in performance roughly in chronological order before moving across time periods as necessary within the chapters in order to work through these critical problems and put them in context. By moving chronologically, I contextualize moments of performance and pay attention especially to subsurface aspects, considering how performance— including the moments of

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the KMT (the US's alliance) followed the Cold War pattern and launched their own Cold War between China and Taiwan starting in 1949. See Michael Szonyi, *Cold War Island: Quemoy on the Front Line* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). John W. Garver, *The Sino-American Alliance: Nationalist China and American Cold War Strategy in Asia* (London: Routledge, 2015).

rehearsing and performing, as a lively cultural medium, is valuable for raising questions and opening up alternatives rather than providing answers.

The formation of the sense of *home* is highly related to the audience members' immediate affective reaction, which is always situated and framed in specific historical moments. My analysis particularly puts emphasis on the moments of each performances' premieres, as the premieres are most close to the social historical circumstance when the performances are created and therefore more able to immediately reflect those circumstances. The opening night audience usually reinvigorates the performers. Similarly, the unpredictability of the premiere performance, which launches the intervention of the highly nationalized performativity, has an increased chance of surprising the audience. Indeed, after a performance has been running for decades, the adjustment of details is inevitable. The mood and tone of the performance may also vary due to changing performers and historical contexts. Fortunately, the most impressive and moving scenes of the performances are usually preserved, and these scenes are the core that make the performances become enduring works. Some of these crucial scenes are the climaxes of the performances, climaxes which do not necessarily rely on dramatized external actions but rather on the character's inner conflicts and on the plot's emotional tensions. Such culminations can effectively resonate with the audience's emotions. My discussion mainly focuses on these essential climaxes of the performances. Thus, although it is hard to see the record of the original premiere performances (even the film *Love Eterne* only exists as a digitally remastered version, which is slightly different from the original one[39]), the subsequent performances that maintain

[39] For details about how that the digitally remastered version of *Love Eterne* is slightly different from the original version, see Chen Wei-Chih 陳煒智, *Wo ai huangmeidiao* 我愛黃梅調 (I Love *Huangmeidiao* Films) (Taipei:Mucun, 2005), 139-60.

most of the dramatic culminations are revealing resources for supporting the main argument of sensing *home*.

In order to get close to the sensory circumstances of the performances, the primary sources used by this study cover various forms. Since my analysis considers the participants' agency generated during rehearsals and the moment of performance, this dissertation relies on extensive archival materials and texts on authorship and spectatorship to re-model the existing discourse of how performance and its cinematic adaptions functioned to create the vision of a Chinese *homeland* during the Cold War. Thus, the main sources I investigate include: 1) the performers' and directors' own writings, autobiographies (or biographies), photos, interviews, and verbal descriptions of their works; (2) the writings of the crew, collaborators, and audience members based on their memories of these performances; (3) the programs, posters, and other archive materials from the performances; and (4) reports and commentaries in newspapers, journals, and other published materials by the participants and others in the period under study. Comparing and intertwining the subjective descriptions and objective commentaries allow me to discern what the participants' immediate responses were at the time.

4- Chapter Overviews

This dissertation consists of four chapters plus an introduction and a conclusion. In each of my chapters, I either question the existing discourse or respond to a gap within studies on Chinese theatrical and cinematic performance. Each chapter of this dissertation analyzes how the visual and aural expressions of a performance can make the participants sense *home* during the performing process.

Chapter 1 "The Sonic Allegory of *Teahouse*" looks carefully how sounds mediate the

construction of old and new in the masterpiece of Chinese drama *Teahouse*. Many essays praising *Teahouse* after the end of Cultural Revolution (1976) are memoirs written by the directors and actors rather than serious critical articles.[40] Chinese research works about *Teahouse* tend to investigate the version that was adapted after 1979.[41] However, I shift the attention to how the spectators in 1958 were attracted by this work when it was first performed. *Teahouse* is one of the most performed Chinese *huaju* 話劇 (spoken drama) since its debut in 1958. That same year, the Chinese government launched the Great Leap Forward, during which the government expected literary works to promote the positive achievements of "New China" which had been originally established in 1949. While other plays of the time catered to the government's expectations of promoting the new *homeland*, *Teahouse* contrarily represented the 50 years of change from 1898 to 1948 in an old-style Beijing teahouse. In order to justify *Teahouse*'s deviation from the contemporary literary conventions, the playwright claimed that the main goal of this play was to make the audience understand the evilness of the old society and the revolutionary achievements of the New China.

Although the playwright claimed that this play echoed the policy of building a new Chinese *homeland*, what made it especially moving and meaningful for the Chinese spectators, I suggest, is the complex notion that the old world is fading away while the ideal new *homeland* has always been out of reach for ordinary people. The diverse communities in old Beijing and the flowing vitality of various communities were gradually disappearing when *Teahouse* debuted. The unification of life styles compellingly smoothed the diversity of various communities in Beijing,

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[40] Other scholars also point out this fact. See Koon-Ki Ho, "From the Absurdist to the Realist: A Reading of Lao She's "Teahouse" from a Comparative Perspective," *Oriens Extremus* 39, no. 2 (1996): 205.

[41] Xueming 雪明 and Yunmeng 雲夢 eds., *Chaguan yanjiu: cong huaju dao dianying*《茶館》研究: 從話劇到電影 (The Research on Teahouse: From Spoken Drama to Film) (Beijing: Zhongguo dianying, 2007). Fan Danghui, 范黨輝, *Hou Chaguan shidai de yishu guancha: Cha guan zai jiedu ji qita* (Beijing: Zuojia, 2016).

and this made this city become flat in regard to its lifestyle and soundscape. In addition to using various sounds of Beijing's everyday life, a four-character sign "*motan guoshi* 莫談國事 (don't talk about state affairs)" is pasted on the wall throughout the play. This phrase is supposed to describe the dark periods before Communism, but it also functions as a foil to the political reality of the 1950s, a period when people were forced to confess and to demonstrate their loyalty to the government. I believe what *Teahouse* represents is the desire for real freedom of speech which includes the freedom to refuse to talk, the freedom of making choice. Through reexamining the soundscape of *Teahouse*, I analyze how sounds in this play generate various alternative interpretations apart from the primary critique and enable the director, actor, and audience to negotiate ideological constructions and their subjects. I further argue that the performance's unchangeable structure for over four decades not only shows the canonization of *Teahouse* but also signifies its transition from making people sense *home* to strengthening the *homeland* constriction.

Chapter 2 "Alternative Chineseness in the Making" shifts the focus in various aspects: from theater to film, from a relatively realistic performance to a rather stylistic one, and from mainland China to Cold War Hong Kong and Taiwan. In this chapter, I explore the dimensions of the Shaw Brothers' *huangmeidiao* 黃梅調 films—a genre produced in Hong Kong and circulated widely in Taiwan and Sinophone communities in Southeast Asia during the 1960s. Previous studies on *Love Eterne* and *huangmeidiao* films mostly concentrate on the history of their screen production,[42] their gender issues,[43] and how their aural and visual images project the

[42] Kwok-Wai Hui, "Revolution, Commercialism and Chinese: Opera Films in Socialist Shanghai and Capitalist-colonial Hong Kong 1949-1966" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013). Chen Wei-Chih 陳煒智, *Wo ai huangmeidiao* 我愛黃梅調 (I Love *Huangmeidiao* Films) (Taipei:Mucun, 2005).

[43] See Kam Tan and Annette Aw, "Love Eterne: Almost a (Heterosexual) Love Story" in *Chinese Films in Focus:* 25 *New Takes,* ed. Chris Berry (London: BFI, 2003). Peggy Hsiung-Ping Chiao, "The Female Consciousness, the

nostalgia for China during the Cold War.[44] While *Love Eterne* was fairly popular across Sinophone communities, the unprecedented furor this film generated in Taiwan in particular has not been fully explored and explained. Although the films are commonly recognized as projections of the nostalgia for China during the Cold War, I argue that the films actually *create* an imaginary nostalgia of "Chinese *homeland*" that was widely disseminated across Taiwan and other Sinophone Communities outside China. The genre of the *huangmeidiao* film took a regional Chinese theatrical form— *huangmeixi* 黃梅戲 (Huangmei "opera") and moved it from the stage to the screen. However, the embodiment of the classical "Chinese homeland" actually depended on modernized filmmaking techniques and resources from across East and Southeast Asia. Modernized filmmaking erased the regional features and invented a homogenized impression of a poetic Classical China, which became even more attractive than the traditional theater.

By examining the filmmaking of the *huangmei* opera films, I contextualize not only how the Shaw Brothers materialized a dream-like Chinese *homeland*, but also how modern technologies add to the sensation of the film and enrich the imagination of being a Chinese. The esthetic experience created by the film and the leading actress's diasporic background inspired the Taiwanese audience to figure out Chinese cultural identities that are not necessary tied to a Chinese *homeland*. The KMT government in Taiwan attempted to utilize the films to summon the audiences' favorable impressions of China, so they could justify and further promote the

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World of Signification and Safe Extramarital Affairs: A 40th Year Tribute to *The Love Eterne*" in *The Shaw Screen: A Preliminary Study*, ed. Wong Ain-ling (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2003).

[44] Sek Kei, "Shaw Film Town's 'China Dream' and 'Hong Kong Sentiments'" in *The Shaw Screen*. Siu-wah Yu, "Forging a Cultural Heritage in Chinese Movies: Sinifications and Self-imposed Distancing from Chinese Culture in a Globalized Industry" in *East Asian Cinema and Cultural Heritage: From China, Hong Kong, Taiwan to Japan and South Korea,* ed. Kinnia Shuk-ting Yau (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

ideology of retaking mainland China. However, both the film and its performers take on and circulate the sensation—a circulation that "de-politicalizes" the notion of Chinese *homeland.* The delicate visual components, popularized music, and cross-dressing performance of *huangmeidiao* films, unexpectedly, reconstructed a more approachable Chineseness that was separate from nationalism. The feminine tone of this cinematic genre, I argue, signals its status as an aesthetic form decontextualized from history, which allowed the mediation of the "official" state emphasis on Chinese history and the uncertainties of reality. I further argue that the temporary liberation from the highly patriarchal reality during the Cold War called up the sympathy of numerous female audience members and made the viewing process their *home*. Through visualizing the greater possibilities of women's agency, the *huangmei* opera films therefore became a site of resistance that presented alternatives to the hegemonic, masculine narrative of Chinese *homeland* constructed during the Cold War.

Chapter 3 "Making Space for Shared Loss" explores how the sense of *home* may emerge through being able to share something in common. However, in the context of 1970s Taiwan, what people could share was not something they commonly *had* but something they commonly *lost.* I analyze how the on-going process of dancing and viewing enables both the dancer and the audience to search for their subjectivities through their shared loss. I study *Legacy* (1978)—the first modern dance that portrays the Taiwanese ancestors' history of leaving China and migrating to Taiwan. The diplomatic frustration in Taiwan in the 1970s[45] makes it reasonable to treat this dance as a typical case demonstrating national identity changes, from Chinese to Taiwanese

[45] The premiere night of *Legacy* was coincidentally the same day that the US broke off the diplomatic relationship with the ROC Taiwan and established an official relationship with China. Within the international Cold War structure, Taiwan maintained an inseparable connection with the US since the early 1950s, and the US added crucial support for Taiwan's post-war economics. Thus, the diplomatic frustration made people in Taiwan commonly felt isolated and lost.

nationalism.[46] However, instead of situating *Legacy* according to the sociopolitical context, I propose to reconsider how this dance invites the participants to rethink who they can be though they may not *yet* be.

I study *Legacy* in order to elaborate on how a dance created a space in which the invisible political and historical tensions could come into view. Rather than taking *Legacy* as evidence of shifting identities between China and Taiwan, I propose to think about how dance functions a medium that creates space for the participants to negotiate a given identity and the *homeland* notion. By visualizing the long-term silence, *Legacy* opens up an invisible space that enables spectators' relief of shared pain of political upheaval. Instead of advocating for *home* as collectively pure pleasantness, the release of pain enables people to dig up sorrowful memory lost in the past in order to explore new possibilities and to produce alterity that intersects with arousal. The viewing process for this dance production thus involves a series of actions on the part of not only the dancer but also the spectator, which includes searching, forming, and debating their possible cultural and national identities.

Chapter 4 "Stepping out of the Frame" follows the influence of modern dance in Taiwan and examines how cross-cultural training affects the actors' performance and self-definition in *jingju* (Beijing/Peking opera). My analysis focuses on the historical context of 1980s Taiwan. I take *Kingdom of Desire* (1986), an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and the Japanese film *Throne of Blood*, as a particular example to demonstrate how cultural adaptation occurs via mediating local contexts and highly nationalized theatre. In Taiwan, *jingju* functions as the

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[46] Yu-Ling Chao, *Dance,* "Culture and Nationalism: The Socio-cultural Significance of Cloud Gate Dance Theatre in Taiwanese Society" (PhD diss., City University London, 2000); Ya-Ping Chen, "Dance History and Cultural Politics- A Study of Contemporary Dance in Taiwan, 1930s—1997" (PhD diss., New York University, 2003); Yating Lin, "Choreographing a Flexible Taiwan- Cloud Gate Dance Theatre and Taiwan's Changing Identity, 1973-2003" (PhD diss., University of California- Riverside, 2004).

critical medium for such mediations. Various scholars have discussed how Asian adaptations of Shakespeare diversify his works.[47] However, without considering what these adaptations signify within the local contexts in which they were produced, the discourse would easily overlook what the adaptations would mean for local individuals. Thus, I suggest a more structural approach to probe into how the interweaving of Western and non-Western performing elements enables performers to rethink the meaning of being a *jingju* actor in Taiwan.

Given the imposed title "national opera" and the strict performing conventions, *jingju* has symbolized government-defined Chineseness in Taiwan. Thus, radical transformations of this established performing arts tradition mark the questioning of a government-assigned *homeland*. Making changes in the supposedly unchangeable "national opera," the performance pushed both the performers and spectators to believe that mainstream ideology is also changeable. By figuring out the right way to bring their skill, talent, and creativity into full play, performers expressed their true selves on the stage, which made the performing process their *home*.

Centering on the generation of sensation and sense, this dissertation critically articulates the ways in which performances reshape participants' self-definition and how they imagine national communities. My argument goes beyond the discourse that considers performance as merely a reflection of history or politics. Instead, I examine the moments of performing and viewing as events that can also be understood as "performances." The moments when the participants are involved in the performance, they are bringing in their specific sociopolitical, cultural, and aesthetic experiences of a particular historical era to interpret the meaning of what they are

[47] The following are selected references arranged according to different Asian contexts. China: Alexa Huang, *Chinese Shakespeares: Two Centuries of Cultural Exchange* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Ruru Li, *Shashibiya: Staging Shakespeare in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003); Japan: Ryuta Minami, Ian Carruthers, John Gillies eds., *Performing Shakespeare in Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Korea: Joo-Hyon Kim, *Bi-cultural Critical Essays on Shakespeare* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994).

feeling. The unique values reflected in a play as well as the participants' affective interactions are like a dramatization of history. According to this logic, performance becomes the most essential representation of contemporary history, and the performance on the stage or screen can be interpreted as a "play within a play."

Through examining how performances open up diverse processes of meaning generation and intervene in identity construction, this dissertation contributes to expanding the boundaries of Chinese theater and film studies by adding the participants' sensory and affective engagement to the analysis. This interdisciplinary project not only enriches the understanding of the sensory landscapes and of identity tensions in Cold War China and Taiwan, but it also puts into dialogue notions of identity, sensation, performance practice, and the cognition of history.

Chapter 1

The Sonic Allegory of *Teahouse* (1958):

The Tension between Theatrical Innovation and National Unification

Since its debut in 1958, *Teahouse* (*Chaguan* 茶館) has become one of the most performed Chinese *huaju* (spoken dramas), yet the fact that this drama has been at one point severely condemned and later praised as a masterpiece makes it a unique case through which to assess the tension of national identity construction and theatrical negotiation. Through reexamining the ambiguity of *Teahouse*, I argue that this work demonstrates how theater enables the audience to sense *home* by demonstrating the vanishing diversity and disturbing the political construction of national identity. Its unconformity with policy expectations distinguished *Teahouse* from other performances in 1958. The uniqueness of *Teahouse* at that time demonstrated a refreshing form which showed the audience the diverse lifestyle of old Beijing, which was gradually fading away because the ongoing policy put extreme emphasis on unification. Although the playwright, Lao She 老舍, claimed that *Teahouse* echoed the policy of building a new Chinese *homeland*, what made this play especially moving and meaningful for the Chinese spectators, I suggest, is the atypical performance that guides the audience to sense *home* as a space of inclusion. Its originality is one of the essential reasons that *Teahouse* attracts large audiences at the beginning. However, in the past four decades, *Teahouse*'s almost unchangeable performance and its consistent admiration have contributed to the tendency of canonizing this play as a model. The mainstream comments repeatedly advertise *Teahouse*'s achievement of making domestic and

foreign audiences realize why the Communist Party had to launch a revolution for the sake of building the New China. It is worth rethinking whether Lao She's intention and courage to challenge the unification has been co-opted into dogmatized nationalism, which constantly advertises the CCP's brilliant governance.

The canonization of *Teahouse* makes this work a relevant case to consider when a theatrical performance's agency of exploring more possibilities has been weakened, it is a sign of transition from the feature of *home* to *homeland*. The unchangeable performance of *Teahouse* raises the issue of how the contemporary directors, performers, and audience members can regain new inspiration from this drama; how to re-empower the drama's agency; and how a classic drama can be re-innovated and enable people to sense *home* again. In order to figure out answers for these questions, it is necessary to reexamine why *Teahouse* could profoundly move the audience in the beginning. To be more specific, why *Teahouse* was not in accord with the times in 1958 but was able to cause such a sensation. The primary commentary in 1958 either criticizes *Teahouse* as not being politically representative enough or dramatizes the political indication or educational function of this play. Thus, instead of taking the primary commentary of *Teahouse* for granted, I analyze the ways in which *Teahouse* disturbed the monotonous comments based on *homeland* building and inspired the participators (including the playwright, director, actor, and audience) to sense *home*. The analysis is also related to how the playwright, actor, and audience negotiate the oscillations between their subjects and the rigidity of revolutionary ideology constructions.

Through analyzing the "sound" of *Teahouse*, I explore the tension of drama and nationalism. "Sound" in this chapter has multiple meanings. It can be both audible or inaudible. The audible sounds include the use of sound effects and language on the stage, the clashes that

were aroused after the premiere, and the response to *the critical clamor*. The inaudible voices indicate the playwright's point of view hidden in the play, the actor and the director's realization generating throughout the rehearsals and performances, and the speechless emotion that moves the audience. The speechless emotion includes what the audience wants to speak out but dares not to and what people could not clearly articulate in 1950s China because of the particularly dominant political rhetoric. The inaudible voices can be understood as the "absent voices" that we cannot hear in the play or through the public medium. The "absent voice" is comparable with how Foucault views the panopticon as a symbol of the disciplinary society of surveillance. The panopticon originally refers to a circular building with an observation tower in the center of an open space surrounded by an outer wall; such design would facilitate more effective surveillance. Foucault's discourse turns the physical surveillance within the visible building to a mental process, the invisible self-censorship which takes place even when no one is actually surveilling the target.[1] The notion of panopticon is not merely the visible aspect of the uneven power relationship of seeing and being seen; the invisible self-censorship caused by the uneven power relationship and the subtle "corrective" training further effectively gives this system an effectiveness and efficiency. Here, I adopt the inspiration by Foucault and the invisible aspect of panopticon to explore how the inaudible "absent voice," which is absent from the audible sounds, leaves clues to reinterpret the voiceless audience members' heartfelt voice on *Teahouse*. Similar to how the invisible panopticon is even more productive than the visible one; I suggest that the inaudible "absent voice" is a fruitful yet neglected aspect to reinterpret *Teahouse*. The unspeakable voice not only reflects the "right" language that permeably dominates people's

[1] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

thoughts and speech, but also indicates how individuals struggle and negotiate with uneven power relationships.

The audible and inaudible sounds have tangled *Teahouse* within the cultural tension and verbal control. Adding a new analysis onto the audible and inaudible sounds of *Teahouse*, I argue that the sonic allegory is significant in reconsidering the construction of the Chinese collective. This double reading of *Teahouse,* in terms of sociopolitical background and theatrical form, provides a specific example of how theater can function to negotiate identity construction and can also be reconstructed through long-term unified interpretation.

1- Retracing the Ambiguous Tone of *Teahouse*

The year 1958 was a remarkable one for Chinese modern drama, as the Beijing People's Art Theatre (BPAT) — the most representative national modern drama company of China— first performed *Teahouse*. This play mirrors the daily life of old China in an ordinary Beijing teahouse and covers more than 50 years of change from 1898 to 1948. Chronicling the rise and fall of an old-style teahouse in Beijing within three acts, this drama takes audiences on a whirlwind journey through three tremendous shifts in modern Chinese history: 1898, when reformists failed to strengthen the late Qing dynasty; 1911, at the founding of the Chinese Republic; and 1948, during the civil war. *Teahouse* soon caused a sensation. One of the actors, Ying Ruocheng 英若誠, recalled, the performance "released a new way of drama performance that the people of Beijing had never seen. At that time [1958], a typical play might run for a week, and that was considered lucky, but *Teahouse* ran for around fifty performances, each had a

full house."[2] However, such a popular performance arguably opposed the government's expectation.

Given that 1958 was also the year that the Communist Party launched the Great Leap Forward, the government expected literary works to promote the achievement of "New China," originally established in 1949. The Great Leap Forward was a campaign to modernize the entire Chinese economy; the whole plan was so ambitious that it tipped over into utopian naivety and insanity. While other plays of the time catered to the government's expectation, *Teahouse* seemed to be out of accord with the times. Considering the fame of the playwright, Lao She, who had been honored with the title of the People's Artist (the only writer to be thus designated in the PRC) in 1951,[3] the timeframe of *Teahouse* was particularly perplexing in that it ran contrary to the government's expectations. In order to justify *Teahouse*'s alienation from the contemporary literary conventions, before the premiere, the official newspaper the *People's Daily* advocated that *Teahouse* revealed and condemned the people's pain under the rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. The main goal of the performance was to "make the audience aware of the decadent, brutal, cruel and difficult old China; thus, they would appreciate and even more love our new society."[4] Apparently, the government wanted to promote a unified opinion that everything in the past was negative and the establishment of New China would replace all the previous unfairness with revolutionary ideas and actions. The binary contrast

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[2] Ying Ruocheng and Claire Conceison, *Voices Carry: Behind Bars and Backstage during China's Revolution and Reform* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), p. 136.

[3] Lao She earned this title after he published his work *Dragon Beard Ditch,* which fervently eulogized the communist government of New China.

[4] Dong Qing 冬青,"Xinxi chaguan" 新戲《茶館》(The new play Teahouse), *Renmin ribao* 人民日報 (Pepple's Daily), 29 March 1958, 8.

between the old and new reflected that the constructed narrative of New China's nation building allowed for little alternative interpretation.

Along with its popularity, the incompatible comments about and critiques of *Teahouse* continued ceaselessly before and during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Right after its debut, critiques quickly identified three big mistakes of *Teahouse*: first, the performance did not feature a leader of Chinese Communist Party; second, the leading characters are proprietors; and third, the whole play indicates that the recent generation is not as good as the previous ones, which demonstrates the Manchu aristocracy's sense of loss.[5] The last accusation particularly highlights that the main issue of *Teahouse* is its failure to reinforce the government-supported construction of absolutely dramatizing the contrast between the old and new.

Due to the heavy pressure, Lao She claims that his main purpose in writing *Teahouse* was to "bury the three old periods."[6] Premier Zhou Enlai 周恩來 also approves the value of *Teahouse*. Zhou believes that although *Teahouse* is not active enough in tone and he would prefer the play shift its timeframe from 1919 (when the May Forth Movement occurred) to 1949 (when the Chinese Civil War was concluding), this play still provides "a lesson to the people born after 1949 about the dark age that China underwent before 1949 and the tremendous improvement that the communist government has brought to China."[7] Following Lao She's explanation and Zhou's interpretation, *Teahouse* was recognized as an educational play that

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[5] Lin Liankun 林連昆, "Cha guan dangchu xianzao jinyan de sanda zuizhuang" 《茶館》當初險遭禁演的三大罪狀 (The Three Reasons almost Made *Teahouse* be Banned at the Beginning), *Wenyi lilun yanjiu* 文藝理論研究 (Theoretical Studies in Literature and Art) 5 (1996): 27.

[6] Lao She, "Dafu youguan chaguan de jige wenti" 答覆有關《茶館》的幾個問題 (To Answer Some Questions about *Teahouse*), *Juben* 劇本 (Play), (May1958): 93.

[7] Shu Yi 舒乙, "You shougao kan Chaguanjuben de chuangzuo" 由手稿看《茶館》劇本的創作 (From the Manuscript to the Script of Teahouse), *Shiyue* 十月 (October) 6 (1986): 137.

made the audience realize the evilness of the old society and educates them to appreciate the greatness of the New China.

The government's construction of the old and new during the Great Leap Forward might have used various methods, but the approach was identical. Nevertheless, no one could prevent the audience from comparing the evils of the old regime with the reality of the new nation. Lao She seemed more at ease when depicting the life details of old Beijing. Consequently, *Teahouse* was accused of representing the pessimistic nostalgia and mourning of the past contrasted with the official optimistic spirit of the Great Leap Forward.[8] Shiao-ling Yu further specifically identifies many parallels between the events in the play and the actual conditions in the 1950s. Through these parallels of the past (old) and the present (new), Yu argues that Lao She uses history to criticize contemporary politics. For example, The Hundred-Day Reform of 1898 referred to in the play has its counterpart in the short-lived Hundred Flowers Movement in 1957 (Act 1); the presented disappearance of older arts reflected the Drama Reform carried out by the government in the 1950s (Act 3); the detail of the cook who used to cater imperial banquets and is now cooking for prison inmates because "prison is where the people are" satirizes the political situation in the 1950s (Act 3).[9] The three acts covering more than five decades also brings out the issue of modernity and the modern human predicament. Thus, *Teahouse* can also be read as the dramatization of "the absurd modern condition in which men are left behind by a dead old world and waiting desperately for the perpetually delayed coming of a new one."[10] The confrontation

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[8] Li Huabei 梨花白, "Yetan chaguan" 也談《茶館》(Also on *Teahouse*), *Xijubao* 戲劇報 (Theater Newspaper) 11 (1958): 34-36.

[9] Shiao-ling Yu, "Politics and Theatre in the PRC: Fifty Years of *Teahouse* on the Chinese Stage," *Asian Theatre Journal* 30, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 90-121.

[10] Koon-Ki Ho, "From the Absurdist to the Realist: A Reading of Lao She's 'Teahouse' from a Comparative Perspective," *Oriens Extremus* 39, no. 2 (1996): 208.

of the old and new became extremely exacerbated due to the launch of the Great Leap Forward in 1958.

All of the debates around *Teahouse* apparently demonstrate its ambiguity. That is also why when the BPAT revived *Teahouse* in 1979, the director and many actors felt that "after the Cultural Revolution, all people in the team suddenly further understand *Teahouse* once again, but they also felt perplexed because they were not able to fully understand the script."[11] The actors' confusion also reflected that what ordinary people sensed about New China would not be the same as what the government constructed.

Even if the ambiguous tone of *Teahouse* has generated numerous debates since the late 1950s, the praise of *Teahouse* after the late 1970s, dissimilarly, has been very unanimous. Since *Teahouse* earned its reputation throughout Europe in 1980, this play was recognized as a milestone of Chinese modern drama that represents the "authentic old Beijing" in a national form. As one of China's most iconic plays, *Teahouse* has been repeatedly performed every couple of years. By the end of 2015, this play had been performed over 677 times by the BPAT.[12] Numerous essays and books praising *Teahouse* were published after 1979, but most of them are memoirs of the history of its stage production written by the directors and actors. The majority of academic articles and research materials written in Chinese analyze the insurmountable achievement of the active language, the themes of the script, dramaturgy, and realism performance in *Teahouse*,[13] while little discussion has fully explained why this work was so

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[11] Chen, *Renyoubing*, 112.

[12] Until the end of 2015, the BPAT had performed *Teahouse* for 677 times. See the webpage of the BPAT: http: //www.bjry.com/museum/html/2015/01/201512111658.html

[13] Some examples such as Zeng Guangcan 曾廣燦 and Wu Huibin 吳懷斌, eds., *Laoshe yanjiu ziliao* 老舍研究資料 (Research Materials on Lao She) (Beijing: Shijue wenyi, 1985). Hong Zhonghuang 洪忠煌 and Keying 克瑩, eds., *Laoshe huaju de yishu shijie* 老舍話劇的藝術世界 (The Art Word of Lao She's Plays) (Beijing: Xueyuan,

controversial yet still so popular prior to the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, this chapter also aims to provide such an explanation.

2- The Soundscape of *Teahouse*

> *"In the teahouses one could hear the most absurd stories . . . One could also come in contact with the strangest views . . . Here one might also hear about the latest tune composed by some Beijing Opera star . . . Yes, the teahouse was indeed important; it could even be reckoned a kind of cultural center."*[14] — Lao She, *Teahouse*

The soundscape of *Teahouse*, entwined with sound effects and language, is an essential hinge which guides the audience to sense the diversity and vitality of the old Beijing life style. In order to make every sound effect meaningfully reflect the change of eras, the directors meticulously arranged "what slogans to shout, what songs to sing, when the jeep motor should be heard, when the funeral music came out, the yelling from the street vendors should sell persimmons or grapes, and even whether the sound made by the rolling pin should sound like knocking noodles dumplings or baking *shaobing* 燒餅 (Chinese baked roll)."[15] Although the directors claimed that

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1993). Li Xuewe 李學武, "Chaguan: wenxue yu yanchuben zhi bijiao"《茶館》: 文學本與演出本之比較, *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* 中國現代文學研究叢刊 (Modern Chinese Literature Researches Series) 3 (2000): 228-244. Chen Jun 陳軍, "Lun laoshe xiju dui Beijing renyi fengge de yingxiang" 論老舍戲劇對北京人藝風格的影響 (The Impact of Lao She's Scripts on the Art Style of BPAT), *xiju wenxue* 戲劇文學 1 (Drama Literature) 283 (2006): 30-5.

[14] Lao She, *Teahouse*, translated by John Howard-Gibbon (Hong Kong: Chinese University, 2004), 12.

[15] Zhu Qing 朱青, "Chaguan daoyan tan chaguan"《茶館》導演談《茶館》(The Directors Talk about *Teahouse*), *Xiqubao* 戲劇報 6 (1958): 22.

they wanted to make the audience notice the darkness of the past and then "hate that period,"[16] it turned out that the negative emotion might not have been the audience's main reaction to the performance. While each audience may have different responses to the performance's audial elements, the vivid mental sonic imagery illustrates the power of sound as a medium for communication. Sound, when understood as an environment, a soundscape, can be a powerful tool that shapes actors' and audience members' relation to old Beijing.

How sounds function to adjust people's sense of temporality is particularly important in *Teahouse*. The ephemerality of sound, as Marinna Guzy noticed, makes it easy to forget. Yet, the human experience is highly sonic. Thus, "remembering the sounds of the past can provide us with indications of the evolution of a community."[17] The instruction of stage setting makes *Teahouse* inevitably multisonic: the birds' singing; vocal practice of the Peking opera; sounds of chess playing, cooking, talking and fighting. Each of the sounds is ephemeral, but the way in which people hear them makes the sounds meaningful. In the teahouse, as a public leisure venue, the overall pace is relatively slow. Many guests spend their whole day in the teahouse. The Chinese phrase *pao chuaguan* 泡茶館 specifically depicts the teahouse goers' leisure. The verb *pao* literarily means "to soak," "to dawdle," and "to brew," which all indicate spending a considerable amount of time. In the Chinese cultural context, tea making requires considerable time—especially in a teahouse. Within the considerable time in the teahouse, the guest would repeatedly hear some particular sounds. These sounds, thus, become part of people's expectations when they go to the teahouse. Consequently, these sounds can easily make people sense, feel, reimagine certain space-time contexts connected to the teahouse. Therefore, what a

[16] Ibid: 22.

[17] Marinna Guzy, "The Sound of Life: What Is a Soundscape?" *Folklife* (May 2017).

short-term sound can bring to people is a detailed context of a specific moment related to a particular space, the teahouse. In 1958, the leisurely pace in the act 1 of *Teahouse* strongly contrasted with the Great Leap Forward's slogan, "One day is equal to twenty years." At the moment of the performance, each voice within the old teahouse seems to summon the audience to be alienated from the present political reality and return to a time and space that has passed. *Teahouse* successfully stages the old Beijing's everyday life through creating people's acoustical memories.

Within the soundscape of *Teahouse*, the sound related to food is one of the most impressive. In fact, the sound making by food peddlers is essential to old Beijing's soundscape. Beijing, as a capital city for many hundreds of years, collects the sonic memories due to its diverse population composition and vital street life. The various sounds made by different peddlers, especially food peddlers, formed the soundscape of old Beijing. The culture of food reflects how people in old Beijing knew the way to enjoy life. Local people's life has always been accompanied with local taste, and they can tell the change of season and time according to the different food that peddlers are selling.[18] Echoing the peddler' sounds from outside of the teahouse, the waiters in the teahouse repeatedly run across the stage while shouting "noodles" and "meat balls" –the typical food of the traditional teahouse. The waiter's shouting is a custom that people would expect to see and to hear in the traditional teahouse. The sound and movement vividly depict the liveness of the old teahouse and old Beijing.The sound related to food not only recalls people's memory of taste in an audial way, but it also resonates with memories of person-to-person interaction which takes food as a medium. Given that people often interact with each other while they are eating; food is commonly associated with people's communication. The sonic

[18] Liang Shih-chiu 梁實秋, *Yashe tan chi* 雅舍談吃 (Recollections of a Gourmet) (Taipei: Jiuge, 2009).

expression in *Teahouse* facilitates interactions between various communities in old Beijing. One scene in the act 1 concretely demonstrates how the interweaving of the interior and exterior soundscape dramatizes the meeting of different communities in the teahouse. When a poor peasant woman comes in to sell her young daughter for food, the audience hears the sound of the street vender selling steamed buns. The interior soundscape is comprised of numerous customers chatting and having food. The landlord of the teahouse, Qin Zhongyi 秦仲義, tries to drive the poor out of the door, while the regular customer, Chang Siye 常四爺 (Fourth Elder Chang), immediately commands the waiter to serve the poor noodles—a food that waiters typically serve while calling out, "Noodles!" Chang's reaction indirectly challenges Qin's authority, so Manager Wang tries to ease the tension. Yet, Chang angrily asserts that the nation is about done for and Qin believes the way to save the nation is to operate more industries instead of buying the poor food. After receiving noodles, the young girl is still starving, and the street vender's sound rises again. The mother who cannot afford any food sadly takes her daughter away. At the same time, the Eunuch Pang came to the teahouse to buy a wife. According to the lines in *Teahouse*, the Eunuch Pang's house is "full of the finest delicacies," and "even the vinegar bottles are made of agate" (p. 24). Considering the 200-tael silver that the eunuch can afford to spend on purchasing a concubine, the peasant woman only asks for 2-tale silver to survive; someone can even "buy a child for five catties of wheat flour [in the countryside]" (p. 24). On the one hand, the imperial capital's diverse food culture is one of Beijing's prides; on the other hand, it also contrasts the huge urban-rural gaps between the rich and the poor. These gaps are effectively represented on the stage through the well-arranged sounds and dialogues.

The diverse communities and the flowing vitality between various communities in old Beijing were gradually disappearing when *Teahouse* debuted. Indeed, the miserable scene of a

peasant woman trying to sell a child in a city teahouse would not be allowed to take place in public again in New China. Nevertheless, the grassroots vitality of Beijing— including the waiters' cautious movements and thoughtfully shouted reminders when they are serving tea, the settling of battles across several bowls of noodles with minced pork, and the debate between Qin and Chang about helping the poor— disappears as well. The unification of life styles during the Great Leap Forward compellingly smoothed the diversity of various communities in Beijing, which made this city become flat in the ways of its lifestyle and soundscape. The unification of both the rural and urban areas also changes Beijing people's self-recognition. Using Liu Mazi 劉麻子 (Pockface Liu)'s line, "[W]ho knows [what's going on in the countryside]? But the way things are, even a dog would prefer to be born in Beijing" (p. 26). Beijing is attractive not only because it is a pool of resources but also because it is a city that allows people from different classes and backgrounds to meet and to find their own career path. Their languages and life-making sounds create a relatively lively Beijing. Nevertheless, such a local, proud and multi-tone soundscape is going away in the late 1950s.

I suggest that the soundscape of *Teahouse*, which helps connect the past and the present, also functions to disturb the construction of old and new. The dominant narrative of highlighting the sunny side of New China and the darkness before 1949 became the rule of literary creation, including theatrical works. In contrast to other eulogistic plays, what has been represented in *Teahouse* was not so obvious: the old society has its problems, but it was not entirely dispensable, while the coming future is not necessarily better or brighter. Nevertheless, I argue, *Teahouse* guided audiences to sense *home* through ambiguity, because whether the past was unfavorable or not, it is a foundation for forming part of ourselves. Accepting the gray aspect of the past and the mediocre yet more realistic hopes that everyone may harbor is an important step that *Teahouse*

takes to make the audience feel at *home* because *home* is a place of acceptance instead of judgment. Thus, I analyze how *Teahouse* creates a sense of *home*, a space of inclusion, through the soundscape. The soundscape in *Teahouse* sonically immerses the audience in the old lifestyle. Instead of entirely negating the past, the whole performance reviews the old society with black humor and sympathetic understanding.

The soundscape around the teahouse can easily trigger the audience's sensory memories yet make them feel nostalgia because the sound was gradually fading away in 1958 in China. Yue Meng has shown how in Maoist China, "the notion of class became a theoretical and practical tool for homogenizing the field of the people and transforming it into a mass. Class struggle became a form by which the nation was constructed as one, rock-like, powerful, undifferentiated whole."[19] Following the Great Leap Forward, numerous People's communes were established within both rural areas and cities. One of the most significant features of these communes were their communal kitchens. Since everything was shared in the commune, private cooking was banned and replaced by communal dining. The communal kitchen not only meant the unification of food and dining culture, but also indicated the ideology to unify different groups of people. The People's communes in Beijing were not disbanded until the Cultural Revolution.[20]

The language used in *Teahouse* also demonstrates a passing polyphonic Beijing. Shu Yi 舒乙 (Lao She's son) has pointed out that due to the geographical location, Beijing has been the intersection of the Han culture and the Mongolian and Manchu cultures. Thus, the Beijing

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[19] Yue Meng, "Female Images and National Myth," in Tani E. Barlow ed., *Gender Politics in Modern China: Writing and Feminism* (Durham: Duke University, 1993), 125.

[20] Li Yang 李陽, "Dui beijing chengshi renmin gongshe shiqi gonggong shitang de lishi kaocha" 對北京城市人民公社時期公共食堂的歷史考察 (The History of the Communal Kitchen in Beijing during the Period of People's Communes), *Dangdai beijin yanjiu* 當代北京研究 (Studies of Contemporary Beijing) 3 (2013).

vernacular substantially incorporates Mongolian and Manchu languages.[21] Since numerous local vernaculars have been used in China, after fierce debates, the Beijing dialect was finally selected as the foundation of the standardized Mandarin, the "national language" that the government officially promoted throughout China. As a Beijinger, Lao She's work frequently adopts the local vernacular which includes many non-Han phrases.[22] One of the most significant styles in Lao She's script is the living Beijing vernacular and the *erhuayin* (兒化音). *Erhuayin* (typical pronunciation of Beijing vernacular) refers to adding the "ér" sound to syllables and causing a retro-flexion of the preceding vowel. Actors of *Teahouse* adopt even more Beijing slang in their lines than what are written in the script.[23] For the sake of reality, Lao She also adopted various other local vernaculars, which are commonly heard in Beijing. For example, in act 2, the two deserters, one with a Shandong accent and one with a Shaanxi accent, are represented, because in the 1910s in China, the majority of military personnel came from these two provinces. This strategy not only increases the comedy, but it also fully reflects Beijing's rich linguistic diversity.

In addition to various accents of local vernacular, the language in *Teahouse* also shows an era where people honored etiquette and moderation. As Lao She said, he wanted to bring out the spirit of the times by the characters' language. He always guides the audience to see old Beijing through the dialogue in *Teahouse*. For example, in the act 3, the old storyteller (*shuoshu ren* 說書人) complains about a lack of business and blurts out that in this evil era no one appreciates

[21] Shu Yi, *Laoshe renwen ditu* 老舍人文地圖 (The Humanistic Map of Lao She) (Beijing: Beijing, 2015), 2.

[22] Las She's word choice of the local vernacular provides a model for writing the characterless non-Han languages down. For example, when a child is crying, the grandmother usually says, "You go to *masa masa* him" (meaning touching his head and comforting him). Following Lao She's word choice, the pronunciation of *masa masa* can be written in Han characters as "摩挲摩挲." Ibid, 2-3.

[23] Shu Yi, "Beijinghua: Beijing renyi de yishu tese" 北京話: 北京人藝的特色" (The Beijing Language: The Feature of BPAT) in *Tansuo de zuji* 探索的足跡 (The Trak of Exploration) (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju, 1994), 353-363.

traditional skills.[24] The destruction of traditional performing arts was even more severe after 1958 than the 1940s. What had been ruined was not only the traditional performance but also the grassroots morality and courtesy represented by the storyteller. The leading actor Lan Tianye 藍天野 (who performed Qin Zhongyi) recalled that in order to prepare for the realistic performance in *Teahouse*, they had interviewed two senior storytellers. What impressed Lan was not only their ability of performance skills, but also how thoughtfully they treated people with respect.[25] The modest words are adopted in *Teahouse* by representing the Beijing vernacular such as 請安 *qingan* (my compliments), and *nin jixiang* 您吉祥 (wish you auspicious luck). Those words and the gestures to show respect to other guests in the teahouse before and during tea were no longer used in the 1950s. Due to the ideology of class conflict since the 1950s, the relationship between individuals became quite antagonistic and tense. Treating the other in an aggressive way replaced the gentleness of old days. In this sense, *Teahouse* contrarily demonstrated a space of inclusion— where even if people might not entirely agree with each other they were willing to accommodate their differences in a modest way.

3- To Talk or Not to Talk

In addition to various sounds of Beijing's everyday life, a four-character sign reading *motan guoshi* 莫談國事 ("don't talk about state affairs") pasted on the wall of the teahouse directly brings out issues related to the freedom of speech. As the teahouse undergoes change, the sigh is always there across all three acts, but the characters become larger and larger. It is

[24] Lao She, "Dafu," 93.

[25] Luo Qi 羅綺, *Yanyu pingsheng lantianye* 煙雨平生藍天野 (The Biography of Lan Tianye) (Beijing: Sanlian, 2014), 101-102.

reasonable to understand that this phrase is supposed to describe the dark periods before Communism, but it also fits the political reality of the 1950s. The Chinese audience would not miss the connection between this admonition and the numerous political campaigns to silence disagreement.[26] *Teahouse* also acts out "what embeds at the recess of the modern Chinese collective unconsciousness: what they felt but dared not spell out."[27] The warning can also be understood as "Lao She's greatest indictment of the communist government for [its] not differentiating between criticism voiced by the intellectuals who loved China and that which came from China's enemies."[28] Indeed, the signs clearly showed how the discussion of state affairs in a teahouse could be sensitive since 1899-1948. However, I argue that the more prominent the signs became, the more strongly they indicated that the teahouse is a place for information exchange. A critique of *Teahouse* in 1958 paralleled the signs on the stage with the real historical experience. Since the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) oppressed free speech, people complained about their dissatisfaction everywhere. They became not only eager to talk about the state affairs, but they also intended to make their arguments clear. They were highly motivated to carry out revolution and seek liberation. Thus, it was actually very difficult to prevent people from discussing state affairs. "Exactly because everyone was willing to talk about state affairs in teahouses, the boss had to paste such notes."[29]

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[26] Shiao-ling Yu, "Politics and Theatre in the PRC: Fifty Years of *Teahouse* on the Chinese Stage," *Asian Theatre Journal* 30, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 90-121.

[27] Koon-Ki Ho, "From the Absurdist to the Realist," 221.

[28] Hu Jieqing 胡絜青, "Guanyu Lao She de chaguan" 關於老舍的《茶館》(Concerning Lao She's Teahouse) in *Chaguan de wutai yishu*《茶館》的舞臺藝術 (Arts of *Teahouse*), ed. Liu Zhangchun 劉章春 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju, 2007), 192.

[29] Liu Gui 劉貴, "Chaguan xiaodiao yu chaguan desanmu"《茶館小調》與《茶館》第三幕 (*The Ditty of Teahouse* and the Third Act of *Teahouse*), *Xijubao* 戲劇報 (Theater Newspaper) 11 (1958): 25.

The bustling environment in the opening scene of *Teahouse* was similar with the sociopolitical background when Lao She was writing this play. From an objective point of view, two of Lao She's best scripts *The Dragon Beard Ditch* and *Teahouse* were written in the most relaxed periods within New China's first decade. The first was created in the summer of 1950, when the People's Republic of China was just established in less than half a year. Everything had just begun, and the environment of literary creation was very relaxed. After that, a series of political campaigns ensued, and the political censorship got strict. Before 1956, Lao She was commissioned to create several propaganda plays, but the result was unsuccessful with audiences. In 1956, due to the Double-Hundred Policy (1956-57)— a policy guided by the slogans, "Let a hundred flowers blossom," and, "Let a hundred schools of thought contend"—the literary environment gained short-term freedom. Right during this freedom, *Teahouse* was created.[30] In contrast to what had happened with Lao She's previous script, *Spring Flowers and Autumn Fruits* (*chunhua qiushi* 春華秋實), which had been revised over ten times in order to factor in the comments from the Communist Party, no one intervened in the writing of *Teahouse*. The political neglect directly influenced *Teahouse*'s success.[31]

Unfortunately, after the short-lived Double-Hundred Policy, strict censorship ensued. When millions of letters poured in to the government, Mao perceived the Double-Hundred Policy as a threat to his leadership. He then began an "Anti-Rightist Campaign" which identified and labeled 300,000 intellectuals as "rightists" and effectively silenced any opposition to the excesses of the Great Leap Forward.

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[30] Shu Yi, *Laoshe renwen ditu*, 89.

[31] Ying Ruocheng, "You chaguan yinchu de yitiao jiaoxun" 由《茶館》引出的一條教訓 (A Lesson from *Teahouse*), *Wenyi Zhengming* 文藝爭鳴 (Contention of Literature) 3 (1988): 15.

What made the political supervision effective, I suggest, was not only the forced silence but also the tedious struggle sessions (*pidou dahui* 批鬥大會). These struggle sessions, which were host or encouraged by the government, aimed at both forcing the target to speak and setting speeches at one target. The long harangue was intended to exhaust someone's mind. The struggle sessions, the most frequent form for attacking the accused, became even more aggressive during the Cultural Revolution. In general, the target of a struggle session was forced to admit to various crimes before a crowd of people who would verbally and physically abuse the target until he or she confessed. Even during the Double-Hundred period, the requirement to attend political meetings frequently distracted Lao She from his creation. He suggested that the China Association of Writers release writers from these excessive political events and meetings to allow them more time for writing. During the Great Leap Forward, governmental control became much tighter. The director of *Teahouse*, Jiao Juyin 焦菊隱, recorded that he had attend five struggle sessions and write the confessions overnight only within two weeks.[32] Due to the Great Leap Forward, China suddenly launched a period during which everyone was encouraged to keep talking without careful thinking— as long as they said what they were supposed to say. This common practice directly impacted the BPAT's performance arrangement. In 1958, dozens of Beijing's literary and art organizations competed to make "contest" speeches. Each of the organization proposed to offer as many performances as possible to support the Great Leap Forward. The number of the performances kept soaring. Since the more performances indicated the stronger loyalty to the Chinese Communist Party, the competition was very intense. The Party Secretary of BPAT recalled, "The BPAT board committee held an emergency meeting to

[32] Jiao Shihong 焦世宏 and Liu Xianghong 劉向宏, *Jiao juyin* 焦菊隱 (Jiao Juyin) (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju, 2007), 161-163.

figure out a solution in order to meet the challenge from the China National Youth Theatre. Under this pressure, BPAT promised to offer over 900 performances within a year; any quick storytelling in front of the train station counted as one."[33] In contrast to these hasty performances, *Teahouse* had been carefully rehearsed, but the critique leveled at this play was quite sharp.

The main "deficiency" recognized in *Teahouse* was that it was not active enough in tone to represent the revolution spirit. Especially act 3, which represents the year before the establishment of New China, was supposed to "demonstrate the positive force before the liberation."[34] However, although the sign "Don't talk about state affairs" is pasted everywhere, no one really cares about state affairs. One comment criticized that the final act of *Teahouse* is powerless, because it fails to show the inevitable tendency of actively talking about how to "eradicate the nasties who oppressed us and did not allow us to speak."[35] Another critique pointed out more specific questions: Why are the grassroots people (like Kang Liu and Kang Shunzi) all so servile and only want to survive just for the sake of remaining alive; is this the right image of grassroots people? Why does the playwright not condemn the industrialist Qin Zhougyi and the bannerman Chang Siye? Though Qin claims to save the poor by operating factories, he himself is from a rich family and earns the profit; although Chang is against foreign imperialism, he is only afraid that if the Qing Empire collapses, he will lose his salary and noble status. Why does Teahouse not guide the audience to criticize such figures, but rather shows sympathy and humanism? The critique concluded that Lao She does not clearly demonstrate that the reactionaries are doomed to fail, and the triumph of the people's revolution is certain; it is

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[33] Chen, *Renyoubing*, 68.

[34] Li Huabei 梨花白, "Yetan chaguan" 也談《茶館》(Also on *Teahouse*), *Xijubao* 戲劇報 (Theater Newspaper) 11 (1958): 35.

[35] Liu Gui 劉貴, "Chaguan xiaodiao yu chaguan desanmu," 25.

pointless to only treat the people's revolution as a background instead of the main theme.[36] Although these critiques emphasize how New China loudly encouraged the discussion of state affairs, the discourse has to follow a single ideology. It must paradoxically treat poverty as a virtue and dramatize the agency of grassroots people while exaggerating the bourgeoisies' evilness and completely repudiating the values of sympathy and humanity.

Along with the approach of the Cultural Revolution, the tension of clamor and silence became even more subtle. In 1963, although it was against Lao She's will, the BPAT added a "red-line" (politics-orientated plot) in *Teahouse* to respond to the social situation at that time. In 1954, Lao She still had the chance to state that asking him to change the script was rude. He believed that "the expert is usually conservative, because they have the passion and are responsible for their works. The insightful ones would be even more conservative, because they have many professional concerns. Those who do have any professional knowledge are prone to be rude, and they always advocate reformation, even resort to administrative orders."[37] Lao She's insistence on keeping the original script did not last long. In 1963, while the BPAT more actively used *Teahouse* to represent revolutionary ideas, Lao She had to say nothing but accepted the new added-in plots.[38] Even with the added-in "red line," *Teahouse* was still targeted as a "poisonous weed" during the Cultural Revolution.[39] Lao She suffered from merciless critiques and finally ended his life tragically.

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[36] Liu Fangquan 劉芳泉, Xu Guanlu 徐關祿, and Liu Xiqing 劉錫慶, "Ping laoshe de chaguan" 評老舍的《茶館》 (Comments on Lao She's *Teahouse*), *Dushu* 讀書 (Reading) (January 1959): 6-8.

[37] Lao She, "Tan cubao he baoshou" 談粗暴和保守 (Rudeness and conservatism), *Xijubao* 戲劇報 (Theater Newspaper) 12 (June 1954): 10.

[38] When Lao She came to watch the rehearsal with the added "red line" in 1963, he did not offer any comments. What he said was only, "I am not familiar with the situation. It is up to you." See Chen, *Renyoubing,* 98.

[39] Liu Zhangchun 劉章春, "Chaguan cangsanglu" 《茶館》滄桑錄 (Retrospection to *Teahouse*), in Liu, *Chaguan de wutai yishu*, 302.

The silent response to Lao She's death was one of the most ironic scenes considering the endless struggle sessions that took place every day during the early phase of the Cultural Revolution. Many people recalled that since the 1957 Anti-rightist Campaign they had publicly stepped forward to accuse colleagues or friends. "To remain silent was to risk being attacked oneself. At best, people attacked to avoid being attacked."[40] A struggle session was an occasion that required people to talk for the sake of safety. The unceasingly eloquent talking made the Cultural Revolution into a giant carnival where people seemed to exchange tons of information. However, people's real concerns would remain absent in their talking. On August 25, 1966, the day after Lao She committed suicide, the people working at the BPAT learned this news. Everyone felt flustered, but no one dared to say anything. The struggle sessions were still in full swing. Ying Ruocheng recalled a kind of numbness and panic felt throughout the BPAT; "for such a big thing, everyone should have talked about it, but no. The silence showed that everyone was worried about the complicated situation within the BPAT!"[41] Since people in the BPAT did not know whether someone would report their words, everyone dared not to say anything more. In the era when meetings were arranged every day in order to make everybody talk, people commonly shared only the "correct" language and "safe" information. The consequence was a collective silence instead of free speech. Everyone internalizes the censorship. Even when no one forced people to talk in public any more, self-censorship would remain as an inner warning which shut people up.

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[40] Anne F. Thurston, "Urban Violence during the Cultural Revolution: Who is to Blame?" in *Violence in China: Essays in Culture and Counterculture*. (Albany: SUNY, 1990), eds. Jonathan Neaman Lipman and Stevan Harrell, 155.

[41] Chen, *Renyoubing,* 110.

I suggest that when a place displays reminders declaiming, “Don’t talk,” in fact, it conversely reflects that this is a place where people always talk. Thus, these signs actually indicate that people still have this place to communicate and exchange information. Yet, when people are forced to talk everywhere, they really have nowhere to speak their mind and express their perspectives and true values. *Teahouse* represents the desire for real freedom of speech. Real freedom of speech is not only an ideal that people can say what they want; it should also include the freedom to refuse to talk. Particularly, after experiencing the “forced confession” over and over again during the Great Leap Forward and the later Cultural Revolution, the audience would easily comprehend that being forced to talk could be even more miserable than limiting freedom to talk. The passive freedom to not talk— to not declare where one stands— is as important as the active one, as it allows the freedom of choice making. That is also one of the reasons *Teahouse* attracts audiences.

4- Searching for Reality in Characterization

In addition to the atypical timeframe, what makes *Teahouse* distinct is the expression of its characters which motivates the actors to dig into the reality of life in order to enrich their characterization. I argue that during the time— the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution— when a nation promoted collective madness and most performances tended to be overwhelmingly political, the desire for a less-passionate life reality would become a voice that the audience had to inhibit in their minds. This inhibited desire of moderate everyday life, debatably, got to be released through *Teahouse*, a theatrical performance. The ambiguous tone within the script also drives the actors to think about why the characters may have developed certain kinds of traits in their backstory instead of simply employing onstage stereotypes. The

leading actor Yu Shizi 于是之, who has portrayed Wang Lifa 王利發, explains how the characterization of *Teahouse* goes beyond political ideology. In terms of political ideology, a play that depicts the old society, like *Teahouse*, should only represent the poor working class and peasants [with other classes as villains]. None of the leading characters, such as Wang Lifa, Chang Siye, and Qin Zhongyi, belong to that category. However, *Teahouse* demonstrates that a theme can be portrayed from various perspectives. The atypical characters, neither pure heroes nor pure villains, can also diversify the theme and performing styles.[42] The political ideology, which partially dramatizes poverty as a virtue, is actually disconnected from reality. I suggest when other Chinese plays were gradually forming a typical pattern based on political ideology, *Teahouse* was underlining the importance of reality.

The search for reality breaks from monotonous theatrical performance and brings out the innovation that the actors are drawn to. That is also why many actors have been highly interested in performing *Teahouse*, such an atypical script, once they have heard the play reading. Lan Tianye still remembers the lively scene when Lao She read his new script for *Teahouse* at BPAT in 1956. Lao She demonstrated some movements while he was reading; each character was so alive and vivid. After the reading, all of the actors were excited because it was rare to hear such a brilliant script! Applying for an acting a role in *Teahouse* became an ebullient act. Some bet that if they were given a certain role, they would treat others to a good meal; some had specific preferences for particular parts, but primarily they wanted to join the performance and were even willing to portray a minor character with no lines.[43] Casting around 70 actors and covering five

[42] "Yan chaguan," 49.

[43] Luo, *Yanyu*, 100.

decades within three thousand words, *Teahouse* is a very concise script, which leaves considerable space for the actors to enrich the characters.

"To experience life" is one of the most essential requirements Director Jiao Juyin asked of the *Teahouse* actors. He requested that these performers trace the lived reality of the vanishing old Beijing. The actors spent even more time digging into the lifestyle of old Beijing than they did on rehearsal. They prepared their characterizations throughout the entirity of 1957. Jiao invited Lao She and Jin Shoushen 金受申, an old Beijing expert, to teach the actors local Beijing anecdotes and customs. Then, the actors were divided into pairs "to experience the life." In the beginning, Jiao asked the actors to not focus on specific characters. What the actors had to do was to visit senior Beijing residents and to observe their actions and life philosophy. Then every group created a skit to represent the reality of old Beijing life. After the skit rehearsal, all actors had to focus on their own characters and go interview the senior resident and observe people in local teahouses again. After the second "life experience," the actors had to perform a skit which represented a specific figure. Although at that time the big teahouse, like Yutai in *Teahouse*, no longer existed in Beijing, some smaller teahouses still remained in business. It was common to see local storytelling performances in some remaining teahouses.[44] Lao She was impressed by how hard the young actors worked, putting every effort to understand the old Beijing life. They looked for various senior people from different kinds of jobs. The actors even interviewed an old barber over the age of seventy and learned how to comb all sorts of plaits.[45]

The flexible structure of *Teahouse* also enabled the actors to have agency and bring their own interpretation to bring a scripted character to life. Lao She revised the draft of *Teahouse*

[44] Lan Tianye, personal communication in Beijing (January 7, 2018).

[45] Lao She, "Kan chaguan paiyan" 看《茶館》排演 (Watching the Rehearsal of *Teahouse*), *Xijubao* 戲劇報 (April 1958): 23.

several times. One version had an ending with a storyteller who advocates the revolution through storytelling. The Nationalist governor finds that the storyteller is an underground Communist Party member, so they plan to kill him. In order to protect the storyteller, Manager Wang sacrifices himself and gets shot. Considering Wang's personality and backstory, Yu Shizhi offered a different opinion instead of such a stark plot. Yu wished to have a moment for the three old men—Wang Lifa, Qin Zhongyi, and Chang Siye—to have a sincere conversation and to confide in each other about all of their life aspirations. After sharing their feelings with each other, Wang then enters the inner chamber to commit suicide. Lao She gladly accepted this suggestion and rewrote a whole section for the three old men to express their entire life understandings of life.[46] This section then became one of the most impressive ones in *Teahouse*. Some lines came to be a shared generational memory, including Chang Siye's provocative words, "I love my country, but no one gives a damn about me."[47] The BPAT actor Su Min 蘇民 recalls that when Chang said this line in 1958, "the whole auditorium was entirely silent. No one dared to speak, no one dared to applaud, but everyone thought that this line was awesome."[48] The audience's silent agreement shows how people's individuality would be sacrificed within the process of nation building.

What moved the audience in 1958 was *Teahouse*'s sincere search for reality. *Teahouse*'s topic seems to be old (portraying the old Beijing), but its theme and performance were very innovative at the time. The actor Huang Zongluo 黃宗洛 (who performed Song Erye 松二爺),

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[46] Yu Shizhi, "Laoshe xiansheng he tade liangchuxi" 老舍先生和他的兩齣戲 (Lao She and His Two Plays), *Beijing wenxue* 北京文學 (Beijing Literature) 8 (1994): 31.

[47] Lao She, *Teahouse*, translated by John Howard-Gibbon (Hong Kong: Chinese University, 2004), 182.

[48] Su Min, interview, *Fenghuang dashiye* 鳳凰大視野 (Panoramic Eyeshot of Phoenix), Phoenix Television (December 26, 2012).

believes that the keyword to understand *Teahouse* is "truthfulness." The truthfulness indicates a respect for the reality of life. After audience members had seen many fake, untruthful performances, they would feel extremely affectionate when they saw *Teahouse*. Truthfulness is the life of performing arts, and no character in Teahouse is formulaic; each one is living.[49] The director Lin Zhaohua 林兆華 also mentions that, "most of the plays at the time only eulogized the government; such plays were not realistic and could not make the audience sense the author's sincerity. However, *Teahouse* was very realistic."[50] *Teahouse*, thus, was a rare performance which broke the monotonous style of political propaganda and represented the concerns of humans' wellbeing.

The truthfulness of *Teahouse* is also based on the actors' sincere efforts to develop fully-realized three-dimensional characters. While typical theatrical performances in 1950-70s China often simply dramatized the contrast of positive or negative figures,[51] many characters in *Teahouse* shows the reality of the ambivalent human nature. This kind of characterization could be considered brave at that time. Ying Rouchang recalled that when Lao She came to see the rehearsal in 1958, he offered Ying a suggestion: "It is right for you to perform how glib the character [Liu Mazi] is, but the way you perform him is not evil enough." Then, Lao She immediately added, "Please do NOT PERFORM the evilness."[52] Ying felt challenged to perform

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[49] "Yan chaguan, tan chaguan" 演《茶館》, 談《茶館》(Performing *Teahouse*, Discussing *Teahouse*), *Wenyi yanjiu* 文藝研究 (Literature & Art Studies) 2 (1979): 50.

[50] Lin Zhaohua, personal communication in Beijing (January 9, 2018).

[51] According to Ying Roucheng's words, during the Cultural Revolution, the Gang of Four's principle of three prominences dominated the theatrical performance. The villain could not be highlighted, yet, it was also necessary to make the performance of a villain as monotonous as possible. All of the films and dramas must set up clear binary contrast between the villain and the hero. Ying Rouchen, "Chongyan chaguan de yixie ganxiang" 重演《茶館》的一些感想 (Some Thoughts of Performing *Teahouse* Once Again) in Liu, *Chaguan de wutai yishu*, 102.

[52] Ibid, 102.

an evil character without focusing on representing his evilness. Then Ying gradually realizes that the villains created by Lao She would not sense that they are doing bad things; they may even defend themselves. For example, in act 1, when Chang Siye says Liu Mazi is truly ruthless for making his living at the trading and selling of the poor peasant's daughter, Liu replies, "If it wasn't for me maybe they wouldn't find buyers".[53] Liu sincerely believes that he is helping the peasant, and he even thinks what he does is very "justified." Huang Zongluo also analyzed his multidimensional characterization of Song Erye. Huang believed since Song belongs to the class of the declined aristocrats, it does not mean he is a bad person. Living in such a society, anyone who does not mean to harm others should be considered a good guy. It is unreasonable to make a clear distinction between purity and impurity. Thus, when Huang performed Song, he knew Song's many weaknesses and he also mocked Song's stinginess and affectedness. However, at the same time, he felt sympathetic to Song. For example, in act 2, Song is hungry and wants to commit suicide. However, once he sees his favorite yellow bird, he loses the courage to die. He does not cry for his lamentableness; instead, he even smiles and talks about his hunger. It is originally a tragic scene, but Huang completed the performance with a smile. Huang said, "If you only care about self-pity, no one would be moved by the performance." What makes *Teahouse* outstanding is "the sadness with humor, which drives the audience to think profoundly."[54] The performance is very different from the mainstream performances which "always employ the stereotype of heroes and villains. Such performances are so fake."[55] The audience does not

[53] Lao She, *Teahouse*, translated by John Howard-Gibbon (Hong Kong: Chinese University, 2004), 26.

[54] "Yan chaguan," 55.

[55] Ibid, 55.

appreciate a performance with no truthfulness; the actors cannot gain a sense of achievement, either.

Implicitness is one of the most essential features of the characterization in *Teahouse*. The leading actor, Yu Shizhi, particularly advocated that the implicit performance is what made *Teahouse* stand out among other contemporary Chinese *huaju*. Specifically, under the influence of the extreme left-wing style, *huaju* performance in China was ruined. Each performance was expected to show the confrontation in a shouting, bluffing, and clamoring way. It would not show the "revolutionary passion" if a performance was without exaggeration. However, the audience was not pleased with such a performance; the actors themselves were not satisfied, either. Thus, Yu has emphasized that the artistry of theatrical performance is to arouse the audience's imagination. Audience members only feel satisfied when they sense that their imagination is motivated by the performance. The more an actor can inspire the audience to rethink life, the richer the performance is. Thus, some performances that merely endlessly repeat the well-known major principles only block the audience's imagination. Both the audience and the actor get bored and disappointed by such performances.[56] Yu's viewpoint highlights that the appreciation of theatrical performance should not stop at the moment the performance ends. On the contrary, it is the "aftertaste," a series of imaginations and rethinking which spring up after or beyond the performance which embodies the value of theatrical performance.

The success of *Teahouse* lies in the actor's concrete presentation of implicitness in the performance. Yu has further pointed out that the implicitness of theatrical performance actually comes from the real everyday life. An actor's performance would be moderated if she or he carefully considers the logic of life. For example, in act 3 of *Teahouse*, when Wang Lifa is

[56] Ibid, 50.

determined to send his daughter-in-law and granddaughter to the Liberated Area, he knows that this decision would cause not only a separation in life but also a parting at death, since he himself has made his mind to commit suicide afterward. Thus, it is a very touching scene, so it is natural for an actor to cry on stage. Nevertheless, if the actor conscientiously considers the reality of life, he would understand that Wang definitely does not want to cry at this moment. He would put effort to control his emotion and to pretend to be relaxed in front of his children and grandchildren. When members of the younger generation want to cry, Wang would even reprimand them, because he really wants them to leave, to flee from the catastrophe as soon as possible. Consequently, the point of this tragic scene is not to perform sadness but to enact the "control of sadness" through a smiling face. This way of performance is implicit, but this implicitness is not a kind of performing "manipulation," but rather it is within real life itself.[57]

While the accusation against specific individuals is very common in propaganda plays, Lao She did not blame any individual in *Teahouse*, even though he clearly noticed the defect of the old society. Lao She's playwriting has also pushed the actors to sympathetically understand the characters. Consequently, the actors would realize the importance of fully representing the character's individuality, and meanwhile, the audience would also feel moved by the inclusion of various individualities in the performance. When discussing how he performed the negative figure Liu Mazi, Ying Roucheng said:

> *After seeing the performance, if the audience feels that once Liu is killed, all of the tragedies would not happen, then the whole performance is totally failed. The tragedy is neither caused by one or two bad guys, nor because a certain*

[57] Yu Shizhi 于是之, "Yan wanglifa xiaoji" 演王利發小記 (Notes on Performing Wang Lifa) in Liu, *Chaguan de wutai yishu*, 76-81.

hero has not yet been aware. The problem lies in that entire social system and the era.[58]

Targeting the entire social system but not to devastate specific individuals could be recognized to be anti-revolutionary during the Cultural Revolution. Another actor, Zheng Rong 鄭榕 (who performed Chang Siye) recalled that during the Cultural Revolution, the positive figures in theater always had to say some "politically correct" statements. Their performance was similar with to *yanlun zhengsheng* 言論正生 (the leading male character who offers a speech),[59] who oddly embedded political speeches in a theatrical play. However, Chang Siye has never promoted that idea that "only socialism can save China" in *Teahouse*; he does not join the Communist Party in act 3, either. Instead, he joins Wang and Qin to host a memorial ceremony for themselves. What makes this character very prominent and touching is because, according to Zheng's words, he is "this one" and not "that group."[60] Zheng's words point out the rarity of *Teahouse*'s portrayal of characters' individuality rather than stereotypes. *Teahouse* demonstrates how the characterization of different individualities would be allowed. No character in *Teahouse* attempts to directly persuade the audience to accept a specific faith. The leading character in this play all have vivid personalities and hold distinct viewpoints, but although they may not agree with each other, they figure out a way to get along accordingly. The whole play has no intention

[58] Ying Rocheng, "Chongyan chaguan," 104.

[59] The early Chinese spoken drama (*wenmingxi* 文明戲, civilized play) adopted the Japanese new drama's "make-up speech" in the performance. The prior goal of the performance was to propagate the revolutionary experience instead of entertainment. In a play, those who disregard the fluency of narrative and offered long speeches were called "*yanlun (pai) zheng sheng* 言論 (派)正生". See Fang Changan 方長安, *Zhongguo jinxiandai wenxue zhuanxing yu riben wenxue guanxi* 中國近現代文學轉型與日本文學關係 (The Transformation of Modern Chinese Literature and its Relationship with Japanese Literature) (Taipei: Xiuwei, 2012) 53-55.

[60] "Yan chaguan," 51.

to aggressively target a specific individual or to make someone take the responsibility for the whole society.

What Lao She presents in *Teahouse* is the system-blame approach instead of the person-blame.[61] The person-blame approach would ignore the strains that are caused by inequalities within the social system. In fact, by excluding and blaming specific individuals, the systemic change become even more difficult. The balance of the person-blame and the system-blame has been an essential concern of Sociology. Though the system-blame approach tends to present that individuals have no free will and, therefore, absolve individuals from responsibility for their actions, the tendency to always target individuals throughout the 1950-70s China also ignores to understand the problematic distribution of power in society. Since most people tend to blame individuals, how the actors have portrayed in *Teahouse* functions to offer a balance. The performance of *Teahouse*, thus, embodies that the notice of systematic problem is a necessary precondition to restructuring society along more human needs. In contrast to what Lao She presents in Teahouse and what did happen to him is very ironic. The aggressive persecution toward individuals—Lao She himself also became a target— during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, made the cessation of *Teahouse* an unavoidable fate.

Epilogue

Lao She's widow Hu Jieqing 胡絜青 mentioned that the third performance of *Teahouse* in 1979, after the Cultural Revolution, was even more popular than before, because this play

[61] The different approaches of system-blame and personal-blame, see D. Stanley Eitzen, Maxine Baca Zinn, and Kelly Eitzen Smith, "The Sociological Approach to Social Problems" in *Social Problems* 12th edition (Boston: Pearson, 2011), 15-19.

reminded the audience of the social calamities created by the "Gang of Four."[62] The force talking certainly got further aggressive and out of control during the Cultural Revolution, but the severe censorship and the rigorous political struggle had taken place since the 1950s. Although the sign "*motan guoshi*" in *Teahouse* seems to criticize the KMT's censorship before the establishment of New China, various kinds of censorship continuously surrounded the first *Teahouse* performances of 1958 and 1963. Thus, Hu's statement is also applicable to what the audience had experienced in the 1950s and 1960s in China. Considering Hu's words, it is further ironic that the government attempted to shape *Teahouse* into a play that demonstrates a dark past to support New China, when what had happened in the dark past was similar to the many unjust cases in New China. *Teahouse* always reflects contemporary speech control. In 1979, even though Hu could say that the bad past represented in *Teahouse*, as a matter of fact, would continue even after the establishment of New China, she still had to say it in a correct way—only blaming the "Gang of Four" but not mentioning the Cultural Revolution which might directly link to Mao.

Ironically, in 1958, a year that encouraged everyone to loudly speak out, Lao She had to write essays to carefully explain what he had said in *Teahouse*. Lao She elucidated that the whole play depicts "the burying of the three old periods"[63] and means to "let the audience to appreciate the achievements gained after New China was established and put effort into a great leap forward."[64] Lao She's self-explanations were used by many later critics as their major

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[62] Hu Jieqing, "Guanyu Lao She de chaguan" 關於老舍的《茶館》(Concerning Lao She's Teahouse) in Liu, *Chaguan de wutai yishu*, 288.

[63] Lao She, "Dafu," 93.

[64] Lao She, "Tan chaguan" 談《茶館》(Talk about *Teahouse*), *Zhongguo qingnianbao* 中國青年報 (China Youth Daily) (April 4, 1958).

premise in interpreting *Teahouse*. By quoting Beckett's case—When Beckett was asked who Godot was and what he represented, he reportedly answered, "If I knew, I would have said so in the play"— Koon-Ki Ho has pointed out that it is unfair to ask the author to explain his work to you. It is far more unfair asking Lao She to explain *Teahouse*, because "he could say anything but confess that the play was reactionary if he wanted to avoid political censorship, to say the least."[65] Indeed, Lao She's response demonstrates that when there is no space for free thinking, the space of free speech is in vain.

I further argue that the permanent echo of Lao She's politically correct self-explanation points out an even bigger problem. Even though after the Cultural Revolution, *Teahouse* was recognized as a milestone of Chinese modern drama, this interpretation tends to set the tone that *Teahouse* is a representative Chinese play created by a patriotic playwright. The mainstream comments frequently cite Lao She's 1958 statement and make it the only correct way to understand *Teahouse*. However, I argue that the more consistent interpretation of *Teahouse* is, the less inclusive is the potential that *Teahouse* can make the audience sense *home*. When *Teahouse* is recognized as an unchangeable masterpiece, which is not open to change, this play becomes part of the *homeland* identity construction. The *homeland* construction features confinement to a belief system and fear of change. Therefore, what can vitalize *Teahouse* would be to consider how this play can once again inspire people to grow into more conscious, intelligent beings.

The original form of scriptwriting and performance in *Teahouse* offers the audience a very unconventional theatrical experience. *Teahouse* is actually a collective work created by Lao She, Jiao Juyin, and the actors. The innovative directing by Jiao not only left the BPAT with a classic

[65] Koon-Ki Ho, "From the Absurdist to the Realist," 207.

play, but it also cultivated a generation of actors through *Teahouse*. The actors were challenged by the ambiguous tone of the script and the requirement of re-experiencing life realities. Lao She and Jiao's insistence on the theatrical truthfulness not only enriched the actors' creativity, but it also challenged the extreme contrast between the hero and the villain in theater. As Ying Roucheng points out, there are always few entirely wise heroes; most people are products of their own time and always have their own limitations. The characters in *Teahouse* are all befuddled throughout their whole life.[66]

While political ideology always asks people to declare a clear stand, performance like *Teahouse*, on the other hand, brings back truthfulness by honestly admitting the ambivalent human nature and life reality. That is why in the final act, everyone in the theater is entirely attracted by the tragic scene: After the three old men (Wang, Qin, and Chang) use traditional practices of splashing the Chinese joss papers to offer themselves a symbolic funeral, Qin and Chang leave while Wang stays alone on the stage. Wang, who has gone through all the vicissitudes of life, quietly stands in the middle of the stage without saying a word. This is a rare scene of Chinese *huaju*, yet over 1,000 viewers all motionlessly stare at the stage. The rest of the actors are all waiting behind the curtain and everyone carefully restrains even their sound of breath. Ying Roucheng recalls, "That is really a scene! Such a rare phenomenon [in the history of Chinese *huaju*]!"[67] The challenges of existing theatrical conventions particularly enable the actors and the audience to trace the gradually losing sense of reality due to the sociopolitical upheaval. The silent scene can cause a huge echo in everyone's mind.

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[66] "Yan chaguan," 59.

[67] Ying, "Chongyan", 105

The most outstanding achievement of *Teahouse* is its original performance which breaks the existing rules. However, the unchangeable performance has been maintained for over six decades, which is contrary to the primary breakthrough. *Teahouse* has been recognized as a stylized paradigm—including its costumes, movement, and sound effects— for the BPAT to perform the "authentic Beijing."[68] Some people suggest using video recordings of *Teahouse* as a teaching material. Although some actors believe that using the play as a pattern for theatrical creation can "contribute to the prosperity of Chinese drama,"[69] I would argue that a specific rule may prevent rather than advance the creativity of theater. The standardization and stylization of *Teahouse* would make the director and actors to lose their agency. The director Lin Zhaohua 林兆華, has admitted that it was merely an "assigned task" for him to redirect *Teahouse* for the BPAT in 1999. Since *Teahouse* had been recognized as an unshakable classical work, Lin could only revise minor details, rather than entirely change the narrative structure.[70] Lin states outright that "it is a shame that the BPAT has promoted *Teahouse* as its only landmark work."[71] He says so because he believes that China should create more new repertories which can carry on contemporary concerns. However, the government-funded theaters are commonly dominated by the official ideology which restricts artistic creativity. Lin's concern received a response at the end of 2017. The Sichuan People's Art Theatre adapted a Sichuan vernacular version

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[68] Tian Benxiang 田本相, personal communication in Beijing (January 4, 2018).

[69] "Yan chaguan," 54.

[70] Lin Zhaohua, personal communication in Beijing (January 9, 2018).

[71] Lin Zhaohua, interview, *Qiangqiang sanrenxing* 鏘鏘三人行 (Behind the Headlines with Wen Tao), Phoenix Television (May 22, 2014).

of *Teahouse*, which incorporates the local Sichuan teahouse culture.[72] This could be a starting point for the audience to expect the addition of new voice— more new versions of *Teahouse* with brand new reinterpretations.

[72] The Sichuan vernacular version of *Teahouse* fundamentally changes the narrative structure and the ending of this play. How the new version adopts the Sichuan local elements, see Wang Miao 王淼, "Jingdian chongguo de zuobiao tixi" 經典重構的座標體系 (The Coordinate of Revising the Classic), *Zhongguo xiju* 中國戲劇 (Chinese Theatre) 1 (2018): 25-6.

Chapter 2

Alternative Chineseness in the Making:

The Filmmaking of *Love Eterne* (1963) and its Reception in Taiwan

This chapter explores how an imaginary China was made, represented, and circulated through the Shaw Brothers' *huangmeidiao* 黃梅調 (the huangmei-opera tone) film, and how the Chineseness produced by the film was received in Taiwan. The alternative Chineseness attached to this *huangmeidiao* film sheds light on the tension between *homeland* construction and a sense of *home*. Prior to Hong Kong filmmakers' inventive creation of *huangmeidiao* films as a cinematic genre, their purpose was to make commercial profit. Since Taiwan was one of the most crucial export markets for the Shaw Brothers, Taiwanese audiences' preferred way of imagining China drove the style and subject matter of *huangmeidiao* films. Additionally, the popularity of *huangmeidiao* films reshaped the Taiwanese imagination of Chineseness. The KMT government attempted to use *huamgmeidiao* films to construct the imagination of a Chinese *homeland* for Taiwanese people and to manipulate such imagination to support the policy of retaking mainland China. However, the requirements and conditions for producing *hurangmeidiao* films as well as the medium for maintaining the Chinese *homeland* imagination were in conflict with the chaos and unrest caused by a war. The more the audience looked forward to seeing *huangmeidiao* films, the less likely they would wish for military conflict between the KMT and the CCP.

I argue that the poetic and apolitical Chineseness depicted in *huangmeidiao* films unexpectedly opened up an alternative possibility of being Chinese for Taiwanese people. In stark contrast to the severe political control in China and Taiwan during the 1960s, Hong Kong's flourishing free trade and commercial filmmaking of *huamgmeidiao* films "contributed to the construction of a China that was at once idealized and ahistorical."[1] The catchy visual and aural components of *huangmeidiao* films not only offered Taiwanese audiences a brand-new cinematic experience, but they also demonstrated that one could simply identify oneself as Chinese anywhere, with no need to physically return to mainland China in order to further the political propaganda. For the KMT government in Taiwan, Chinese cultural identity could only be a transitional step that had to move forward to specific political aims: supporting the eventual return and militarily restoring the KMT regime in the mainland China. In contrast with the relatively martial and masculine Chineseness that the KMT constructed, *huangmeidiao* films, with their soft tone and feminine style, demonstrated an alternative Chineseness. *Huangmeidiao* films presented a relatively approachable Chineseness that was much more easily accepted by the ordinary public. This kind of Chineseness countered the KMT's official vision of what it meant to be Chinese. During the Martial Law period, the KMT put effort to militarize literary products. Thus, the masculine style of being a Chinese had been promoted by the KMT. Dissimilar to what the KMT promoted, the HMD films depicted Chineseness as poetic, beautiful, relaxed, and feminine. Collectively, this alternative vision of Chineseness enabled the audience to develop a more comfortable and approachable sense of *home*. The sense of *home* offered more possibilities of being Chinese which could be even decoupled from the political China. To be more specific, the filmmakers manufactured a beautiful China in these *huangmeidiao* films, and

[1] Poshek Fu, *China Forever: The Shaw Brothers and Diasporic Cinema* (Champaign: University of Illinois, 2008) 13-14.

the KMT government tended to reconstruct the popular, beautiful China to support its *homeland* narrative and political propaganda. Nevertheless, the audience reception demonstrated that what the audience mainly cared about was the creation of beauty and actors' performances instead of the theme of *homeland* in China. Therefore, through analyzing the filmmaking and reception of *huangmeidiao* films, I examine how the audience's understandings and expectations of cinematic performance might not align with what the government anticipated and promoted.

I investigate how this filmmaking enriched the possibility of being Chinese by focusing on the Shaw Brothers' *Love Eterne* (*Liang Shanbo yu Zhu Yingtai* 梁山伯與祝英台, 1963). This masterpiece earned more at the Taiwanese box office than all other films released that year,[2] and the unsurpassable success of this film inaugurated a period during which "no film was without *huangmeidiao (wupian buhuangmei* 無片不黃梅)" in the 1960s.[3] The director Li Han-Hsiang 李翰祥 fashioned a classical Chinese atmosphere in *Love Eterne* and subsequent *huangmeidiao* films. *Love Eterne* was proved to be even more popular in Taiwan than in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia,[4] where the Shaw Brothers had operated their cinematic enterprise for decades. Initially, the success of *Love Eterne* in Hong Kong was not as planned. The Shaw Brothers had originally thought they would adjust their filmmaking productions to more historical films based on the second Sino-Japanese War or to sumptuous contemporary musicals. After *Love Eterne*

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[2] Liu Hsien-Cheng 劉現成, "Shaoshi dianying zai Taiwan" 邵氏電影在臺灣 (The Shaw Brothers' Films in Taiwan) in *Shaoshi yingshi diguo: Wenhua Zhongguo de xiangxiang* 邵氏影視帝國: 文化中國的想像 (The Empire of The Shaw Brothers: The Imagination of Cultural China), ed. Liao Chin-Feng 廖金鳳 (Taipei: Maitian, 2003), 146.

[3] Peggy Chiao 焦雄屏, *Gaibian lishi de wunian* 改變歷史的五年 (The Five Years that Changed the History) (Taipei: Wanxiang, 1993), 196.

[4] Yao Feng-Pan 姚鳳磐, "Tianwei feilai dihou" 天外飛來帝后 (Here Comes the Emperor and the Empress), *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), June 5, 1963, 6.

unexpectedly broke box office records in Taiwan, the Shaw Brothers decided to produce more *huangmeidiao* films for the Taiwanese market.[5]

I suggest that although the main audience in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia was Chinese, for most of this audience, the identity of being Chinese was only a cultural and ethnic awareness. However, being a Chinese person in Taiwan was always in service toward a highly political purpose. Chineseness in Taiwan had been defined by the KMT government. Through systematic education and propaganda, the KMT's plan of identity construction was to made everyone in Taiwan become a Chinese *who supported the regime's interest in using Taiwan's resources in order to return to China and to recover the Party's lost regime*. By examining the filmmaking of *Love Eterne* and its reception in Taiwan, I contextualize not only how the Shaw Brothers materialized the dream-like China in the film studio, but also how the KMT government in Taiwan used the apolitical Chineseness in *huangmeidiao* films to summon favorable impressions in audiences to form a base for a metaphorical, generic Chinese identity of an imaginary *homeland*. Nevertheless, the visually and aurally popularized Chineseness in *huangmeidiao* films debatably turns the identity of Chinese individuals living in Taiwan into one that is unhooked from the political propaganda. The audience would feel comfortable and want to stay—a compulsion that serves as the starting point for the developing sense of *home*—while they were watching the film.

Instead of claiming that the marketing success of *huangmeidiao* films demonstrated a nostalgia for China during the Cold War, I argue that *huangmeidiao* films created and shaped the Chinese nostalgia that was disseminated across the transnational Sinophone sphere. Indeed, numerous Chinese people who fled from China to Hong Kong due to the political upheaval

[5] "Liangzhu meizuo zai gang buru lixiang"「梁祝」在港賣座不如理想 (The Box Office of *Love Eterne* was Not Desirable in Hong Kong) *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), May 14, 1963, 6.

during the Cold War made it possible to recognize that *huangmeidiao* films could be viewed as "projections of the nostalgia of the directors, scriptwriters, and composers, who migrated from the Mainland, mostly Shanghai, to the borrowed space and time of Hong Kong."[6] However, for most of the people in Taiwan who had no real-life experience in China but had been assigned to identify themselves as Chinese, *huangmeidiao* films provided a clue to enrich their longing for an imaginary Chinese *homeland.* This imaginary Chinese *homeland*, neither a specific location nor an accurate memory, only dwelled like a "virtual reality" in imaginative fiction such as drama and film. The construction of an imaginary *homeland* underscored how individuals could learn to long for an unfamiliar or even uncertain *homeland* of which they had no memory, as well as how they could experience alienation in the land where they resided. Through examining how a dream-like China was materialized in *Love Eterne* and why the classical China dream was particularly attractive to these 1960s Taiwanese audience, I analyze how the Chineseness that Taiwanese audiences embraced might be different from the Chineseness promoted by the government.

1- Making a Classical China in Modernized Hong Kong

In this section, I discuss how the Shaw Brothers used the modernized technique of film production to construct a dream of a classical China, a dream which was disseminated across the transnational Sinophone sphere throughout the 1960s. The *huangmeidiao* film genre was adapted from a local Chinese theatrical form— *huangmeixi* (Huangmei "opera") — moving it from stage to screen. Its catchy melodies, fantastic folklore stories, and delicate costumes made it an ideal

[6] Siu-wah Yu, "Forging a Cultural Heritage in Chinese Movies: Sinifications and Self-imposed Distancing from Chinese Culture in a Globalized Industry" in *East Asian Cinema and Cultural Heritage: From China, Hong Kong, Taiwan to Japan and South Korea*, ed. Kinnia Shuk-ting Yau (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 35.

vehicle to promote the model of a classical Chineseness. Most of the *huangmeidiao* films were adapted from Chinese folklore, legends, or traditional operas, and their backdrops were always set in the distant past. Li Hang-Hsiang pointed out that:

> *We are wearing American shirts and Italian leather shoes today. Other than the Chinese face, our appearance is not very Chinese. . . How can we represent the Chinese sprit? So far making films with classical Chinese customs (guzhuang pian 古裝片) is the only way. Moreover, making films with contemporary customs (shizhuang pian 時裝片) has to concern many topics related to reality. Even if you produce [a film with contemporary customs], the overseas market may not allow you to screen it.*[7]

With various concerns, films with classical Chinese customs were the Shaw Brothers' essential project. Taking advantages of the several centuries time gap between premodern dynasties and contemporary society enabled filmmakers to be flexible in the invention of idealized impressions of classical China. These idealized impressions were even more appealing than historical realities or contemporary memories. Most main scenes of the *huangmeidiao* films were filmed in the Shaw Brother's studio, which was designed to produce commercial films with classical Chinese customs in Hong Kong. The locational displacement enabled the filmmaker to more flexibly reconstruct a beautiful, classical China and to incorporate as many of their wishes in this construction as possible. Some scholars have pointed out that *huangmeidiao* films were primarily a medium of representing a "China dream"[8] in a "decidedly traditional mode."[9] However, the

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[7] "Li Han-Hsiang tan dianying" 李翰祥談電影 (Li Han-Hsiang Talks about Cinema) *Zhengxin xinwenbao* 徵信新聞報 (Credit Newspaper), June 19, 1963, 6.

[8] Kei Sek, "Shaw Film Town's 'China Dream' and 'Hong Kong Sentiments'" in *The Shaw Screen: A Preliminary Study*, ed. Wong Ain-Ling (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2003), 40.

traditional China dream embodied in *huangmeidiao* films actually depended on modernized filmmaking techniques and resources from across East and Southeast Asia. Taking *Love Eterne* as a typical example, I further analyze how the technology overcame temporal and geographic gaps and produced the "authenticity" of a classical China. Through examining how the modernized technology created a classical China that was even more attractive than the original, traditional opera and the previous opera films, I locate the profound meaning of the traditional mode that retained distance from the contemporary present.

FIGURE-1

[9] Paul Fonoroff, "Hong Kong Cinema" in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Film,* eds. Yingjin Zhang and Zhiwei Xiao (London: Routledge, 1998), 39.

FIGURE-2

The visual component of *Love Eterne* demonstrates how an imaginary China, which is even more charming than the real one, can be reconstructed in the studio outside of mainland China. From its opening scene, the material setting and flexible camera movements of *Love Eterne* effectively depict the impression of a picturesque Chinese water town and a secluded boudoir. The first shot shows plum blossom tress over a shining river across a stone bridge. Alongside the river is a traditional Chinese townhouse, and the next shot shifts to a middle shot filling the frame with impressionistic hues as the wind moves the plum trees in the soft dance of nature and as pedestrians' bustle across the bridge. After viewing pedestrians on the street, the audience see the leading female character Zhu Yingtai leaning on the balcony enviously looking out at young scholars on their way to school (FIGURE-1). The first shot of Zhu's boudoir shows several door panels adorned with delicate sculptures at the bottom and ink paintings on white organdy at the top (FIGURE-2). Since the organdy is semitransparent, the camera is able to follow Zhu pacing into the first inner chamber from the balcony (FIGURE-3). Then the camera, after moving through the first chamber, continues moving behind other similar door panels to the second inner

chamber (FIGURE-4). These ornamental furnishings frame Zhu's movement and contrast with her spiritual emptiness. The semitransparent material settings create multiple visual layers and enable flexible camera movements to break what would otherwise be solid chamber boundaries, thereby offering an unprecedented depth of the space. The multiple layers of material settings enrich not only the visual composition but also the audience's imagination of a classical China. Particularly, Li Hang-Hsiang believes that paying "attention to the settings, costumes, and props [is important] not only to fit the need of the plot, but also to represent the realization of Chinese national culture."[10] The opening scene of *Love Eterne* concretely demonstrates how Li materializes his aesthetic credo for *huangmeidiao* films.

FIGURE-3

[10] Wong Bak-Fei 黃北飛, "Yu li hanxiang tan bujing" 與李翰祥談布景 (Talk about the Scenery with Li Han-Hsiang), *Hong Kong yinghua* 香港影畫 (Illustrations of Hong Cinema) 136, (April 1977): 28-29.

FIGURE-4

The visual component of the film's material settings and cinematography made *Love Eterne*, a tragic love story adapted from one of the most well-known Chinese repertoires, even more romantic than previous theatrical versions or opera films. The boudoir setting of *Love Eterne* is neither similar to traditional stage performances, which usually contained only an arrangement of a desk with a pair of chairs, nor that of previous opera films which had mainly used stable shots to convey the performance from the stage to the screen. Although previous opera films depicted boudoir scenes, the material setting of *Love Eterne* differed: the boudoir became a space with which a character's emotions interacted and which aroused resonances for the audience. The breakthrough enabled by the boudoir scenes of *Love Eterne* is evident when considering the two films which were the most direct references—the 1954 Shaoxing opera film (*yueju* 越劇), *Butterfly Lover*, and the 1958 Cantonese opera film (*yueju* 粵劇), *Tragic Story of Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai.* In the Shaoxing opera version, only a traditional Chinese painting of beautiful women hanging on the wall indicates that the scene is a boudoir space. In the Cantonese opera version, the crucial act, "Reunion in the Boudoir" (*loutaihui* 樓臺會), is

situated in a pavilion-like space with trees outside the building as the main background. In contrast, the boudoir setting in *Love Eterne* not only indicates Zhu's personality, but also functions as a cultural sign through the symbolic meanings of the visual composition. Director, Li Han-Hsiang made an effort to place importance on the background setting associated the most with this primary character. The luxurious furnishing in Zhu's boudoir was created in order to fit with popular imaginations of a classical lady from a respectable Chinese family, even if the scenery might not actually mirror the reality of domestic settings in classical China.[11] In other words, while the furnishings are real, the setting aims more to evoke and shape an idealized space in accordance to the audience's imagination. Furnishings are a key element in constructing domestic space, since they "defin[e] an aesthetic or style" and "constitute a highly visible marker of class and status."[12] The quality antique furniture implies Zhu's affluent upbringing, and the paintings and calligraphy on the walls evoke a classical Chinese literary mood that was appropriate to both refined and popular tastes. The delicate, antique furniture and the color scheme are meant to convey Zhu's refined taste as well as her purity and determination for the search of knowledge, which distinguishes her from most conventional female roles.

In "Reunion in the Boudoir," the turning point for the entire story taking place in Zhu's boudoir, Director Li demonstrates his ability to use the setting to embody Chinese culture and to dramatize the characters' emotions. In the first shot, Liang enters Zhu's boudoir by pushing aside a bead curtain with swallows painted on it (FIGURE-5). In Chinese culture, swallows symbolize

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[11] For a discussion on scenes of women in domestic settings in Ming and Qing China, see James Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in High Qing China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). James Cahill ed., *Beauty Revealed: Images of Women in Qing Dynasty Chinese Painting* (Berkeley: Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, 2013).

[12] Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 67.

springtime, happiness, and good fortune, since swallows return every spring.[13] Moreover, since swallows often fly in pairs, couples in love are compared to swallows; swallows therefore imply faithful love. Walking through a jubilant painting joyously, Liang's happiness appears in his face. His happiness ironically contrasts with the tragic ending. The swallows on the bead curtains, presumably symbolizing Liang's bliss, are instead an ironic element in the setting.

FIGURE-5

[13] Patricia Bjaaland Welch, *Chinese Art: A Guide to Motifs and Visual Imagery* (North Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing, 2008), 88.

FIGURE-6

After chatting about times past with Liang, Zhu soon has to tell him the truth–that her father has already arranged her marriage. Zhu is so filled with sorrow that she can barely explain the entire situation. She merely mentions, "disappointedly, my marriage was…" before rushing through another bead curtain to the inner chamber (FIGURE-6). The camera follows Zhu's passage and shows the bead curtain rustling and swinging and the lotus painting on the bead curtain splitting. Lotuses have been regarded as symbols of chastity and resolution in Chinese culture. The twin lotus flowers on one stalk (*bingdilian* 並蒂蓮), which indicates a unified heart, one root, a shared fortune and life, is especially a metaphor for an affectionate couple. Similarly, the *ou* 藕 (lotus root)／*ou* 偶 (mate) pun implies the blessing for lovers to become soul mates forever. As soon as Zhu passes through the bead curtain, the disintegration of the lotus pattern symbolizes Liang and Zhu's tragic destiny. Indeed, the rustling can also be read as an externalization of the confusion and disturbance in Liang's mind. Bead curtains function essentially as separations in a domestic space, but they also cause auditory and visual effects that

are different from a simple door. In addition to the bread curtain, a diaphanous screen separates Liang and Zhu, and the following bird's-eye-view shot shows how tiny a person could be in front of destiny. The high angle shot is intended to capture Liang through a semitransparent screen. The angle gives the illusion of expanding the space of Zhu's boudoir while the screen blurs Liang's figure. Contrary to the refined settings of Zhu's boudoir, Liang's dissolved features in the background represent how he cannot be together with Zhu. The screen acts as an intangible wall that separates Liang and Zhu; while they can still see each other faintly, it is impossible for them to stay with each other.

Modern film techniques permitted the color of the delicate antique furniture and the quality of cinematography to be accurately projected. The expert responsible for making these unconventional visual qualities possible was the Japanese cinematographer, Nishimoto Tadashi 西本正, who brought his cinematic experience from Japan and *Man'ei* 滿映 to Hong Kong. His innovative cinematographic techniques enabled *Love Eterne* to go beyond the formalistic confinements of previous Chinese opera films—films which, as previously described, mainly recorded the actor's performance at a relatively flat angle. Nishimoto had worked at the Shintoho studio and served as assistant director on Japan's first anamorphic widescreen film. Nishimoto began a long-term commitment to the Shaw Brothers in 1958 and made "Shaw Scope (*shaoshi zongyiti huxing kuoyinmu* 邵氏綜藝體弧形闊銀幕)" films—color films with curved widescreens— the trademark characteristic of Shaw Brothers' films.[14] Nishimoto brought the Shaw Brothers the wide-screen camera from Toho 東宝), a Japanese film company, and

[14] David Bordwell, "Another Shaw Production: Anamorphic Adventures in Hong Kong" in *Widescreen Worldwide*, eds. John Beltom, Sheldom Hall, and Steve Beale (New Barnet: John Libbey Publishing), 200-01.

instructed cinematographers in methods of filming in the anamorphic format.[15] He convinced The Shaw Brothers of the value of Japanese craftsmanship and won *Love Eterne* the Best Colour Photography Award at the 10th Asian Film Festival. He connected the Shaw Brothers to Toyo Laboratory, as the color film had to be sent to Japan to be printed. Before Nishimoto served at the Shaw Brothers, the Shaw Brothers' color film had been sent to Britain for printing. The connection with Toyo Laboratory fundamentally improved the quality of the Shaw Brothers' color films at a much lower cost and with more efficient production. The alteration made Shaw's wish to sell *Love Eterne* around the world possible.[16]

FIGURE-7

With the Japanese connection, the opening credit sequence of each Shaw Brothers film features the "Shaw Scope"—the letters "SB" encased within a crest symbol—emblazoned across

[15] Yanli Han, "Japanese Cinematographer Nishimoto Tadashi's Hong Kong Romance," *Hong Kong Film Archive Newsletter*, no. 32 (May 2005), 13-14.

[16] Yau Kinnia 邱淑婷, *Huadiweiyou: gangri yingren koushu lishi* 化敵為友: 港日影人口述歷史 (To Convert Enemies into Friends: The Oral History of Filmmakers in Hong Kong and Japan) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 77

a multicolored frosted-glass backdrop, accompanied by the words “Shaw Scope.” (Figure-7) The modern style design made “Shaw Scope” become the monumental Shaw Brothers logo. The logo became highly familiar by audiences across Sinophone communities and functioned as a guarantee of visual quality and of box office hit during the 1960-80s. Color technology and widescreen filming furnished the Shaw Brothers with an advantage in competing within the international film market. It is fair to say that Shaw Scope, which was built with Japanese aid, facilitated the commercial success of the Shaw Brothers.

Although *Love Eterne* was regarded as the model of representing authentic Chinese culture that resonated Chinese national consciousness (*minzu yishi* 民族意識),[17] what was hidden was that this image actually relied on transnational spheres of production and circulation. The concoction of an “authentic” China drawing flexibly on trans-Asian resources is evident in the creation of landscapes in the Shaw Brothers’ films. The Shaw Brothers expended many resources to build a modern film studio in Clearwater Bay, Hong Kong, which began operations in 1960. The facilities contained six sound stages and two streets lined with historical buildings modeled on an impression of southern China. Most of the landscape of *The Love Eterne* were filmed in the Shaw Brothers’ studio. In other words, the historical sites were not realistic yet more attractive than the realistic ones. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh uses the term “verisimilitude” to describe the feature of Shaw Brothers’ *huangmeidiao* films. She points out that “verisimilitude is another major element in force behind the transformation of the documentary-like opera film to the modern huangmeidiao melodrama. … [B]y transforming the imaginations of ancient China into visual and aural delight. Aided by widescreen and colour photography, Li persisted in bringing

[17] Sa Meng-Wu 薩孟武, “Guan liangzhu dianying yougan” 觀「梁祝」電影有感 (Thoughts after Watching *Love Eterne*), *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報 (Central Daily News) , June 5, 1963, 6.

back to life the grandeur of ancient China."[18] The artificially constructed landscape within the studio significantly contributed to the Shaw Brothers' commercial films with classical Chinese customs.

Additionally, some snow scenes in *Love Eterne* were actually filmed in Japan and subsequently edited into scenery based more on a Chinese landscape.[19] The Shaw Brothers also filmed snow scenes inside the Hong Kong studio. The snowman was made of polystyrene blocks.[20] It took the technical staff one day to slowly and evenly spread the whitening powder on the ground and the tree branches. Then they used coarse salt and silver powder to make the visual effect of snow's reflection.[21] When filming the snow scene, the technical staff used over one hundred bags of talcum powder. Three big fans blew the talcum powder in the air so that it would gradually float down, simulating real snow.[22] Snow is rare in Hong Kong, and real snow also not something known to the majority of the Taiwanese audience. However, this artificial snow scene, crafted in the studio, manufactured a pure, spotless, poetic, and romanticized impression of classical China without the filming ever actually occurring in China. The snow scene was one of the most typical cases of how *huangmeidiao* films blurred the line between the fake and the real.

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[18] Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh, "From Shaw Brothers to Grand Motion Picture: Localisation of Huangmei Diao Films," in *Li Han-Hsiang, Storyteller*, ed. Ain Ling Wong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2007), 118.

[19] "The Crew of Love Eterne went to Japan for the Outdoor Scenes," *Nanguo dianying* 南國電影 (Southern Screen) (March1963): 30-31.

[20] Wong Lei-Ming 王麗明,ed., *Bujing moshushi* 佈景魔術師 (The Magician of Scenery) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2013), 68.

[21] Ibid, 23.

[22] "Liangzhu"「梁祝」(Love Eterne), *Nanguo dianying* 南國電影 (Southern Screen), (April 1963): 24-27.

2- Popularizing Chineseness: From the Vernacular Opera to the Mandarin Musical Film

The apolitical tone of *Love Eterne* actually reflected the rivalrous, annihilative, and intertwining relationship between politics and artistry. *Love Eterne* was inspired by two Chinese opera films, the *yueju* 越劇(*Shaoxing* opera) film *The Butterfly Lovers* (1954) and the *huangmeixi* 黃梅戲(*huganmei* opera) film *Heavenly Match* (1955), produced in the PRC. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) originally planned to use the cinematic genre—opera film—as a medium to systematically disseminate its revolutionary ideologies of anti-feudalism and class conflict. *The Butterfly Lover*, which served to promote the new Marriage Law, correctly reflected the tensions between political ideological propaganda and a tragic love story. The CCP successfully manipulated the beauty and sadness in *The Butterfly Lovers* and used this film to export cultural influence across diplomatic and political boundaries during the Cold War.[23] The Chinese opera film was also a "soft weapon" aimed at increasing people's understanding of new China and aligning Hong Kong denizens' national identity towards the PRC.[24] While the British colonial government in Hong Kong applied strict censorship on films made in the PRC during the 1950-60s, the Chinese opera film, due to its classical setting and relatively inapparent consideration of politics, usually would be allowed to screen.[25] The CCP conducted the filming of Chinese opera films for the sake of permeating Communist revolutionary ideas within the

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[23] Xu Lanjun 徐蘭君, "*Aishang* de yiyi: wushi niandai de liangzhure ji yueju de liuxing"「哀傷」的意義: 五十年代的「梁祝」熱及越劇的流行 (The Meaning of Sadness: The Popularity of *Butterfly Love* and Shouxing Opera in the 1950s), *Wenxue pinglun* 文學評論 (Literary Review) 6 (2010): 54-61.

[24] Xu Dunle 許敦樂, "Kenguang tuoying wushi qiu" 懇光拓影五十秋 (The Fifty Years of Filmmaking), *Kenguang tuoying* 墾光拓影 (Filmmaking) (Hong Kong: MCCM Creations, 2005, 14-113.

[25] NG Kwok Kwan 吳國坤, "Liangzhan shiqi Hong Kong dianying de zhengzhi shencha" 冷戰時期香港電影的政治審查 (The Political Censorship of Films in Cold War Hong Kong), in *Leng zhan yu Hong Kong dian ying* 冷戰與香港電影 (Cold War and Hong Kong Cinema) eds. Wong Ain-ling 黃愛玲 and Lee Pui-tak 李培德 (Hong Kong: HK Film Archive, 2009), 58-59.

ROC camp; some new operas soon became "the new classics" "purely because of their excellent artistry" and were widely circulated.[26] Both *The Butterfly Lover* and *Heavenly Match* made a splash at the box office in Hong Kong. Director Li was particularly inspired by the popularity and commercial success of *Heavenly Match*. Thus, he convinced the Shaw Brothers to "readopt" *huangmeixi* and invented a new cinematic genre— the *huangmeidiao* film.[27] Li was keen to take advantage of new visual and aural technologies, which facilitated the *huangmeidiao* film's departure from the established style of early Chinese opera film. The Shaw Brothers released its first *huangmeidiao* film *Diao Chan* (*Diao Chan* 貂蟬) in 1958. The success of *Diao Chan* and a subsequent *huangmeidiao* film, *Kingdom and the Beauty* (*jiangshan meiren* 江山美人, 1959) in Taiwan led director Li to notice the market potential in Taiwan.[28] The *huangmeidiao* films produced in Hong Kong acted as an intermediary between China and Taiwan during the Cold War. While all cinema filmed in China was banned in Taiwan, Hong Kong filmmakers readjusted various Chinese opera films to the *huangmeidiao* genre for Taiwanese audiences. The filming of *Love Eterne* first involved the commercial competition between the Shaw Brothers and MP & GI. MP &GI (also known as the Cathay Organization), which was most famous for its works of urban romance and musicals, was another dominating Hong Kong film company that always ambitiously competed with the Shaw Brothers. When MP & GI announced it would adapt the famous Chinese legend *The Butterfly Lover* into a film, the Shaw Brothers rushed out

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[26] Wang An-chi 王安祈, "Yishu, shangye, zhengzhe, jilu: lun *xiqudianying* jiqidui huangmeidiao dianying de yingxiang" 藝術. 商業. 政治. 紀錄: 論戲曲電影及其對黃梅調電影的影響 (Art, Economics, Politics, and Documentary: On Peking Opera Movie and Its Effect on Huangmei Opera Movie), *Minsuquyi* 民俗曲藝 190 (2015.12): 1–66.

[27] Tin-Wan Lam, "Li Han-hsiang's *Long Men Zhen"* in *Li Han-hsiang, Storyteller,* ed. Ain-ling Wong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2007), 125-126.

[28] *Diao Chan* led the Taipei box office in 1958, and *Kingdom and the Beauty* led the box office in 1959. See Liu, "Shaoshi dianying zai Taiwan," 128-47.

the rival version: *Love Eterne*. In contrast with the Shaw Brothers' expectation, this film met with dismal box office sales in Hong Kong but caused a sensation in Taiwan. During the roughly two-month screening of *Love Eterne* in Taiwan, another color *koa-a-hi* 歌仔戲(Taiwanese opera) film *Sampeh Ingtai* 三伯英台 (Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai, 1963) representing the same story was released. However, this film was no longer showing within only a week.[29] Another color *jingju* 京劇 (Beijing/Peking opera) film *Liang Hung-Yu* (*Liang Hongyu* 梁紅玉, Lady General Liang Hong-Yu, 1963), which was supported by the Central Motion Pictures Corporation (the official company run by KMT) and the national opera troupe, was also only screened for 8 days.[30] *Love Eterne*, which overcame the language and political barrier,[31] gained invincible momentum and far outperformed typical opera films in Taiwan.

Why could a re-adaption of the traditional repertoire be even more attractive than the original opera in Taiwan? In addition to the refined visual component, I suggest that the Hong Kong filmmaker's re-creation of *huangmeidiao* popularizing Chineseness was more approachable than the KMT version. The *jingju* film *Liang Hung-Yu* depicts a heroine who is fighting alongside her husband and playing the drum beats to guide and encourage the soldiers. Such a patriotic topic of theater and film was very typical in Cold War Taiwan. While both the PRC and ROC were eagerly representing their own version of Chineseness based on political

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[29] Liang Liang 梁良, *Zhonghua minguo dianying yingpian shangying zongmu* 中華民國電影影片上映總目(一) (The Catalog of Films Screened in the ROC- I) (Taipei: Dianying tushuguan, 1984), 152.

[30] Ibid, 153.

[31] The KMT launched the strict language policy that promoted Mandarin as the only official language in Taiwan. Although the language made people in Taiwan commonly become bilingual, most Taiwanese people's first language was Taiwanese. *Koa-a-hi*, thus, was supposed to have the advantage, because it used the language that most Taiwanese audience member were familiar. *Jingju*, on the other hand, was known as *guoju* 國劇 (national opera), which took on a special status of "political symbolism", in which the KMT government encouraged the art form over other forms of performance in an attempt to claim a position as the sole representative of Chinese culture.

concerns, the Hong Kong filmmakers were free to reconstruct a romantic Chineseness that involved the avoidance of politics. Distinctive from *The Butterfly Lovers* that cooperated with the PRC's priority of highlighting the battle against feudalism, *Love Eterne* focused on the leading character's intellectual and romantic self-fulfillment. Instead of emphasizing the conflict between Zhu and her father, *Love Eterne* focused on Ling' lovely silliness and the sincere affair between Liang and Zhu. *The Butterfly Lovers* already purified the old legend by getting rid of the superstitious plots and erotic words,[32] *Love Eterne* further romanticized and individualized the story. The more romanticized and individualized the story became, the more the film moved far away from the kind of nationalism that had been daily promoted in all forms of media in Cold War Taiwan.

The trans-media adaption also made *huangmeidiao* easily understood by a Taiwanese audience. In naming this genre *huangmeidiao* (*huangmei* tone) instead of *huangmeixi* (*huangmei* opera), Hong Kong filmmakers shifted the emphasis from theatrical opera to cinematic musical. Although *huangmeidiao* films mainly transformed the performing elements of *huangmeixi* (Huangmei opera), a regional opera that flourished in East China's rural areas of Hubei and Anhui provinces, the cinematic performance was not limited by the convention of traditional *xiqu* 戲曲 (Chinese opera). *Xiqu* is a general term refers to the concept of traditional Chinese theater performance. It includes more than 300 regional genres. The use of music and the vernacular language are the most conventional and essential elements for differentiating various regional genres of *xiqu*. Thus, every genre is quite regional; usually, a regional genre is popular only within the area that use the vernacular. Traditionally *huangmeixi* was also sung in local

[32] The ways in which the CCP purified *The Butterfly Lovers*, see Kwok-Wai Hui, "Revolution, Commercialism and Chinese: Opera Films in Socialist Shanghai and Capitalist-colonial Hong Kong 1949-1966" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013), 112-153.

vernacular. However, the Shaw Brothers subverted this practice by using Mandarin in their *huangmeidiao* films. This language change was influential in the popularity these songs gained. The vocal adaptations made the musical vocabulary of *huangmeidiao* films not easily identifiable with a particular region or language. The erasure of regional characteristics, an essential feature of *huangmeidiao* films, had the intention of muddling historically specific contexts in order to construct a highly romanticized and generic classical China.

The soundtrack editing and the influence of Western musical language facilitated the modernized music of *huangmeidiao* films. Music in *huangmeidiao* films is highly distinct from the regional opera's plain instrumentation; this music draws on western musical techniques, including a mixed chorus, orchestral accompaniments, and counterpoint composition.[33] Since *huangmeixi* developed relatively late,[34] it does not have as broad a repertoire of famous works as *yueju* or *jingju*. Unlike the falsetto voice used in *jingju*, singing in *huangmeixi* was close to the natural phonation, which was better accepted by common audiences and had a broader potential market.[35]

The relatively flexible structure of music allowed composers and singers to recreate the vocal language depending on their needs. Given this flexibility, *huangmeixi* was selected by Hong Kong filmmakers as their starting point for reconstructing a dream-like imagination of China.

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[33] Yu Siu-Wah 余少華, *Yue zai diancuo zhong: Hong Kong yasu yinyue wenhua* 樂在顛錯中: 香港雅俗音樂文化 (The Elegance and Inelegance in Hong Kong Musical Culture) (Hong Kong: Oxford, 2001), 119-156.

[34] Though the tea-picking music and the primary performance of *huangmei* opera had been popular since the mid Qing dynasty, the official title "*huangmeixi*" had been offered since 1953. See Ni Bin ed., *Anqing huiju huangmeixi shiliao zhuanji* 安慶徽劇黃梅戲史料專輯 (The Historical Materials of Huiju and Huangmeixi in Anqing City) (Anhui: Anqing wenshi ziliao bianjibu, 1990).

[35] Chang Che 張徹, *Huigu Hong Kong dianying sanshinian* 回顧香港電影三十年 (*Looking back at Hong Kong Cinema over the Past Thirty Years*) (Hong Kong: Joint, 1989), 16.

While *huangmeixi* opera films remained reliant on local musical features that signified a particular time or location, music in *huangmeidiao* films relied instead on a popular style. This music integrated the multi-cultural resources found in Hong Kong at the time, which included Shanghainese popular songs, Chinese folk songs, regional operas, the work of Chinese composers, and foreign pop songs.[36] Given the multicultural origins of *huangmeidiao*, the music conveyed a generalized charm and classical impressions rather than a sense of a particular time or region.

The popular musical style of *huangmeidiao* enabled the general public, without professional musical training, to easily remember and understand the songs. *Huangmeidiao* composers refabricated the music by often using "step intervals,"[37] whereby each note was situated a certain distance apart from the next, forming a repeated pattern. Since the music repeatedly appeared in several patterns, general audiences easily remembered the melody. This strategy of simplifying and popularizing *huangmeidiao* music was based on the assumption that the easier it was for audiences to repeat the songs, the easier they would be able to mentally envisage an imaginary, beautiful China. This utopic China was ubiquitous in 1960s Taiwan and was the preeminent selling point of *huangmeidiao* films in any situation.

The technology of dubbing in post-production allowed film stars who were not opera masters to portray the main characters. *Huangmeidiao* films capitalized on this by casting popular actors/actresses rather than professionally trained masters. Director Li thought that the traditional vocal projection of *huangmeixi* was too rustic and replaced the sound track with music

[36] Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2004), 171.

[37] Step intervals means the distance between the first two notes in a major scale is a whole step. The discussion on the music of *Love Eterne*, see Yang Tian-Jia 楊天嘉, "1960 nindai huangmeidiao yinyue yanjiu: yi shaoshi dianying liang shanbao yu Zhu Yingtai weili" 1960 年代黃梅調音樂研究—以邵氏電影《梁山伯與祝英台》為例 (The Music of the 1960s Huangmeidiao: Take the *Love Eterne* as an Example) (Master thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2007).

sung by a singer trained in western singing methods, Tsin Ting 靜婷, who was the main vocal artist dubbing for the Shaw Brothers' *huangmeidiao* films.[38] The pathos of Tsin's singing in *Love Eterne,* combined with the lead female Loh Ti's 樂蒂 excellent acting, moved viewers to tears. *Love Eterne*'s success propelled the main cast into popular stardom; they became symbols of a beautiful tradition while simultaneously promoting modernized music.

This use of dubbing also solved the problem that young Hong Kong actors were not able to speak Mandarin fluently. Since Mandarin films did not have to rely on senior actors who grew up in China anymore, more young novices received casting opportunities. They performed Chineseness in a freer style. The director Chang Cheh 張徹 pointed out the Chineseness represented in Hong Kong was unlike China or Taiwan. Hong Kong's distinctness was not due to westernization but rather modernization. With faster paths and fewer rules, Hong Kong mainly followed the market preference: an exact feature of modernity.[39] The modernized dubbing technology also allowed more flexibility for the Shaw Brothers to expand their studio. In addition to Clearwater Bay, the Shaw Brothers purchased some abandoned airport storage units as their new studio; however, they could not control the sonic qualities of these spaces. Fortunately, this did not matter since the audio tracks were added in post-production by sound effects editors instead of being gleaned by the boom operator during filming. Both the physical expansion into new spaces and the technological expansion through the use of new sound

[38] Director Li originally hired a voice dubber, whose singing style resembled Wang Shaofang, a famous *huangmei* actor and the leading character in *Tianxianpei.* However, Li eventually replaced this singer with Tsin Ting whose sound was more western style. Li Han-Hsiang, *Sanshi nian xishuo congtou* 三十年細說從頭 (Passing Flickers) (II) (Hong Kong: Tiandi, 1984), 269.

[39] Chang Che, *Huigu Hong Kong dianying sanshinian*, 19.

techniques further strengthened the Shaw Brothers' unprecedented status in the history of Chinese cinema.[40]

The change to musical components detached the language of the songs and dialogues from the operatic music itself, which allowed the transformation of the vernacular opera film to a Mandarin musical. In traditional opera, the language should carefully collocate with the musical melodies. The vocal expression in vernacular language often functions as a clue identifying the boundaries between different regional opera genres. In contrast, *huangmeidiao* music discarded original vernaculars and replaced the lyrics with Mandarin. The language replacement and music adaption offered the audiences a fresh auditory experience that lacked in traditional opera films, which the audiences used to be familiar with.

Mandarin, a language that since the early 20^{tht} century had been standardized for the sake of building a modern nation, paradoxically, became a vehicle to represent a generic classical China in *huangmeidiao* films. As the only nation-wide official language in both the PRC and the ROC, Mandarin had been disseminated through education and public media since the late 1940s. Although Mandarin was not commonly spoken in southern China and Taiwan, the CCP and KMT governors forced their peoples to believe that Mandarin, a Northern Chinese vernacular, was the only language they should use. Mandarin was therefore posited as the basis of a common identity, effectively crossing ethnic boundaries and serving as a marker of Chinese identity during the Cold War era. Mandarin was not only the foundation for forming the "imagined communities,"[41] but it also symbolized preferred cultural taste due to its national superiority. Because Mandarin was valued above Taiwanese and other Sinitic languages, Mandarin became a

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[40] Ibid, 39-40.

[41] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016).

battlefield for cultural politics, shaping moviegoers' linguistic experiences. Since *Huangmeidiao* films were produced in Mandarin, they offered audiences a sense of prestige and being in proper fashion.

Love Eterne, thus, was particularly attractive to its 1960s Taiwanese audience because it enriched the representation of Chineseness in Taiwan. Before the songs from *huangmeidiao* films became popular, the music in Taiwan consisted mainly of monotonous songs that drummed for patriotism. Even children's songs tended to encourage the determination of military preparation. However, the *huangmeidiao* songs with their adoption of multiple musical resources soon became the catchy tunes that everyone could easily sing.[42] The extent to which these songs were easy to learn and appreciate made their circulation much more effective than *jingju*. Different from *jingju*, which had established a remarkably structured vocal and physical training system, so people who did not receive professional training may not be able to sing it, the *huangmeidiao*, like popular songs, was much easier for the audience to recite and to sing. In addition, the strict language policy in Taiwan forced everyone in Taiwan to only speak Mandarin in public. This aggressive language control made Taiwanese people seriously adjust their mother tongues and hardly have favorable feelings towards Mandarin. Distinct from the language policy that made people nervous, the easy-to-understand lyrics of *huangmeidiao* in Mandarin offered a carefree way of using the language.

[42] Shen Tung 沈冬, "Taipei kuangren cheng—you baozhi he guanggao kan huangmeidaio dianying Liang Shanbo yu Zhu Yingtai"「臺北狂人城」── 由報紙和廣告看黃梅調電影《梁山伯與祝英台》(A Mad Taipei City: The Newspaper Reports and Advisements on *Love Eterne*), 7th International Forum on Chinese Cinema, Columbia and Charleston, SC; September 8-10, 2016.

3- The Feminine Chineseness

In addition to the innovation of visual and aural components, the Chineseness constructed in *huangmeidiao* is a soft, feminine style that allows the audience to escape from the severe preparation for war and relax. I suggest that the feeling of relaxation and having a chance to breathe would afford the audience the opportunity to sense *home*. In contrast to other Sinophone areas, Taiwan had been under heavy pressure to retake mainland China and rebuild the *homeland* following the KMT plan. A utopian, classical China in *huangmeidiao* films was particularly meaningful for the Taiwanese audience in that it encouraged them to imagine China in a relaxed way.

The poetic dream world in *huangmeidiao* took the idealized *jiangnan* China (*jiangnan* 江南, southern China, literally this means the geographic area on the southern side of the Yangtze River) as a model. The impression of *jiangnan* was very different from the New China that the PRC was building—a construction that that took Yanan 延安 (a city located in northwestern China, the birthplace of the CCP's revolution) as a model. Distinct from northern China, *jiangnan* is not merely a geographic conception but also related to a cultural style. For hundreds of years, this region has been known for its rich and prosperous land as well as its diligent and intelligent people. Since Chinese antiquity, *jiangnan* has symbolized an elegant and advanced cultural education, a classic dream, a graceful lifestyle, and a place that people yearn for.[43] *Jiangnan* is also known as the *yin* side of the Yangtze River. The cultures of northern China and southern China, thus, are regarded as comparable with the contrasting qualities of *yang* and *yin.* The two forces are commonly characterized as male (*yang*) and female (*yin*), hard

[43] How *jingnan* has become a cultural center and "heaven on earth" since late imperial China, see Linda Cooke Johnson, ed., *Cities of Jiangnan in Late Imperial China* (New York: SUNY, 1993).

and soft, forceful and submissive, dry and wet, military and civil.[44] With many charming water towns in the *jiangnan* region, the culture is imbued with a romantic mood. For example, *jiangnan* paintings, echoing the soft and misty landscapes of southern China, are softer and more freely and loosely executed than the works of many northern Chinese painters, which tend to be angular and austere and have strong outlines.[45] *Huangmeidiao* films, especially *Love Eterne,* thoroughly grasp these characteristics of *jiangnan* paintings and turn artistic composition into visual effects on the screen. *Love Eterne's* act "Eighteen Phases Seeing Off" (*shiba xiangsong* 十八相送) concretely demonstrates how the filmmakers reconstructed the *jinagnan* landscape in the studio. Although the entire act was filmed inside a studio, the scenic designer arranged real grass, convincing artificial pine trees, peach trees, single-log bridge, and pavilion in front of the virtual painted sky background. The background was set off by contrasting the colors of Liang's and Zhu's costumes which highlighted the two leading characters' movements across the various scenes. The reflection on the river and pond even added the impression of this being a *jiangnan* watertown. When the audience saw the Liang and Zhu wandering through the pavilions, bridges, and rivers in the film, they would feel as if these characters were in a scroll painting as well. This cinematic experience transported audiences to a poetic circumstance in which they could easily forget the precariousness of everyday life. What made *Love Eterne* an unfading legend of the movie history was "although all the audience had known the not entirely reasonable ending of the story, everyone was willing to forget the reality, to get involved in the picturesque scenes, and to experience the joy and sadness within the film again and again."[46]

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[44] Michael Dillon, *China: A Cultural and Historical Dictionary* (London: Routledge, 2013), 371.

[45] Dorothy Perkins, *Encyclopedia of China: History and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2013), 129.

[46] Wong Lei-Ming 王麗明,ed., *Bujing moshushi* 佈景魔術師 (The Magician of Scenery) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2013), 159.

Considering the Confucian cultural background in 1960s Taiwan would help further understand why the awareness of female subjectivity in *Love Eterne* would particularly attract Taiwanese audiences. The feminine tone of *huangmeidiao* produced an imaginary China distinct from the style that the KMT promoted. In order to retake mainland China, the KMT's cultural polices served to sustain military preparation. In *On Nurture and Recreation* (1953), Chiang Kai-shek announced his opinion on literary creation and entertainment. He cited the Confucian ideal to highlight the importance of both "the pen and the sword," emphasizing that music, theater, and cinema all have to cultivate people's national spirit.[47] The Chineseness based on the conservative interpretation of Confucian ideals was constructed in order to form an imaginary Chinese *homeland*. Unlike the relatively gender-neutral masculinity in the PRC that accentuated the class-based rivalry between women and the patriarchal feudalism, the ROC relied more on Confucian doctrine and formed a relatively feudal, pedantic, and literati masculinity. While the KMT often advertised the stereotype that the CCP's revolutionary movements encouraged the cruel, bloody, and belligerent masculinity, the *zhongjun aiguo* 忠君愛國 (being patriotic and loyal to the throne) ideas that the KMT promoted causing another kind of masculinity which was no better for women than the CCP's version. The KMT's masculinity underwrote a patriotic and patriarchal Chinese *homeland* where femininity was generally not admired. Nevertheless, although most *huangmeidiao* films did not intend to reverse the patriarchal frame, *Love Eterne*'s plot involving a woman fleeing from the Confucian doctrine by cross-dressing remained a major selling point. *Love Eterne* featured an archetypical example of a female character being allowed to temporarily escape from a patriarchal family.

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[47] Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石, *Minsheng zhuyi yule liangpian bushu* 民生主義育樂兩篇補述 (On Nurture and Recreation) (Taipei: Executive Yuan, 1953).

The Confucian ideas embodied in *huangmeidiao* films fully followed neither the ROC's interpretation nor the PRC's. Instead they represented a viewpoint in-between. Contrary to the ROC's conservation of Confucianism, the PRC demonstrated its "insistence of critical inheritance of [traditional] Chinese culture" by neglecting "the Confucian content of old education"[48] in *The Butterfly Lovers.* Distinct from the ROC and the PRC which both politicalized Confucianism in ways that strengthened their *homeland* building, the reception of Confucianism in Hong Kong was more related to a cultural civilization and its relationship to individuals' lives rather than politics and ideology. For example, the debate in the *Love Eterne* act entitled "Studying in the School" (*xuetang* 學堂) reflected the relatively liberal and moderated viewpoint on Confucianism in Hong Kong. Although the script of *Love Eterne* was mainly based on *The Butterfly Lovers*, the Shaw Brothers' version added in this act the students' recitation of Confucian canons in class and a debate between Liang and Zhu on *Confucian Analects* (*lunyu* 論語) after class. Zhu disagrees with one of Confucius' statement: "Women and underlings are especially difficult to handle: be friendly, and they become familiar; be distant, and they resent it [49] (*wei nuzi yu xiaoren wei nanyang ye, jinzhi zhe buxun, yuanzhi zhe yuan* 唯女子與小人爲難養也, 近之則不遜, 遠之則怨)." She insightfully points out that fatuous male emperors ruined their regimes themselves and put the blame on women, so the students should digest what they study from Confucianism and tell right from wrong. This statement was relatively progressive and inspiring for Taiwanese audience. Indeed, since the Shaw Brothers tended to support the ROC regime during the Cold War, it might be understandable to conclude that "the good and the virtuous (inadvertently, also the most beautiful) embodied Chinese

[48] Kwok-Wai Hui, "Revolution, Commercialism and Chinese," 277.

[49] The translation is according to Simon Leys, *The Analects of Confucius* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 89.

traditions [were] encapsulated in a series of Confucians' cliches"[50] in *huangmeidiao* films. However, I read the Confucian tradition of moral values in *huangmeidiao* films in a different way: although the Shaw Brothers unavoidably used Confucian ideas show agreement with the KMT government's position, the interpretations of the ideas in the film were more progressive than those in Taiwan. The Confucian clichés were the authority that Taiwanese people were educated to follow but they might not totally agree with them. Zhu's gender debate in "Studying in the School" spoke to some Taiwanese audiences' thoughts and paradoxical feelings about Confucianism. Zhu's new opinion especially resonated with numerous women and young intellectuals. This moment in the movie evoked a feeling of being understood which helped establish for women a sense of *home*.

Another reconstruction that made the style of *huangmeidiao* more feminine than the *huangmeixi* was the cross-dressing performance. The original *huangmeixi* arranged a male actor to perform the leading male character Liang Shanbo, but *Love Eterne* replaced the actor with an actress, who cross-dressed to perform the role of Liang. Other *huangmeidiao* films following *Love Eterne* also featured cross-dressing performances. The director Chang Cheh frequently cites *huangmeidiao* films as instigating the later rise of his martial arts films that feature bloody masculinity. Chang only had directed one *huangmeidiao* film—*The Butterfly Chalice* (*hudiebei* 蝴蝶盃, 1965). He reinstated the *huangmeixi* convention that cast male actors as male characters, but the result was not desirable. Cheh thus concluded that effeminate *huangmeidiao* films were not his style.[51] His kind of gender-biased comment nonetheless highlights how these cross-

[50] Poshek Fu, "Going Global: A Preliminary Study on History of The Shaw Brothers Studio." Jinfeng Liao ed., *The Empire of Shaws: The Imagination of Cultural China* (邵氏影視帝國: 文化中國的想像), Taipei: Maitian, 2003, 122.

[51] Chang Che 張徹, *Huigu Hong Kong dianying sanshinian*, 53.

dressing performances were an appealing point within *huangmeidiao* films. *Love Eterne* was particular a film that include two kinds of cross-dressing. The first one was the story itself featuring the woman Zhu Yinhtai's cross-dressing in order to study with other men in the school. Zhu's active pursuit for self-fulfillment and the freedom of marriage encouraged many women in 1960s Taiwan. Zhu's performance made the female audience members "subconsciously believe that [Zhu] elevated the social status of women and took back women's initiative from the men's hands."[52] Additionally, the Shaw Brothers further assigned an actress Ling Po 凌波 to perform the leading male character Liang Shanbo. This arrangement unexpectedly made the novice Ling Po suddenly become a household name in Taiwan.

Ling Po's cross-dressing performance soon became a unique feature and selling point of the Shaw Brothers' *huangmeidiao* films. The success of *Love Eterne* inspired the Shaw Brothers to create a series of *huangmeidiao* films that highlighted Ling's cross-dressing performance as a man, such as *A Maid from Heaven* (*qixiannu* 七仙女, 1963), *Western Chamber* (*xixiangji* 西廂記, 1965), and *The Three Smiles* (*sanxiao* 三笑, 1969). They also made films that represented women who ran away from the patriarchal canon, such as *Lady General Hua Mu Lan* (*huamulan* 花木蘭, 1964), *The Female Prince* (*shuangfeng qiyuan* 雙鳳奇緣, 1964), and *The Perfumed Arrow* (*nuxiucai* 女秀才, 1966). All of the films created great box office records and the various kinds of characters sufficiently demonstrated Ling's acting skills. In these films, a woman, as a performer and a character, at least had agency for self-fulfillment. *Lady General Hua Mu Lan,* especially, earned Ling Po the title of Best Actress in 1964 Asian Film Festival. Audience members particularly admired how Ling Po's martial art performance when Hua Mu-Lan

[52] Li Ching-Jung 李慶榮, "Bo bu miren ren zimi" 波不迷人人自迷 (Ling Po does not Charm People; People Get Themselves Charmed), *Zhengxin xinwenbao* 徵信新聞報 (Credit Newspaper), June 21, 1963, 3.

pretended a male and joined the army. The happy ending that Hua arranged her marriage to the general by herself also fascinated the audience.[53] The temporary liberation from the highly patriarchal reality called up numerous female audience members' sympathy and made their viewing process their *home*. Seeing a leading actress like Ling, who could be detached from her character's gender, becomes the only way that women can escape from the arduous reality of life. Thus, I suggest what caused *Lover Eterne* to be particularly favored in Taiwan was not its echo for the Chinese nostalgia that KMT constructed, but rather its creation for new possibilities for women to go beyond the assigned gender roles and to make them feel *home*. The process of watching *huangmeidiao* films became a way in which numerous women could not only temporarily escape from life's hardships, but also rethink possibilities of self-fulfillment. Visualizing more possible women's agency in the film therefore turned to be a site of resistance that presented alternatives to the hegemonic, masculine narrative of Chinese *homeland*.

4- A Displaced *Homeland*, A Desired *Home*

It was not only *huangmeidiao* films, a cinematic genre, that were reconstructing an alternative Chineseness, but also Ling Po, a film star, was distributing more possible meanings of being a Chinese to the 1960s Taiwanese audience. Following the sensation caused by *Love Eterne*, Lings's first visit to Taiwan could be regarded as a live performance that signified how people negotiated with the omnipresent *homeland* construction. Ling Po had become a household name in Taiwan, and when she first visited Taipei in 1963, over 180,000 fans followed her. Almost all the public media widely reported the news of welcoming her *return* to the *homeland* (*huiguo* 回國). Though, in fact, Ling was born in Shantou (a city in Guangdong Province, China)

[53] "Dianluan daofeng hua Ling Po" 顛鸞倒鳳話凌波(Ling Po's Corss-dressing Performance), *Hong Kong shibao* 香港時報 (Hong Kong Times), June 18, 1964.

and grew up in Amoy (a city in Fujian Province, China) and Hong Kong. While this was her first time in Taiwan, Ling Po said she felt gratitude that she was finally arriving in her *homeland* (*zuguo* 祖國)[54]— the *homeland* she had never set foot on: Taiwan). At the annual ceremony of the Golden Horse Film Awards, Ling announced her main objectives for this *return*: first, to express birthday wishes to President Chiang; second, to express respect and entertainment for to the armed forces (*laojun* 勞軍); third, to accept the honor of the Golden Horse Award; fourth, to meet her enthusiastic audience. She finally mentioned that she would "bring back to Hong Kong the well wishes from the *homeland compatriots* (*tongbao* 同胞)"[55] and gave her sincere blessing to President Chiang's leadership and wished that he could "lead us back to our [eventual] *homeland* [in China] (*chonghui jiayuan* 重回家園) soon!"[56] Ling's words were widely distributed by the only TV channel (Taiwan Television, TTV) and almost all newspapers published in Taiwan at that time. The mainstream media constructed Ling as a patriotic actress, who sincerely supported Chiang's leadership and the KMT's military proposal to retake China—the faraway and eventual *homeland* for people in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Although the KMT put every effort to construct Ling as a model patriotic actress who supported the preparation for *returning/retaking* the Chinese *homeland*, what caused most attention was the sympathy given to Ling's background as an exploited child who had been sold to opportunistic adoptive parents. When Ling was seven years old, she fled from her hometown

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[54] Ling Po 凌波, "Bisheng nanwang de wushi xiaoshi" 畢生難忘的五十小時 (The Unforgettable 50 Hours in My Life), 南國電影 (Southern Screen), (January 1964): 126.

[55] Yao Feng-Pan 姚鳳磐, "Ling Po lingjiang ji" 凌波領獎記 (Ling Po at the Award Ceremony), *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), November 1, 1963, 8.

[56] "Ling Po zhi zongtongfu qianming zhushou" 凌波至總統府簽名祝壽 (Ling Po Came to the Office of President to Sing up the Birthday Wishes), *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), November 1, 1963, 3.

famine, and her adoptive father brought her to Amoy. Five years later, her adoptive mother brought her to Hong Kong and made her support them financially by singing and acting in Amoy vernacular films (*xiayupian* 廈語片).[57] In order to make more money, her adoptive mother forced her to marry a rich Filipino Chinese man who was over thirty years older than her. Since the market for Amoy vernacular films were shrinking in 1960s, Ling joined the Shaw Brothers as a minor actress and dubbing singer. All of her income was controlled by her adoptive mother.[58] Her miserable experience was similar to many Taiwanese girls who were sold to be *tongyangxi* 童養媳—girls who are adopted into a family to become future daughters-in-law. In *tongyangxi* marriages a boy and a girl were engaged at a young age; the girl was adopted and raised in the boy's family due to the poverty of her birth family. Such arrangements were quite common in 1960s Taiwan; some adopted girls were treated as maids and had no freedoms or rights of their own. Thus, when Ling visited Taiwan, thousands of *tongyangxi* girls welcomed her and embraced her as their role model. Those girls believed that Ling was an outstanding celebrity from "our group" whose success honored them. They celebrated Ling's achievement in order to express their wish to become free like Ling. [59] Ling's suddenly rising fame made some parents feel that "it is better to have a daughter than a son;" even an adopted daughter was good.[60] Numerous people would have loved to recognize her as their daughter. Some middle age women even come up with various evidence trying to prove that Ling was their missing daughter. They

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[57] At that time, Ling was known as Seow Kuan 小娟, her stage name when she was acting in Amoy vernacular films.

[58] "Ling Po shenshimi" 凌波身世謎 (Ling Po's Background), *Zhengxin xinwenbao* 徵信新聞報 (Credit Newspaper), October 25, 1963,6.

[59] Fang I-Chih 方以直, "Ling Po lai" 凌波來 (Here Comes Ling Po), *Zhengxin xinwenbao* 徵信新聞報 (Credit Newspaper), December 29, 1963, 8.

[60] Hsiao Ping 蕭冰, "Ying Ling Po" 迎凌波 (Welcome Ling Po), *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報 (Central Daily News), October 26, 1963, 6.

prepared gold medals or precious gifts for Ling to celebrate their "reunion." They determined that whether or not Ling was their birth daughter, they would give her the gift to comfort the bitterness of missing their own daughter.[61]

In contrast to her adoptive mother's abuse, Taiwanese audiences' warmth and kindness made Ling rethink what *homeland* meant for her. She had never thought she would receive so much compassion in Taiwan, and she cried in public several times.[62] Thus, Ling delivered her gratitude to Taiwanese audiences:

> *My past experience was not very pleasant, so it was better to not mention it . . . After the screening of Love Eterne, I received many letters from the audience. Some called me their sister; some called me their daughter or even granddaughter. Now I have the warmth from siblings and parents. I think that Ling Po should belong to everyone hereafter;* ***belong to Chinese as a whole****! Everyone needs me. I feel happy once I think of this! [emphasis added]*[63]

Ling Po's words could be also read as a response to the critique of the sensation caused by *Love Eterne* and her visit. Since the songs in *Love Eterne* became popular music in Taiwan, many patriots argued that "the romantic *huangmeidiao* songs overwhelm the sound of anti-Communism. The survival of the nation is at stake, but numerous unthinking people only cry for the tragic love story instead of the lost territory." [64] The masses' infatuation with Ling made the

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[61] "Furen xun gurou, zhanzhuan wen Ling Po" 婦人尋骨肉, 輾轉問凌波 (A Women Asked If Ling Po is Her Daughter), *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), October 31, 1963, 3.

[62] Yao Feng-Pan, "Ganhui shenshi, shouchong roujing" 感懷身世, 受寵若驚(Recall the Background with Emotion; Receive a Favor with Excitement), *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), November 1, 1963, 3.

[63] Su Yu-Chen 蘇玉珍, "Keai de Ling Po" 可愛的凌波 (Lovely Ling Po), *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報 (Central Daily News), October 31, 1963, 8.

[64] Chiang Shih-Chiang 江石江, "Kequ de hua" 歌曲的話 (The Words from Songs), *Zili wanbao* 自立晚報 (Independence Evening Post), July 13, 1963,8.

KMT carefully consider the plan for her visit. The KMT originally arranged Ling to visit Taiwan around October 10th to celebrate the Double Tenth Day (the National Day of the ROC), but they worried that this move would impact the solemn National Day Ceremony. It would be especially terrible if Ling's fans messed up the military parade's order. [65] Finally they decided to postpone Ling's visit to the end of October in order to celebrate President Chiang's birthday. Leading up to Ling's three-day visit, the public comments kept reminding Taiwanese people not to replace "intellectual adoration" with "emotional adoration." The favors given to Ling should be temporary, but the respect given to the military forces should be permanent.[66] One professor even directly declared, "[H]opefully the society can end the fanaticism about Ling Po but turn that enthusiasm to retake our *homeland.*"[67] On the one hand, the KMT attempted to avoid Ling and the impression that the *huangmeidiao* feminine style weakened the masculine, military, and aggressive war preparation; on the other hand, the KMT wanted to utilize Ling's fame to support its narrative of *returning to homeland*.

Ling's *return* to the *homeland* in Taiwan made the meaning and location of Chinese *homeland* even more ambiguous. As far as the KMT was concerned, *homeland* indicated where their regime was located. To recover the lost *homeland* was actually to retake the territory in mainland China and expand the KMT regime. However, for the *huangmeidiao* filmmakers, Chinese *homeland* was a cultural concept rather than a real place for them to return and reside. The Shaw Brothers even considered the imagination of Chinese *homeland* to be a good selling

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[65] "Liangxing you Taiwan shixian shafei zhouzhang" 梁兄哥遊台灣 事先煞費周章 (An Exhausting Preparation for Ling Po's Visiting), *Zhengxin xinwenbao* 徵信新聞報 (Credit Newspaper), October 30, 1963, 6.

[66] Fang, "Ling Po lai."

[67] Li Ching-Jung, "Sa Mengwu tan Ling Po" 薩孟武談凌波 (Sa Meng-Wu Talks about Ling Po), *Zhengxin xinwenbao* 徵信新聞報 (Credit Newspaper), November 2, 1963, 3.

point that could help the development of its trans-national empire of film production and circulation. Regarding Ling Po, *homeland* was where human feelings and warmth (*renqing* 人情) were located. As a young lady who suddenly became a star, the *homeland* battle between the PRC and the ROC was too remote for Ling—as it was for most common people in Taiwan. What Ling and the Taiwanese people cared about was *homeland* as a way of life rather than the responsibility of retrieving nationhood and territory.

Ling's diasporic life experience also disturbed the KMT's attempt to construct Taiwan as an epitome of China by accentuating the *jiguan* 籍貫. *Jiguan* means one's ancestral home town or original domicile. Under the propaganda of retaking mainland China, everyone in Taiwan had been educated to identify themselves as Chinese. However, over eighty percent of the population in Taiwan had been residing on the island for more than three generations, so they had no real-life memories or direct relations with China. In order to incorporate all Taiwanese as Chinese and to establish their (imaginary) connection with mainland China, Taiwanese people's *jiguan* was assigned based on their ancestor's origins and the KMT's administrative districts in mainland China. *Jiguan* was related both to the allocation quotas for government officials and to an important criterion for distinguishing different groups of people. [68] Thus, *jiguan* was an essential mark for individual identity in Cold War Taiwan. In order to infuse the connection to mainland China territory into Taiwanese people's lives, many events hosted by the government emphasized the geographical names of *jiguan.* For example, the Friends of Armed Forces Association hosted a celebration for the Mid-autumn Festival in 1955, and they associated the five districts of entertainment activities with the name of five provinces across north and south

[68] Wang Fu-chang 王甫昌, "you *Zhongguo shengji* dao *Taiwan zuqun*: hukou pucha jibie leishu zhuanbian zhi fengxi " 由「中國省籍」到「臺灣族群」: 戶口普查籍別類屬轉變之分析 (From "Chinese Original Domicile" to "Taiwanese Ethnicity": An Analysis of Census Category Transformation in Taiwan), *Taiwanese Sociology*, no. 9 (June 2005): 60-117.

China.[69] The emphasis on *jiguan* naturally made people curious about Ling's original heritage when she visited Taiwan. However, as an unfortunate girl who had been adopted and who traveled through Guangdong, Fujian, and Hong Kong due to war and poverty, Ling's displaced life experience left space for constructed narratives to manipulate the meaning of *jiguan* and the *returning* to an imaginary *homeland*. In Cold War Taiwan, the various townsmen associations (*tongxianghui* 同鄉會) based on different regions of origin reflected the diversity of Chinese local attachment. Townsmen associations were voluntarily organized by a group of fellow immigrants who were all from the same province or hometown.[70] Before being a remarkable actress in *huangmeidiao* films, Ling had impressed some Taiwanese audiences by her acting in many Amoy vernacular films because of the similarity between the Amoy dialect and Taiwanese vernacular. Thus, many fans in Taiwan mistook Ling as a native of Amoy. The Fujian Townsmen Association thus enthusiastically prepared a coronation ceremony to welcome Ling. However, the Guangdong Townsmen Association soon learnt that Ling was actually born in Shantou, so they also made an effort to welcome her and to announce that she was a member of their hometown community.[71] While the two townsmen associations were competing for Ling's identification, Ling, who was able to fluently speak Mandarin, Cantonese, and Amoy,

[69] "Zhongqiujie munmin tuanjie yueguang wanhui" 中秋節軍民團結月光晚會 (The Evening Party for Uniting the Military and Civilian in the Mid-Autumn Festival), filmed September 1955, Archive News of Taiwan Film Culture Co., No.9 (PTV009), collected by the Taiwan Film Institute, Taipei.

[70] Townsmen associations were traditional Chinese civil social organizations; members within the same townsmen association helped each other in the sites away from their hometown. In Taiwan, the numerous Chinese townsmen associations also functioned to celebratedly supported the KMT's plan of retaking Chin, so fellow immigrants could return to their hometown someday soon.

[71] "Ling Po is Folks! The Fujian Association Worry about being Over Passionate, Cantonese People Are Preparing for the Welcome Party." *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), October 16, 1963, 8.

clarified that "no matter whether Fujian or Guangdong, I am *Chinese*, which is the most important."[72]

Through advocating a general idea of Chineseness instead of *jiguan*, Ling's words paralleled the genre of *huangmeidiao* films in general by blurring the territory-oriented *homeland* that the KMT promoted. The vocal reconstruction of music and language made *huangmeidiao* films "region-less" and could be easily manipulated for circulating the identity of a cultural China. A cultural identity of China would be a concept more related to civilization and humanism than political ideology and *homeland* territory. The poetic cultural China in *huangmeidiao* films, thus, reshaped Taiwanese people's yearning for a unified, generalized—albeit imaginary—classical China rather than a hometown in a particular geographic location. Being Chinese could also be culture-oriented, while the physical return to an ancestral home town was not necessary.

I further argue what made the Taiwanese audience feel *home* was that Ling as well as the *huangmeidiao* film fulfilled the experience of beauty that had been lacking in the KMT's *homeland* representation. The beauty that Ling and the *huangmeidiao* displayed was not only related to culture but also to the body. The most disciplined of bodies are often associated with the strongest political systems: military battalions marching in rank, silent schoolchildren sitting row-by-row, female students wearing extremely short haircuts. People living in Martial-Law Taiwan were quite familiar with such images, which were part of their everyday life. When it came to beauty, the KMT's education showed a poverty of imagination. Before Ling arrived in Taiwan, some high schools announced strict rules to prevent female students from leaving school

[72] "Tanji jiguan Min Yue liangke" 談及籍貫閩粵兩可 (My Hometown Could be Either Fujian or Canton), *Zhengxin xinwenbao* 徵信新聞報 (Credit Newspaper), October 29, 1963, 3.

to see Ling. [73] However, numerous female students still showed up in the parade. These students were easily distinguished from other fans because of their unified short haircut.[74] Contrast to these students' highly disciplined bodies, Ling made Taiwanese audience members' eyes pop when she first appeared in front of them. Her fashionable and graceful attire, including a lavender embroidered cheongsam (*qipao* 旗袍, a close-fitting Chinese dress), a purple autumn coat, a violet corsage, leather shoes with embroidered flowers, silk gloves, and a dark handbag,[75] all introduced a new experience of beauty to Taiwanese people. In this sense, the way Ling distributed her impression to Taiwan was also like a dramatic performance that represented alternative possibilities of Chineseness.

Epilogue

Through analyzing the filmmaking and reception of *Love Eterne*, I articulate why this film in particularly was more popular in Taiwan than in other Sinophone areas. I argue that *Love Eterne* released one of Taiwanese people's shared pain—an individual's inability to make a choice. Zhu and Liang had no freedom to choose their marriage, which connected to many Taiwanese viewers' experiences of helplessness. Having no freedom to make choices, from arranged marriages to national identity, was a common trauma that numerous people had experienced in colonial and Cold-War Taiwan. Women's hopelessness regarding arranged marriages was frequently used by writers to insinuate the fate of Taiwan since the Japanese

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[73] Yao Feng-Pan, "Mi Ling Po yu ji Ling Po"迷凌波與嫉凌波 (To Be Fascinated Envy at Ling Po), *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), October 27, 1963, 3.

[74] "Baofan ji re wenzi huo"報販幾惹文字禍 (A Newspaper Vendor Almost Provoke People for Ling Po), *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), 31 October 1963, 3.

[75] "Pailiang erzhi Ling Po lai" 排浪而至凌波來(The Hurricane of Ling Po's Coming), *Lianhebao* 聯合報 (United Daily News), October 31, 1963, 3.

colonial period. Novels like "Where Should She Go" (*kanojyo wa doko e* 彼女は何処へ, 1922)"[76] and "The Sad Story of a Taiwanese Daughter" (*taijyou hishi* 台娘悲史, 1924)[77] all used arranged marriages to symbolize how Taiwan was sacrificed due to Chinese and Japanese imperialism. Similar to the Japanese colonialization, the KMT' Martial-Law rule also necessitated that Taiwanese people support the building of a *homeland* that was somewhere else. Just as Japanese nationalism had ravaged Taiwan, the Chinese nationalism that permeated the island after WWII through the education and propaganda system "also aimed at imprisoning [Taiwanese] writers' soul."[78] Both Japanese nationalism and Chinese nationalism were top-town ontological infusions through governmental coercions which were comparable with the patriarchal power that dominate women's destiny through arranged marriages. Thus, Liang and Zhu's bitterness easily resonated with Taiwanese audiences due to their long-term grievance of not being able to make decisions. The repressed trauma gained an emotional release while the audience was seeing Liang and Zhu's tragedy and crying with the characters. The process of viewing this film became a moment to share unnamable grievances.

Huangmeidiao films demonstrated how Hong Kong filmmakers shrewdly utilized the tension of the Cold War to innovate a new cinematic genre and obtain great financial success. The Shaw Brothers, who sensitively popularized *huangmeixi* and re-created it without obvious local features, successfully dominated Sinophone cinema for decades. Therefore, *Love Eterne* successfully cut across the diverse ethnic groups, ages, and classes represented by Taiwanese

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[76] The author is Hsieh Chun-Mu 謝春木 (1902-1969). This novel was published on the Japanese page of the journal *Taiwan* 台湾(Taiwan) 3, no.4-7, July 10- October 6, 1922.

[77] The author is Shih Wen-Chi 施文杞. The novel was published on the newspaper *Taiuan binpo* 臺灣民報 (The Taiwan Minpo) 2, no.2, February 11, 1924, 15-16.

[78] Chen Fang-Ming 陳芳明, *Taiwan xinwenxue shi* 臺灣新文學史 (A History of Modern Taiwanese Literature), (Taipei: Lianjing, 2011), 79.

audiences. The invented images of a beautiful, classical China carried by *huangmeidiao* films and the film star Ling Po shaped Taiwanese people's imagination of the Chinese *homeland*.

The KMT's intention was to use the popularity of *huangmeidiao* and Ling Po to promote a longing for China that might encourage the desire to *return* to the *homeland* and recover the regime. However, the filmmaking that took place outside of mainland China reconstructed a version of China that was at once classical and even more beautiful than reality. The audience did not have to return to mainland China to experience the beauty of Chinese culture. Consequently, to be Chinese could also be uncoupled from the political *return*. The process of seeing *huangmeidiao* films shaped the audience's imagination and definition of a Chinese *homeland*. The Shaw Brothers imported international capital and filmmaking techniques in *huangmeidiao* films and then exported these works to Taiwan and Sinophone communities in Southeast Asia. While the Shaw Brothers went to great lengths to create an essentialized image of China in their films, their domination of the Sinophone market and their means of film production, ironically draws attention to the company's transnational production and circulation spheres.

Chapter 3

Making Space for Shared Loss:

Legacy (1978) and the Sense of Becoming a Community

This chapter examines how dance produces what I describe as "the sense of becoming a community" in Cold War Taiwan. The sense of community emerges through being able to share something in common, but in the context of 1970s Taiwan, what people could share was not something they commonly *have* but something they commonly *lose.* I analyze how the on-going process of dancing and viewing is a starting point, which enables both the dancer and the audience to search for their subjectivities through their shared loss. Dance, as Randy Martin describes, enables a dialectical linkage between "agency and history" that "provide[s] methodological insights for recognizing politics where it would otherwise be invisible."[1] I study *Legacy* (*Xinchuan* 薪傳, 1978)—the first modern dance that portrays the history of how the Taiwanese ancestors left China and migrated over the perilous straits to Taiwan four hundred years ago—in order to elaborate on how dance creates a space for spectators to experience what I call "an unspeakable history." By making the participators aware of their loss of local landscape, language, and even knowledge of local history, *Legacy* forms the foundation of becoming a community. While the representation of local history was considered politically sensitive during

[1] Randy Martin, *Critical Moves: Dance Studies in Theory and Politics* (Durham: Duke University, 1998), 45-46.

the Martial Law period, I explore how a dance created a space in which the invisible political and historical tensions could come into view.

Since its debut in 1978, *Legacy* has been controversially recognized as representing either Chinese nationalism or Taiwanese identity. The premiere night of *Legacy* (December 16, 1978) was coincidentally the same day that the US broke off its diplomatic relationship with the ROC (Taiwan) and established an official relationship with the PRC. This geopolitical upheaval made people in Taiwan feel diplomatically isolated and abandoned. The KMT government in Taiwan, which had planned to retake mainland China, suddenly lost the essential aid of economic and military support from the US. *Legacy*, a dance that represented how Taiwanese ancestors landed on the island and brought the uncultivated land there under cultivation, coincidentally echoed the emotion of self-reliance experienced after the withdrawal of US support. The government took advantage of the sensation caused by *Legacy* and promoted this dance as an embodiment of Chinese nationalism and patriotism throughout most of the mainstream public media. On the surface, the KMT government utilized *Legacy* as one more piece of political propaganda, but the depiction of Taiwanese peasants still raised concerns about pro-Taiwanese independence, which was definitely a political taboo. Thus, on the other hand, the KMT government secretly investigated the chorographer Lin Hwai-Min 林懷民 due to the Taiwanese features of *Legacy*.[2] The ambiguity of *Legacy* produced opposed interpretations after the abolishment of Martial Law in 1987. Scholars mainly analyze *Legacy* by matching this dance with the sociopolitical fluctuations of 1970s Taiwan,[3] tracing the connections between artistic initiatives and the

[2] Yang Meng-Yu 楊孟瑜, *Biaowu— Lin hwaimin yu yunmen chuanqi* 飆舞—林懷民與雲門傳奇 (Dance with Your Heart—Lin Hwai-Min and the Legend of the Cloud Gate) (Taipei: Tianxia yuanjian, 1998), 211-213.

[3] The analysis on the growth of Taiwanese identity and *Legacy*, see Yu-Ling Chao, "Dance, Culture and Nationalism: The Socio-cultural Significance of Cloud Gate Dance Theatre in Taiwanese Society" (PhD diss., City University London, 2000).

changing identity of Taiwan,[4] or echoing the Taiwan Nativist Cultural Movement.[5] Some studies even point out how Lin's family background and networking made *Legacy* such a success and protected him from severe consequences engendered by such a "Taiwanese" work.[6] Indeed, the cultural and political fluctuations of 1970s Taiwan certainly allows us to understand *Legacy* as either evidence of socio-political change or a symbolic shift of national identity–from being Chinese to being Taiwanese. However, the persistent attention to the external context of *Legacy* may limit our understanding of this dance rather than enrich it. Therefore, I suggest holding back the effort of situating *Legacy* according to the sociopolitical context in order to reconsider how this dance invites its spectators to rethink what Taiwan can be and how the Taiwanese people imagine their future as a process of becoming.

Instead of taking *Legacy* as evidence of shifting identities between China and Taiwan, I propose to think about how this dance creates space to nourish the hybrid subjectivity of Taiwan and to generate the sense of becoming a community. My analysis shifts the focus from taking *Legacy* as evidence or an illustration of national identity change to addressing how this dance forges a space of emergence. *Legacy* shows that a dance might not represent an identity or community but might start to create one. The hybrid subjectivity of Taiwan emerges through the gestures of performance. Previous studies have taken a formalist approach to demonstrate the

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[4] Yating Lin, "Choreographing a Flexible Taiwan- Cloud Gate Dance Theatre and Taiwan's Changing Identity, 1973-2003" (PhD diss., University of California- Riverside, 2004).

[5] Ya-Ping Chen, "*Legac*y in the Contest of the 1970s Nativist Cultural Movement in Taiwan" in *Lin Hwai-min: International Dance Conference Proceedings*, eds. Chang Chung-Yuan and Lin Ya-Ting (Taipei: Executive Yuan Council for Cultural Affairs and Taipei National University of the Arts, 2005).

[6] Lin's father was a Party member of KMT and was also one of the few political figures born in Taiwan during the Martial Law period. Lin had made a name for himself by writing novels before studying dance in the US. His fame and networking might also protect from the KMT's investigation into the possibly sensitive topics of *Legacy*. See Wu Hsin-Yi 吳忻怡, "Cong rentong zhexun dao celue daoxiang: yunmen wuji yu Taiwan shehui bianqian" 從認同追尋到策略導向: 雲門舞集與臺灣社會變遷 (From Self-searching to Strategic-orientation: The Cloudgate Dance Theater of Taiwan and the Social Change of Taiwan), (PhD diss., National Taiwan University, 2008).

hybridity of *Legacy* and to indicate the hybrid feature of Taiwanese subjectivity.[7] Instead of identifying which elements are Chinese, Taiwanese, Western, or others, I suggest that such a classificatory approach assumes that each category is already given, which directly contradicts the productive discourse of hybridity. Thus, different from previous scholarship that treats a dance as an already-finished object which can be disassembled, I see *Legacy* as an on-going process, a way to explore new possibilities. The sense of becoming a new community was starting to emerge although how to name this new community may not be certain, clear, or provable by a retrospective approach to the sociopolitical context. The hybrid subjectivity, thus, could be something that has not yet been but will come to be.

One of the main purposes of this chapter is to examine how dance functions as a medium that creates space for the participators to negotiate a given identity and to open up more possibilities of becoming a community. The space in my discussion is not limited to the material space but also a conceptional one. On the surface, dance is an essential conjunction of bodies and spaces. However, in addition to the actual bodies and space, the metaphorical relationship of body and space in dance also has implications for subjectivity.[8] Homi Bhabha's discourse on Third Space can further enrich the conceptual understanding of space. Third Space is a mode of articulation, a way of describing a productive and not merely reflective space that engendered new possibilities. Consequently, Third Space "destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is continuously revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code."[9] The in-

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[7] The classification of Ethno-cultural characters on the Cloud Gate Repertoire (1973-1997) see the table of Yu-ling Chao, "Embodying Identity: The Socio-cultural Significance of the Cloud Gate Dance Theatre Repertoire (1973-1997)" in *Lin Hwai-min: International Dance Conference Proceedings*, eds. Chang Chung-Yuan and Lin Ya-Ting (Taipei: Executive Yuan Council for Cultural Affairs and Taipei National University of the Arts, 2005), 29-32.

[8] For discussion on relations between bodies and space in dance and the role that they play in constructing subjectivity, see Valerie A. Briginshaw, *Dance, Space and Subjectivity* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[9] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 54.

between, "neither One nor the Other,"[10] is important to articulate the on-going transformation between being a Chinese and becoming a Taiwanese. I use Bhabha's notion to reconsider how dance can be a space of enunciation where new forms of cultural meaning and production blur the limits of existing boundaries and call into question established categorizations of identity. Through analysis of the body and material space (the physical movement, gesture, and the staging), I further put emphasis on the metaphorical body (the body of a regime or nation) and space (dance as a space of emergence and enunciation). I argue that *Legacy* creates a space of enunciation, which sheds light on the negotiation of cultural identity construction in Cold War Taiwan. Through the sense of sharing and relieving the common pain and trauma of forced silence, a sense of community emerges. Rather than being a passive experience, the viewing process for this dance production thus involves a series of actions on the part of not only the dancer but also the spectator, which includes searching, forming, and debating their possible self-definition and cultural identity.

1- The Dance of Our Own

In order to understand how *Legacy* was able to create the sense of becoming a community, it is necessary to understand how modern dance in general carried out the aspiration of identity searching in 1970s Taiwan. The location of *Legacy's* debut performance in Taiwan is itself a parable for the role of dance in Taiwan. The primary performance space of *Legacy* was not in a theater but in a gymnasium. Within the first fifteen years since its debut, *Legacy* was performed around 70 times in Taiwan and 70 times all over the world. Distinct from its performance in art centers or theater halls in foreign sites, most of the at-home performances took place in

[10] Ibid, 219.

gymnasiums[11] because Taiwan did not have a professional theater space until the establishment of the National Theater in 1978. Before then, the space most likely used by professional theater productions was either the Memorial Hall of politicians or the community cultural center that was run by the local government. The whole of Taiwanese society rarely considered that dance was a performance art or that dancing could be a career. Dance had been recognized as either a commercial entertainment or an educational tool of Chinese nationalism.

Ever since Lin Hwai-Min came back to Taiwan from the US in the early 1970s, his idea of founding "our own dance troupe" has animated dancers to rethink what dance can be. In 1972, Lin gave a meaningful speech and demonstration performance of US modern dance at the United States Information Agency in Taipei. This event changed many young audience's whole lives and directly helped forward the founding of Cloud Gate, the first professional modern dance company in any Chinese speaking community, that the same year. Before the founding of Cloud Gate, it was common that dancers had to give out complimentary tickets in order to welcome their families or friends to a performance. In contrast to the casual attitude toward dance, Lin's passion and seriousness made the dancers feel honor within their profession for the first time.[12] In his speech, Lin sensitively said that when American modern dance pioneers, Isadora Duncan and Ruth Denis, looked back they both found the form of dance that represented their sense of self; however, Lin added, "when we looked back, we had no idea where our own dance was."[13] Lin's words raised several questions: What was the existing concept of dance in 1970s Taiwan?

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[11] Ku, *Taiwan houlai haosuozai*, 203-05.

[12] Tung Chen Shu-Gi 鄭淑姬, personal communication in Taipei (19 December 2017).

[13] Yang, *Biaowu*, 49.

Why couldn't such dance solve contemporary dancers' anxiety about recognizing their sense of self?

The Chinese national dance (*minzuwu* 民族舞) was a medium that carried on traditional Chinese culture and has been promoted by the KMT government in Taiwan for over five decades. The annual national dance contest, which began in1954, had the very specific goal of using dance to propagate traditional Chinese culture and to boost the morale of the armed forces.[14] The national dance in Taiwan, thus had been closely related to Chinese nationalism and political propaganda. Since almost all dance schools were involved in the contest, the contest's aesthetics dominated dance in Taiwan. The dancer Wu Su-Chun 吳素君 recalled that theme was the key to win the contest. Most of the themes available were based on the imagination of the Han dance in the Tang or Ming dynasties. In fact, no one really knew what the authentic classical Chinese dance looked like, so the fundamental training was based on ballet. Then the choreographer improvised according to fragmented materials, including pictures and verbal narratives, and used their imagination to piece together the movement. During the contest, dancers from different teams put on various costumes, but their movements were all similar.[15] Since the national dance was bound up with patriotism, choreographers had to use the color red in their dances carefully in order to avoid any possible connections to the Chinese Communist Party. Dancers sometimes even had to wear costumes with the ROC national flag to show their support for the government to retake mainland China.[16] Most of the performances of national dance put emphasis on unified

[14] The history of the national dance contest in Taiwan, see Tian-min Li 李天民, Guo-fang Yu 余國芳, *Taiwan wudao shi (I)* 臺灣舞蹈史 (上) (A History of Dance in Taiwan) (Taipei: Dajuan, 2005), 249-277.

[15] Wu Su-Chun, personal communication in Taipei (13 December 2017).

[16] Danna Frangione and Yunyu Wang, "Human Right through the Eyes of Artists, in *Dance, Identity and Integration: 2004 International Dance Conference Proceedings*, ed. Janice LaPointe-Crump (Taipei: Taipei National University of the Arts, 2004), 261-264.

group movement and mainly depicted lighthearted, encouraging, and pleasurable emotions through elegant conventional patterns. Dancers carefully put on neat make-up, no matter whether the dance represented fighting in a war or a celebration in a court. It was common to see dancers wear flashy silk costumes while performing labor in a field; what they performed was only the imagination of the peasant's joyfulness.[17] Apparently, the Chinese national dance was not much more than a combination of techniques and movement patterns, which was alienated from the choreographer and dancers' life experiences.

The national dance, similar to the official literary education, guided people in Taiwan to imagine a distant and poetic *homeland* in China. Lin and the Taiwanese intellectuals of his generation were familiar with the depiction of the Chinese landscape through classical Chinese literature. In 1970s Taiwan, except for ballet and other commercial dance performances, the only training resources that dancers had were the national dance and the fundamental techniques of *jingju* 京劇 (Peking/Beijing "opera," the "national opera" in Cold War Taiwan). Cloud Gate's early works adopted the performative elements of *jingju* and modern-dance idioms, especially Martha Graham's, in order to retell the Chinese legends. The most representative work which fused both techniques was *The Tale of the White Serpent* (1975). The audience could trace the combination when the dancer portraying the green snake first executed a Graham fall to the ground and then rolled repeatedly with one leg up after another (*wulong jiaozhu* 烏龍絞柱)— a traditional movement from *jingju.* This dance not only transformed a well-known story in a brand-new form, but also subtly touched a theme that was commonly ignored by the *jingju* performance—the character's psychological struggle behind the tragic romance. Lin depicted Xu Xian 許仙 (the leading male character) battling with his baser instincts; his emotions were

[17] The dancer Ho, Wu, and Wang all mentioned this tendency in the interviews.

symbolized by the dancer, who, Graham-style, emerged from his crisis with self-knowledge.[18] *The Tale of the White Serpent* was soon recognized as the "right way" for Cloud Gate to create more modern dances with Chinese cultural features.[19] However, when Lin recalled the best phase of Cloud Gate over three decades later, he believed:

> *The first [best phase of Cloud Gate] is when we finally found ourselves. I choreographed Legacy. What I mean by "finding out ourselves" is that we do not have to be the white or green snakes [in The Tale of the White Serpent, a dance adapted the Chinese folktale Legend of the White Snake] any more. We wear the Meinong Hakka costume; put on dark make-up. Even dance to death, we still feel happy. During that period, everyone was undergoing much suffering, yet we were all very good.*[20]

Apparently, in Lin's view, in dance like *The Tale of the White Serpent,* he and the dancers had not found "themselves." In 1977, Lin felt disappointed that the government only treated performing arts as "fireworks for celebrating the economic prosperity."[21] Because of this disappointment and due to his strong desire for progress, Lin temporarily quit his job in Cloud Gate and traveled to New York. The idea of creating a dance that portrayed Taiwanese ancestors sprouted when Lin traveled to New York. In such a big metropolis with people from all over the world, Lin reconsidered where he himself came from.

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[18] More review on *The Tale of the White Serpent* see Anna Kisselgoff, "Dance: Taipei's Cloud Gate Troupe", *New York Times* (November 12, 1985), C00017.

[19] Yu Da-Gang 俞大綱, "Tan yunmen de xinwuju xuxian" 談雲門的新舞劇許仙 (On Cloud Gate's New Dance *Xu Xian*), *Yumen Wuhua* 3rd Edition 雲門舞話 第三版 (The Dance of Cloud Gate) (Taipei: Yumen wuji, 1993), 149.

[20] Lin Hwai-Min, "Zuihao de shiguang" 最好的時光 (The Best Time) in *Dakai yunmen* 打開雲門 (The Making of Cloud Gate), ed. Ku Pi-Ling 古碧玲 (Taipei: Guoli wenhua, 2013), 27.

[21] Lin Hwai-Min, "Huijia de shike" 回家的時刻 (The Moment of Return) in *Yumen Wuhua* 3rd Edition, 116.

The anxiety of figuring out "who we are" and "what is our own" was not limited to dancers but was a shared aspiration for whole generation in 1970s Taiwan. The anxiety came from the alienation between real life experiences and the national identity constructed through dance, literature, and public media. In national dance, it was common to see peasants wearing shining silk clothes to work in the field. What the dance promoted was merely the happiness of idyllic life from the perspective of aesthetic distance. [22] The image of laborers on TV programs was either *On the Paektu Mountain*[23] or the story about the Nationalist's Revolution, which were not relatable to the Taiwanese audience.[24] Instead of longing for such an imagined "*homeland*," what Lin missed was life on the land where he grew up. Consequently, the burning question, "where do I come from," motivated Lin to create a dance exploring the relationship of Taiwanese people and the land. Unfortunately, it was unlikely that representing how the Taiwanese ancestors immigrate and open up the uncultivated land would be elegant, which means the dancers could not rely on the body language they were familiar with—the classical ballet and national dance. They had to figure out how to create or adapt their movements so that they were applicable for *Legacy*.

In order to break the dancers' physical habits and to develop a new body language, the primary rehearsal of *Legacy* was not in a dance studio but on a stony stream bank. Thus, going out of the flat wood-floor studio was an experiment to make the dancers be closer to the spirit of fighting in *Legacy*. For over two months, the choreographer Lin and the dancers trained on the

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[22] Ho Hui-Chen 何惠楨, personal communication in Taipei (23 December 2017).

[23] *On the Paektu Mountain* (1970-71) is a TV drama produced to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China. The background setting is in the northeast China, where the chill weather, local costume, language, and life style are all very different from subtropical Taiwan.

[24] Ku Pi-Ling 古碧玲, *Taiwan houlai haosuozai* 臺灣後來好所在 (Then Taiwan is a Good Place) (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1999), 22-29.

side of Hsintian Creek in suburban Taipei. They started their practice by taking a nap on the rocky bank in order to experience the hardness of the rocks and the texture of the soil. In order to experience how the ancestors planted the first rice and yams on the uncultivated land that was full of rock, the dancers repeatedly napped, crept forward along the creek, moved around, threw stones, and improvised choruses, etc. Lin believed that the experience of lifting a big stone could teach the dancers more than what they could learn from books.[25] Since the basic movements of *Legacy* were based on the labor of moving rocks, the feelings this dance could convey to the audience were no longer similar to classical ballet or national dance, which both put emphasis on elegance.

Performing an inelegant self-image in 1970s Taiwan was not only a rare scene for dance, but also deconstructed the typical way people (especially the dancers) recognized themselves. *Legacy* challenged the typical Chinese national dance, which puts emphasis on uniform pattern that symbolized Chinese culture as a unit or on the cheerful emotion that functioned to encourage the army's morale. The essential figures who helped the dancers find out their sense of self were the athletes Hsiao Po-Yu 蕭柏榆 and Teng Yu-Lin 鄧玉麟. They joined to perform *Legacy* because Cloud Gate did not have enough male dancers. Dissimilar to other dancers who had received professional dance training, they were only good at gymnastics. Lin's first impression of these two timid young men was their dark skin and short height; "they knew nothing about dance, but their figures were typical of Taiwanese men."[26] In order to create movements appropriate for them, other dancers who were used to ballet gesture had to rebuild their physical

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[25] The detail of the outdoor training of *Legacy,* see Liu Ts'ang-Chih 劉蒼芝, "Hebian de yunmen" 河邊的雲門 (The Gould Gate on the Riverside) in *Yumen Wuhua* 2nd Edition 雲門舞話 第二版 (The Dance of Cloud Gate) (Taipei: Yuanliu, 1981), 169-87.

[26] Ku, *Dakai yunmen*, 27.

habits in exchange for simpler movements. These simple movements set the tone of *Legacy*—they showed the aspiration and power directed toward sincere performance.[27] Meanwhile, the first-generation dancers in Cloud Gate commonly had relatively heavy lower bodies. The training of moving rock on the stream bank further lowered their center of gravity. Consequently, *Legacy* was not a "light and graceful" dance, but the choreography was based on the Taiwanese dancers' bodies.

The focus of dance was not on the technique or beautiful on-stage images anymore, but the focus became the embodiment of the dancers' sense of self. Dissimilar with the Chinese national dance, *Legacy* discarded the drive to entertain through beauty. Thus, watching dance was not an easy entertainment anymore. Dancers put on dark colored make-up and used black and blue in their main clothing. *Legacy* included eight acts,[28] and not until the seventh act did the dancers show a smile. What dancers were first concerned with was not beauty but the "sincerity" and the "texture" of the dance.[29] For example, the dancer who performs the witch (Act 6) should totally abandon the hesitation of good-looking image on stage but demonstrate an insane condition. Such a performance challenges both the dancer and the audience.[30] What made the first-generation dancers' performance exceptional was due to their physical figure. Due to their relatively small stature and low center of gravity, they felt more natural and comfortable performing an "unbeautiful" dance like *Legacy*. The dancer Wang Yun-Yu 王雲幼 believes that since the character takes the first-generation dancer of Cloud Gate as its prototype, the dancers

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[27] Ibid, 27.

[28] *Legacy* is divided into eight acts. The order and title of each act are: 1) Prologue: Honoring the Ancestors, 2) Call of the New Land, 3) Crossing the Black Water, 4) Taming the New Land, 5) Joy in the Wilderness, 6) Death and Rebirth, 7) Planting the Rice Sprouts, and 8) Epilogue: Celebration.

[29] Wu Su-Chun, personal communication in Taipei (13 December 2017).

[30] Ho Hui-Chen, personal communication in Taipei (23 December 2017).

do not just have to *act* the character; they *are* the character. "The uneasiness is omnipresent in our generation. We would be shocked by our friend's sudden disappearance [due to political censorship]. Things like this are happening around us, all of the emotional impact would be integrated in our dance."[31] The dance motivated the dancer and the audience to redefine dance and to redefine themselves.

2- Making the Landscape of Ocean

In this section I analyze how the making of the ocean landscape in *Legacy,* which reverses a "mainland" and China-centric viewpoint of history, contributes in specific ways to communities' sense of loss. Among the eight acts of *Legacy*, "Crossing the Black Water," which represents the ancestor's struggle crossing the Taiwan Strait, has been considered the most representational act of the whole dance.

I argue that the sense of becoming a community created in this act involves a common loss: In Taiwan, the ocean surrounding the island, paradoxically, has been an not sharable resource and a lost landscape within most people's knowledge and memory. Due to the confrontation with mainland China and coast defenses, people in Taiwan are forced to lose the right to be familiar with their marine surroundings and with the local history following the immigration across the strait. As Lin said:

> *When I was in my fifties, I knew for the first time that there were whales and dolphins in the sea off Hualan and Taidong [Two counties in east Taiwan]. My tears endlessly fell on the newspaper. I always thought that cetaceans are animals from the Western world!* ***As a resident of an island, we know so little***

[31] Wang Yun-Yu, personal communication in Taipei (22 December 2017).

about the ocean. During the Martial Law period, the coast was a restricted area, the ocean became a taboo *[emphasis added]*.[32]

Confrontation with China during the Martial Law period (1949-1987) resulted in strict control over the coastal areas and peripheral waters of Taiwan. Many parts of Taiwan's shores were designated as restricted military areas. The restriction prevented most Taiwanese people from most sea activities. The unforeseen effect of the restrictions was that people were barred from the ocean not only physically, but also psychologically. The Martial Law kept people away from exploring the ocean's possibilities and prevented the formation of Taiwanese identity related to its island form.[33] Accompanying the psychological disconnection with the ocean, history education in Martial Law Taiwan was dominated by a China-centric "mainland" mentality. The historical viewpoint has been mainland-oriented, which means all of the official history education mainly covered the events that happened in the faraway "mainland" China, while the history of Taiwan and the history of emigration has been usually out of sight. Though Taiwan is an island, the image of the ocean has been excluded in its historical narrative. To counteract this, *Legacy* created the ocean on the stage. It brought back the landscape that everyone in Taiwan was supposed to be physically familiar with yet had been psychologically alienated from. The visualization of the lost landscape not only filled in the lost memory of crossing the strait but also enabled the audience to figure out the reason for the shared loss. The landscape of the ocean

[32] Wu Chin-Hsun 吳錦勳, "Lin Hwai-Min: congrong de xiayibu" 林懷民: 從容的下一步 (Lin Hwai-Min: The Unhurried Next Step), *Taiwan qingting woshuo* 臺灣請聽我說 (Taiwan, Please Listen to Me) (Taipei: Tianxia yuanjian, 2009), 144.

[33] Hu Nien-Tsu 胡念祖 notes that martial law "prevented the formation of an identity that encompassed being a citizen of an ocean state." See Jim Hwang, "Blue Revolution," *Taiwan Review* (February 2014) https://Taiwantoday.tw/news.php?unit=12&post=23734

on stage triggered the spectator's emotions and motivated them to rethink the history neglected by the mainstream narrative.

To become a community requires motivation and a sense of compassion. In *Legacy*, I argue, the motivation is fighting: fighting against death, against unpredictable natural disasters and political violence, and against forced silencing. Dancers personified the desire for fighting by their movements, and the music was a catalyst to guide and amplify both the dancer and the audience's emotions. The sounds and movements in this act not only affectively shifted what could be sensed through what was seen and heard onstage. The sound of "Crossing the Black Water" functioned to drive the dancers and audience's emotions. The main background music of *Legacy* was particularly chosen to be percussion. Without a melody, the rhythm of drums easily synchronized people's heartbeat and pattern of breath. Thus, not only the dancers but also the audience felt the struggle and fighting deep in their conscious and memory. The primary night became a highly emotional event, in which "dancers were dancing with sweat and tears; the audience also applauded with tears."[34] Lin believed that "in fact, it was the audience's effort to help the dancers get across the blackwater."[35]

Before the dancers stepped on the stage, this act was preceded by the senior Taiwanese folk singer Chen Da's 陳達 impromptu storytelling of the way that Taiwanese ancestors sailed across the sea. The lyric, which was sung in Taiwanese and sounded through the whole performing space, summoned another form of shared loss: The local language and local people's self-respect attached to the language. As a poor and physically handicapped street singer, Chen Da had spent most of his life in the very rural South Taiwan. He never got a chance to receive a formal

[34] Lin Hwai-Min, *Cajianerguo* 擦肩而過 (An Encounter) (Taipei: Yuanliu, 1989), 239.

[35] Ibid, 239.

education, so the main way for him to survive was singing the local Taiwanese *hengchundiao* 恆春調 (Hengchun ballads) with the accompaniment on the *yueqin* 月琴, a typical musical instrument used by grassroots Taiwanese singers who are usually considered beggars.[36] Chen's desolate hoarse voice and the lyrics in Taiwanese effectively moved the dancers and audience. On the premiere night, Lin, along with many dancers and audience members, burst into tears once they heard Chen Da's song.[37] The thunderous applause from over six thousand audience members deeply hit Lin's mind and made him suddenly realized that "art is more than techniques, forms, and structure. An art work is originally a matter of heart and heart, and it is the interflow of human feelings."[38]

I suggest that their emotional reaction was the result of many aspects. Foremost, Taiwanese—the language Chen uses—had long been regarded as an inferior language, and it was considered inappropriate to use in Taiwanese formal public occasions. The strict "national language" (*guoyu* 國語)—Mandarin—policy caused a historical trauma for the local Taiwanese. Many local Taiwanese persons had been locked into an aphasic plight and experienced self-abasement due to the stifling of their mother tongue for decades. When the entire theatrical space reverberated with the sound of Chen's Taiwanese song, the language itself called forth the participator's sense of affective familiarity and legitimate grievance. In addition, *hengchundiao* has always been considered as a song about begging for food, which had never been considered a performing art. Chen's singing style was very different from the extremely popular genre of the

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[36] Lin Er 林二 and Jian Shangren 簡上仁. *Taiwan minsu geyao* 臺灣民俗歌謠 (Taiwanese Folk Songs). (Taipei: Zhongwen, 1979).

[37] Liu Chen-Hsiang 劉振祥, *Qianhou* 前後 (In Between the Moments: Cloud Gate in a Photographer's Memory) (Taipei: Locus, 2009), 17.

[38] Lin, *Cajianerguo*, 240.

campus folk song. Many campus folk songs portrayed the poetic Chinese landscape in an optimistic, simple, and youthfully brisk singing style.[39] In contrast to the naïve imagination in campus folk songs, Chen's humble heritage gave his song a rare moral strength along with straightforwardness and honesty. While numerous singers became famous by selling a romanticized imagination of China, Chen's obscurity reminded the audience to think about what else had been ignored under the long-term construction of Chinese nationalism.

Following Chen's song, the visualization of ocean landscape illuminated the lost familiarity of Taiwan Island's natural surroundings. The dancers gradually dragged out a huge white sail accompanied by the driving drum beat. The huge white cloth sometimes symbolized the sail, and sometimes, accompanied by changes in the light, became the water. The white light sometime disappeared and only the blue light showed the cold ocean water. When a dancer falls into the ocean due to the storm, other dancers jointly pray and save his life. The crew who is in charge of the live sound recalled, when all the dancers finally reached the coast safely, she herself cried with numerous audience member for the dancers' inflexible will to fight for survival.[40] The audience were struck by the drum beat, the dancer's shouts and breath, and the sound of the dancers' kneeling when they finally land. Then, the audience shared the passion and feeling with the dancers. Everyone in the theater shared the same space, breath, the same air, and excitement. They may have different cultural backgrounds, working experience, and family stories, but at such a moment, the shared compassion connected the participators and formed the foundation of sensing an emerging community.

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[39] The history of the Campus Folk Song Movement, see Chang Chao-Wei 張釗維, *Shezai nabian chang ziji de ge: Taiwan xiandai minge* 誰在那邊唱自己的歌—-臺灣現代民歌 (Who is Singing Our Own Songs There: The of the Campus Folk Song Movement in Taiwan) (Taipei: Gunshi, 2003).

[40] "Xichan fayang xianmin tongzhou huji jingshe"《薪傳》發揚先民同舟互濟精神 (Legacy Promotes The Ancestors' Spring of Helping Each Other), *Zhongguo shibao* 中國時報 (China Times) (December 17, 1978), 7.

Figure 1

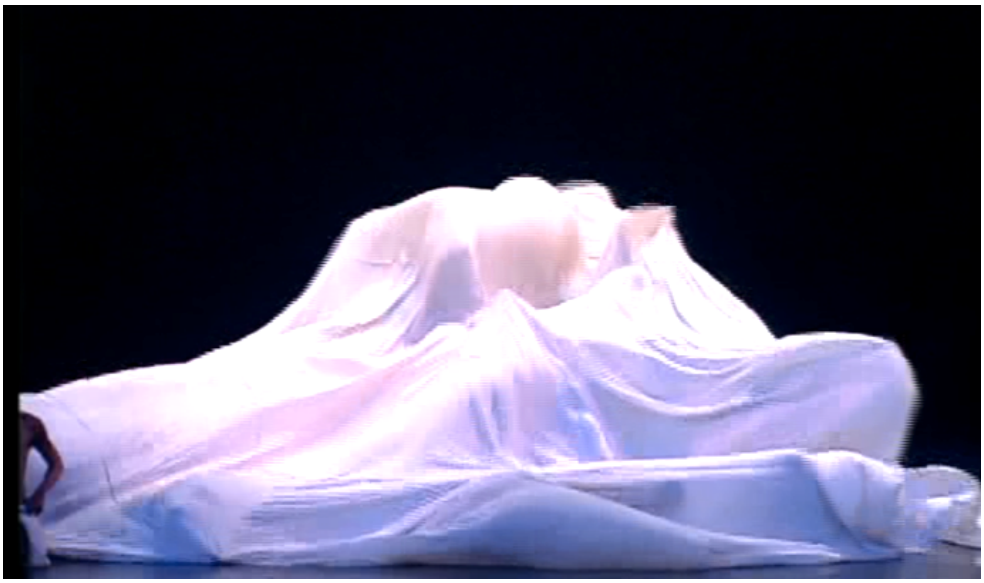

Figure 2

The way the bodies merged with the streams of water also functioned as a metaphor of the voice that was sidelined by the mainstream narrative of history. It is not only the bodies that are

submerged in the water, but also countless personal struggles get sucked into the powerful current (Figure 1-2). The visual arrangement of "Crossing the Black Water" is pretty vertical (Figure 3). There is the dancer who acts as the helmsman standing on two partners' shoulders and lifting the white cloth, the symbolic sail, over his head. Along with the wave of his arm and the wobble of his body, other dancers push through various directions to show the roaring waves. The most impressive gesture in this act is pushing. On the surface, the pushing gesture can simply mean the great efforts of crossing the strait, demonstrating how faith is never given up. However, I read the pushing gesture as a message of struggle, contest, battle, and an endeavor of uncertainty. The dancers are pushing to open up a new space for their dream for a new style of dance, which is very different from the national dance so that few people really understood it. The experience of viewing the fight made this act in the dance not entirely pleasurable. The dancer's facial expressions were pained and fearful. Their arms repeatedly move from crooked to straight (Figure 4).

Figure 3

Figure 4

The pushing gesture combined with painful expressions symbolized how they were propping up a space for something that must be presented implicitly because of its unspeakable emotions. The gesture also indicates a will to push the boundaries of the metaphoric body. The pushing gesture, thus, triggers the participant's memories of fighting for the regime, in the war, or for a sense of national identity construction. The strong will for survival was not limited to the Taiwanese ancestors' determination to start a new life on the island; numerous youngsters who were forced to move to Taiwan after the Chinese Civil War (CCW) also felt moved. There had been tension between people from different provincial origins who immigrated to Taiwan before and after the CCW, but it was a rare moment that "all participators [of *Legacy*] regardless the origins and ages all feel integrated together."[41] Lin believed that the participants did not cry for the diplomatic frustration of 1978 but for their childhood, for the many tough situations and difficult times that the Taiwanese people had to go through.[42]

Legacy also showed how dance can push away the censorship and create the leverage with nationalism which fostered a new sense of community. The abstraction of dance gestures made space for dissent that enabled *Legacy* to avoid strict censorship. Since the meaning of gestures are not as clear as spoken language, they can manipulate the conversational space and sometimes can even carry more meanings than spoken languages. The dancer's hands, eyes, facial expressions, position of the head and body are all available for manipulation in conversational space. The image of "Crossing the Black Water" was used by the government in 1978 to visualize the patriotic slogan "*tongzhou gongji* 同舟共濟" (be the sail in the same boat; to pull

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[41] Chu Ko 楚戈, "Wenhua de xinchuan: yunmen jiankang xieshi luxian de wuju zhi yanchu" 文化的《薪傳》: 雲門健康寫實路線的舞劇之演出 (The Cultural *Legacy*: A "Healthy Realism" Dance Performed by Cloud Gate), *Lanhebao* 聯合報(United Daily News) (January 3, 1979), 12.

[42] Ku, *Taiwan houlai haosuozai*, 113.

together in times of trouble), which summons support for the government. The scholar SanSan Kwan argues that the most effective strategy in *Legacy* was "the liberal use of unison movement" [43] which "is visually satisfying" and "fosters a kind of nationalism."[44] The purpose of nationalism is commonly achieved through the suppression of individual spirits in order to forge a unified support for the government. However, I suggest what *Legacy* manifests is the individual right and spirit of resistance. This spirit is not necessarily in support of the government. On the contrary, it may demonstrate distrust for the government or even opposition to the violence of the state apparatus.[45] Some movements look unified, but it is unlikely that *Legacy* moved the audience due to "a large group of bodies moving together as one."[46] Since each dancer's emotion and vitality cannot be the same, the only feature that they share is the spirit of fighting, but what they are fighting for can vary. The dancer Ho Hui-Chen 何惠楨 believes that the point of "Crossing the Black Water" is not the uniformity of group dance movements but the sincere attitude of exhausting one's ability. If the group movements are really as one, it would look like sailing on the land. The wave is fluctuating, which reflects the unique spirit of Taiwan as well as the value of a dancer with an independent mind. Each dancer had to represent an irreplaceable independent mind, so that the possibilities of dance would not be limited.[47] The dancer Wang Yu-Yu also points out that she is disinterested in politics, but she is easily impressed by humanistic aspirations. "Although patriotism is kind of brainwashing

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[43] SanSan Kwan, "Vibrating with Taipei: Cloud Gate Dance and National Kinesthesia" in *Lin Hwai-min International Dance Conference Proceedings*, 109.

[44] Ibid, 110.

[45] The discourse on state apparatus, see Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: Monthly Review, 1971).

[46] Kwan, Idid, 109.

[47] Ho Hui-Chen, personal communication in Taipei (23 December 2017).

throughout my generation, what *Legacy* inspires me is to care for families, friends, the people around me. I sense my responsibility for the society but not the government constructed concept of nation." [48] Ho further bluntly states that the most important thing he learned from *Legacy* is an old proverb "Tiangao huangdiyuan 天高皇帝遠" (The emperor is far away; it is unlikely one can rely on him), so whatever you want to do, you only can rely on yourself. Thus, Ho believes that *Legacy* makes her proud of being a "rustic." "I do not want to pretend that I am elegant, because I fully accept my origin. Why I have to change who I am. In *Legacy*, I dance the persistence of a rustic who is able to solve the problem on her own."[49]

Regarding the identity of being a "rustic," Lin has a more macroscopic interpretation, which turns to face the world from the small Taiwan island. He believes that:

> *On the world map of dance, Taiwan is only like a "rustic," but we still have to maintain the stability based on our land and the rustic's backbone.… It was on the pinnacle of our emotion and creativity when we firstly performed Legacy in 1978. We deeply appreciate the affective experience [of dancing Legacy]. At that time, no one would have predicted that such a huge dance would be made. In terms of physical strength, it required dancers to continuously dance for a hundred minutes. What this dance brought together was the basic spirit and appearance of Cloud Gate. To put it more clearly, the members of Cloud Gate are from different background settings. Their families are grassroots civil servants, venders of food stalls, laundries, or fishing villages. Their composition is closely related to the life of grassroots Taiwanese, which also*

[48] Wang Yun-Yu, personal communication in Taipei (22 December 2017).

[49] Ho Hui-Chen, personal communication in Taipei (23 December 2017).

reflects the image of Cloud Gate. From an ordinary person to a professional dancer, they rely on the persistent endurance and perseverance. They accept challenges and meanwhile earn other's respect. ... No other work is like Legacy that so clearly reflects our self-examination, so easily brings us to face the place where we grow up. ... How dancers can draw for this dance and embody the rustic's backbone? [The answer] is obvious: Because Legacy is a story about starting from scratch, so it is the story of Cloud Gate, and of Taiwan.[50]

The echo of the patriotic slogan "*tongzhou gongji"* in *Legacy* is an apparent explanation, which allows the dance to have a greater space of negotiation. Although the government interpretation of the image indicates that Taiwanese's root is connected to China, the audience may have escaped from the conceptual bounds of retaking the mainland China and turned to think about how to face the world. As one of the audience members recalled: even though he was merely an elementary school student, he would never forget how shocked when he first saw the dance of Cloud Gate. When the whole society was still under strict political censorship, Cloud Gate "pushed to open the window facing the sea, which let a bit of salty wind to blow in and let [the depressed air] to flow out. ... Those exhausting movements on the stage reflected not only the tenacious will of responding to the [upheaval] time but also the vision and the faring forth toward the world."[51] The ocean which has locked Taiwan, thus, has another meaning: the medium that can bring Taiwan to the world.

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[50] Cho Ming 卓明, "Yu Lin Hwai-Min tan xinchan de changyan" 與林懷民談《薪傳》的重演 (Talk with Lin Hwai-Min about the Reproduction of *Legacy*), *Lanhebao* 聯合報(United Daily News) (May 26, 1983), 8.

[51] Huang Che-Pin 黃哲斌, "Daoyu de shenshi, yumen de luxin" 島嶼的身世, 雲門的旅行 (The Fate of the Island, The Travel of Cloud Gate) in Ku, *Dakai yunmen*, 20.

3- Hearing the Silent Scream: The Death and Birth

While the losses related to landscapes, local language, and self-esteem were addressed through *Legacy*'s capacity to create the sense of community, by presenting the "unspeakable history" as one of the most important losses, this dance further touched the shared sensitive trauma of Taiwan. The unspeakable history includes numerous victims' loss of freedom or life because of the political censorship and their families' loss of the right to talk about the loss. The women who carry on both the burden of raising the family's next generation and the forced silence are effective figure to symbolize the "unspeakable history." Thus, the tension of death and birth is a core theme of *Legacy* and is represented through various images of women. Women are the core image of *Legacy*, which creates a very distinct viewpoint from that of official history. While the master narratives of history tend to emphasize significant events mainly conducted by men, *Legacy* feature everyday women who mainstream historical narratives often overlooks. The image of the mother is particularly highlighted in many acts: The mother who holds an infant in "Call of the New Land" (Act 2); the symbol of Mazu (the Heavenly Mother, the sea goddess) in "Crossing the Black Water" (Act 3), and the pregnant woman in "Joy in the Wildness" "Death and Rebirth" (Acts 5 and 6) and the very end of the whole dance (Act 8). The act "Death and Rebirth," which represents a woman giving birth to a posthumous child, most powerfully embodies the conflict of life and death. Ho mentions that because of various natural disasters, group fights, and the war, widows were very common in Taiwan. Raising a posthumous child is also part of the history of her family. Thus, she always felt that *Legacy* was a story of her grandmother, a typical persevering Hakka woman, who endured all the bitterness of life. The birthing and raising of a posthumous child forced the

woman to live, no matter how harsh the life reality was. Once a woman becomes a mother, she can bear everything in order "to live" for her children. The will of "to live" permeates the whole dance and is embodied in the exhausting choreography. "In order *to live*, the dancers only can rely on endless breath to keep dancing. At the end of the dance, the dancers even do not feel their bodies but only the breath." [52] Lin deliberates that why *Legacy* can be *Legacy* is not due to the story of the immigration, but due to the "the atmosphere of keeping breathing, which made the audience apprehensive." [53] In addition, "it is the fighting in order to surmount the limits of the human body that makes the audience moved." [54] *Legacy* thus marks the vitality of Cloud Gate's young first-generation dancers and their stubbornness in always refusing to *compromise* on the challenging aspects of life. Lin also explains that some reasons compelled him to choreograph such a "killing" dance, including the uneasy situation of the era, the anguish over Cloud Gate's survival, and the deepest one— "the pressure from the Martial Law" which Lin "sensed since my childhood." [55]

"Death and Rebirth" visualizes the struggle "to live" by using silent screams. By seeing the silent screams, the narrative of distant history transforms to signify the collective memory of forced silence. Apparently, the dancers performed the history that happened four hundred years ago, but the spectators could easily link the emotion of fear, pain, and speechless to the contemporary local memory—which, I argue, should include the shared memory of repression during Martial Law period. In fact, Lin also admits that the superficial reason why he chose to premiere *Legacy* in his rural hometown of Chiayi was to commemorate the ancestor's first

[52] Lin Hwi-Min, "Wuzhe zhi wu" 舞者之舞 (The Dancer's Dance) in Ku, *Taiwan houlai haosuozai*, 2-3.

[53] Ibid, 3.

[54] Ibid, 3.

[55] Wu, "Lin Hwai-Min: congrong de xiayibu," 143.

settlement built there, but the actual reason was to get far away from the political center Taipei in order to avoid strict censorship.[56] Under the strict censorship, the struggle and determination of "to live" is embodied in the persevering women who insist on living and carrying on a family with their hands. During the Martial Law period, the majority of the victims were the male intellectuals, and most of them were celebrities in their hometowns. Their fame made their deaths a shared trauma and instilled fear in local people. Each victim meant that a family would lose an essential pillar, and the whole burden of the family had been left to the nameless women. With a newborn infant in hands, the widow bore bitter hardships and raised the new life alone (Figure 5). Their situation demonstrates that the most difficult part of life is not death but maintaining hope while cautiously enduring a miserable life.

Figure5

[56] Ibid, 143.

The legal violence from the nation not only caused psychological trauma for the generation that directly encountered the persecution, but also formed the loop of what E.D Lister termed "forced silence." Forced silence, which is enforced by some implicit or explicit threat, prohibits communication and constitutes a secondary trauma that has been ignored in history.[57] Consequently, "keeping silent in order to survive" was the keystone for people living through the Martial Law period. The long-term despair and fear gradually turned the memory of trauma to a taboo, a wordless emotion of repression, and an enduring sadness that has to be borne silently.

I suggest that the silence makes space for the unarticulated or not yet articulated pain of loss, including the loss of life and of the right to talk about the loss. The forced silence during the Martial Law period not only made the secondary trauma for the generation of the victims, but also constructed what became the collective suppression which has been passed on from generation to generation. Silence might be the only refuge for people who encountered state violence during the Martial Law period. In order to protect the next generation from similar harm, the families of the victims dared not even to talk about what had happened. However, the speechless trauma never disappeared, and the forced silence turned out to be an unknown form of self-censorship. Self-censorship makes people avoid talking about politics and strengthens the mechanism of forced silence. Forced silence caused great repression because people had nowhere to share their sadness. Gradually, no one could clearly explain where the repression exactly came from, but everyone would sense its pervasive shadow. Decades of harsh censorship and political persecution made the period of White Terror, which effectively clamped down on communication opportunities. Thus, the history of White Terror in Taiwan is obscure and poorly understood abroad and even at home. That is also why Lin clarifies that although Cloud Gate's

[57] Eric D. Lister, "Forced Silence: A Neglected Dimension of Trauma", *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 139 (July 1982): 872-76.

dances had been shaped by the political and economic changes in Taiwan, "we are not reviewing the history of Taiwan; we are learning the history right from the very beginning."[58]

On the surface, female dancers represent the struggle of childbirth in "Death and Rebirth." However, I read this act in a performative way that transfers the pain of childbirth to Taiwanese people's long-term loneliness, helpless, and endurance of forced silence. Through the dancers' open mouths, distracted fingers, and highly raised legs, spectators could see their plaintive screams happening while no sound was made by the dancers (Figure 6). The silent scream depicts the collective and unspeakable repression. The dance not only released the long-term oppressive emotion throughout 1970s Taiwan, but also reversed silence from a neglected dimension of trauma to an effective power that triggers the spectators' emotion. On the one hand, silence can make the audience feel alone, uncomfortable, and disconcerted, like what they had experienced throughout the Martial Law period; on the other hand, when the silence was performed in public, it was not merely silence any more.

Figure 6

[58] Ku, *Dakai yunmen*, 26.

The depiction of silence itself, paradoxically, created the space of conversation. The conversation did not rely on words, but it got the spectator to slow their mind down and pay attention to the inward conversation of trauma, memory, and desire. Silence offers time for introspection and to allows the spectator's true self to speak and gain the power to refuel their minds. Paying attention to the silence as the space between the verbal exchanges allows the meaning of these exchanges to be assimilated into the spectator's inner self and from that place of depth, people's explanatory engagement naturally flows. The spectator's response of seeing the silent scream may have been various, yet their engagement could also have been alike. The shared engagement with the silence generated certain energies which enabled the spectators to embrace the spaces of gathering and to connect more deeply with their inner selves and with each other. This deeper connection is the basis for the audience to link their real-life experience with the flow of energy around them. The seeing practice, thus, can be the starting point where they see who could be and should be.

The narrative of *Legacy* is also about "birthing" something into being, which indicates that what is being born also has potential. Birthing is a crucial metaphor in the dance because it implies what is not yet figured or represented but what is being called forth by its address. Scholar SanSan Kwan has noticed that *Legacy* reenacts Taiwan's coming-into-being story and provides Taiwan with the story of its origins. Kwan's main idea echoes the mainstream discourse of Taiwanese scholars which assumes a Taiwanese nationalism that is already a given, and *Legacy* served the nationalistic call by representing the coming-into-being narrative to sustain the national identity.[59] However, by putting the verb "birth" in its progressive form, I particularly

[59] SanSan Kwan, *Kinesthetic City: Dance and Movement in Chinese Urban Spaces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.40.

emphasize that identity is not a given thing but a sense, which can be unhooked from nationalism. As the dancer Wang Yun-Yu mentions, when they firstly danced *Legacy*, they could only sense the desire of venting a common constraint, but they could not clearly articulate what was driving them at that time. Not until she learned the method of Laban Movement Analysis many years later, did she finally realize that the theme [of the forced science] and the empathy [with the victim] had always been the strength that motivated the dancers.[60] I suggest that by relieving Taiwanese people's long-term pain and filling in for the loss of unspeakable memory, *Legacy* performatively creates a space of subjectivity and enables spectators to have the sense of becoming a community. The ways in which *Legacy* make space for shared loss is also the way that the disadvantaged community develops delicate strategies and passages to survive without confronting the existing hegemony directly. Through the process of birthing, the tentative and provisional sense of community is coming into being.

Considering the long-term construction of national identity, the metaphor of birthplace in *Legacy* is particularly meaningful for 1970s Taiwan. Why the sense of birthplace in *Legacy* moves the spectators, I suggest, is not because the dance provides an answer for nation building but proposes a new possibility for rethinking the meaning of *homeland*. *Homeland* is significantly correlated with the place one was born, as people who had been born in a place reported a higher sense of place than people who had lived there longer but had moved there later in life.[61] Nevertheless, during the Martial Law period, Taiwanese people were asked to identify their *homeland* not based on the birthplace but on an imaginary territory faraway in China. This process of identity construction made Taiwanese people not only to long for an

[60] Wang Yun-Yu, personal communication in Taipei (22 December 2017).

[61] Robert Hay, "Sense of Place in Developmental Context," *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 18 (1998): 5-29.

unfamiliar or even uncertain "*homeland*" of which they have no memory but also made them feel alienated from the land where they were born. *Legacy* brings back the lost familiarity of birthplace for the dancers and audience members. Lin still remembers how loud the applause was on the opening night, and he believes that "the grassroots people would not care about what is modern dance or how artistic it is. [What moved them is that] they see a familiar thing is being honored on the stage. … We very solemnly demonstrate the image and spirit of Taiwanese people."[62]

The performance which echoes Chinese nationalism actually alters the meaning of being "Chinese." The original version of *Legacy* included singing the National Flag Anthem, the song that all school students had been required to sing every day before their studies, at the end of the dance. Nevertheless, Lin requested the dancers to sing out the *connotation* of the song.[63] The writer Sanmao 三毛 wrote an emotional essay saying that even if she hated any patriotic events, she strangely felt moved when she heard the familiar lyric: "Magnificent mountains and rivers, (with) bountiful and diverse goods; … Maintaining (their achievements) is not easy and never seek only for instant benefit."[64] While Sanmao repeatedly says how she is proud of being Chinese, she straightforwardly points out what *Legacy* inspires in her is letting her realize how she can contribute to the land where she was born and grew up.[65] During the interlude, the spotlight focused on a square of green rice that was cultivated by the students of the Chiayi Institute of Agriculture (CIA). The local crop triggers local people's pride. The climax of the

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[62] Ku, *Taiwan houlai haosuozai*, 108-109.

[63] Cho Ming, "Yu Lin Hwai-Min tan xinchan," 8.

[64] San Mao 三毛, "Lianai zhong de nuren" 戀愛中的女人 (The Woman in Love) *Lanhebao* 聯合報(United Daily News) (June 14, 1983), 8.

[65] Ku, *Taiwan houlai haosuozai*, 113.

opening night was when the dancers acknowledged the applause, a hundred students of CIA holding torches stepped through the stage and the auditorium. This movement symbolized the hope of rebirth.[66] The move not only blurred the boundary between the dancer and the audience and enabled them to experience the physical energy of another body, but also shifted the imagination of a fecund *homeland* depicted in the National Flag Anthem from China to the local land of Taiwan. The signifier "Chinese" thus has a transforming signified. From the succession of human life to the endless reproduction of local rice, the meaning of *homeland* changes from the imaginary land to the real one. When anything related to Taiwan was a taboo in the Martial Law period, *Legacy* not only activated the audience's sense of history but also reshaped their memory of contemporary Taiwan.

Epilogue: Dance Here and Now

Legacy accentuates three possible features of how *home* can be conceived. Primarily, *home* is the place no matter if it is perfect, you would want to *stay*. The *home* may not always be the place where you felt comfort, but *home* is where you still want to survive— right *here*. *Home* is an identity that not always make you feel comfortable or proud of, but you cannot abandon it. The performance of *Legacy* shows a stance that switches the propaganda of *going* back to a faraway *homeland* to the idea of *staying* and continuing the life at the *home* where you are living now. Surrounding the residential *home* for Taiwanese people is the ocean. The unpredictability and openness of ocean contrasts with the stability and enclosed property of the continent. The fluctuation of the oceans brings external ideas to the island, where has the potential to integrate new concepts. The forms of *Legacy* that mixes various dance elements concretely reflects an

[66] Wen Man-Ying 溫曼英, "Zai Fengyu ruhui Zhong yan xinchuan" 在風雨如晦中演《薪傳》"Performing Legacy during a Hush Time" in *Yumen Wuhua* 2nd Edition, 197-198.

island's ability of integration, innovation, and re-creation. From the perspective of the ocean as a starting point, the performance of adventures, cultivation, and nourishment of new lives all demonstrates the determination to establish a foothold to *stay here*. Secondly, the operation of becoming a community relies on the feeling of connected, understood, and loved, which is also the way people sense where *home* is. The more present and involved you are with both yourself and the surrounding around you, the easier it will be to feel at *home* where you are. Lastly, if *home* is a journey toward, *Legacy* represents the striving for hope and possibilities through the process of women's giving birth and raising the newborn. Facing toward the hope and possibilities is the initiation of the sense of *home*, which is exactly what *Legacy* inspires the participants.

Legacy also brings in the temporal framework of searching for a sense of self, which is further related to the meaning of *home*. The temporal framework sheds light on moments in which reconnections with a putative *homeland* take place and release the discourse of Chinese identity construction from the current geopolitically-bounded imaginations. I view the depiction of history in *Legacy* as a process of intertwining past and present anxieties about self-definition. Performer-spectator interaction, I suggest, creates a collective agency which disturbs the officially assigned national identity of being "Chinese." Advocating "composed by Chinese, choreographed by Chinese, danced by Chinese, for a Chinese audience," Cloud Gate's dance, in fact, problematizes the division of Chinese tradition and Western modernity. Although Taiwan has been deeply influenced by American popular culture since the 1950s, what the KMT government promoted has been the preservation of traditional Chinese cultural legacy. Since 1966, the KMT governor officially launched the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in Taiwan in opposition to the Cultural Revolution in China. The Chinese Cultural Renaissance

Movement not only constructed the retrospective viewpoint of Chinese culture, but also functioned as a censorship system that controlled the formal presentation of how the theatrical performance should guide the audience to return the past. The Chinese national dance reflects the romantic imagination of a centuries-old China with wide territory. While the government assigned imagination is alienated from the contemporary reality of Taiwan, the "Chinese" artists' works that Cloud Gate adopts are actually all locally based Taiwanese. Using local artist's works makes the audience feel the dance, as a combination of various artistries, the dance becomes "ours." As the writer Chiang Hsun 蔣勳 points out:

> *Each dance of Cloud Gate is composed by our domestic composers. When I say, "our", I do not only refer "Chinese" or "Taiwan," but also highlights "today" and "present" in time. This is because Tchaikovsky's Swan Lake and John Cage's improvisational music are not ours; however, the "Miao Girls Get the Cup" and the "Mongol Chopstick Dance"[67] are also very different from the life in today's Taiwan, so those are undoubtedly not ours either. Only people who have lived on this land for 20 or 30 years would have the ability and the conditions to love and understand the sadness, joy, or wishes that commonly shared by people reside here. Thus, when Lin Hwai-Min chooses to use ... [the local composer's] music, he, at the same time, chooses "Taiwan" and "Today" as the objects to be interpreted. ... These objects, which are either coordinated or rolled over each other, makes us a knowing smile or feel uncomfortable. No matter how, the [Cloud Gate's] works reflect the essence of our cultural appearance in the past two to three decades. If the appearance is*

[67] Both are typical repertoires of Chinese national dance.

chaotic, Cloud Gate reflects the chaos; if the appearance is upset, Cloud Gate reflects anxiousness and irritability. Cloud Gate has grasped the honesty, the most essential attitude of working on literature and arts.[68]

Chiang's comment echoes the dancer Ho Hui-Chen's feeling that "when a widow is holding a child, what is in her mind would is only how to live on. Everything she is concerned with is here and now. That is exactly what people who have cultivated this land have felt."[69] How to survive is an issue that looks toward the present and future, it reverses the retrospective viewpoint of Chinese nostalgia that the government has utilized for national identity construction. To care about the current society is also part of Cloud Gate's mission, as Lin says that dancers "use their body to project editorials,"[70] so he believes that even without the diplomatic frustration, the dance *Legacy* would still move the audience.[71]

What Cloud Gate gains through the search for self is, dialectically, to really dance for the sake of dancing rather than as the character. Although some comments label dances like *Legacy* as support structures for patriotism, nationalism, or Health Realism, Lin says that he only cares if the dance speaks out his heartfelt wishes and moves the audience, and everything else is all secondary.[72] In fact, the point of *Legacy* is the dancers finding themselves in this dance rather than the story of ancestors. Lin explains, "the ancestors are very abstract, and the way to

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[68] Chiang Hsun 蔣勳, "Hao gusheng" 好鼓聲 (Great Drumbeat) in *Yunmen Wuhua* 2nd Edition (Taipei: Yuanliu, 1981), 136-137.

[69] Ho Hui-Chen, personal communication in Taipei (23 December 2017).

[70] Chiang Chia-Yu 蔣家語, "Yunmen de wuzhe" 雲門的舞者 (The Dancers in Cloud Gate), *Minshengbao* 民生報 (The People's Livelihood Newspaper) (March 29, 1979), 15.

[71] Ibid, 16.

[72] "Yaoxiang liaotianding shenmao" 遙想廖添丁神貌 (Imagining Liao Tianding's Appearance), *Minshengbao* 民生報(The People's Livelihood Newspaper) (April 27, 1979), 7.

represent the ancestors initiates from ourselves. … That is why this dance important to us."[73] There was no theatrical performance about the history of Taiwan until *Legacy*. After *Legacy*, Lin choreographed other dances, such as *Liao Tien Ting* (1979), *My Nostalgia, My Songs* (1986), and *Portrait of the Families* (1997), which take the history of Taiwan as the main concern. He acknowledges it is not a rational decision to create these dances. He has been driven by the memory of his *home*town and the shadow of his childhood to touch these themes in order to solve his own problems. Through the choreography, he feels more comfortable and relaxed. Lin believes that it is necessary to go through such a self-searching procedure so that he can really get back to the substance of dance and consider possibilities of movement.[74] Finally, since 1998, Lin has launched a brand-new direction and has created a series of dances such as *Moon Water* (1998), *Bamboo Dream* (2001), and *Cursive* (2001) that transcend storytelling. Ever since *Moon Water*, Cloud Gate gradually developed a more refined style.

When the abstraction of dance is no longer used to evade censorship, it opens up better chances for the choreographer, dancer and audience to explore sensational rather than rational understandings of dance. As Lin believes:

> *The best point of dance is its rich and fleeting expression, yet the meaning [of the expression] is very ambiguous. On the stage, the dancers activate all kinds of techniques and sensations to complete the movement, and the audience is also using their sensation to receive the dance. ... Dance itself is related to the sense instead of the literal meaning. [Dance] is not either right or wrong, not*

[73] Ku, *Taiwan houlai haosuozai*, 133.

[74] Ku, *Dakai yunmen*, 26.

an exam [with correct answers]. Dance is democratic, it gives the audience a lot of space to interpret.[75]

Taiwan, therefore, is not merely a topic but a worldview in the Cloud Gate's dances. The worldview shows how the representation of Chinese cultural heritage in Taiwan is distinct from in China or other countries. The exceptional dancing style of Cloud Gate is also like a way of being, which demonstrates the uniqueness of Taiwan on the world map of dance.

[75] Ibid, 22.

Chapter 4

Stepping out of the Frame:
Kingdom of Desire (1986), *Jingju* Performance,
and the Identity Searching in Taiwan

In this chapter, I examine how cross-cultural training releases performers from the rigorous performance conventions of a highly nationalized theatre and enables them to go through a risky process of figuring out a relatively comfortable self-definition. My analysis focuses on *jingju* 京劇 (Beijing/Peking opera) and the historical context of 1980s Taiwan. Given the imposed title of "national opera" and strict performing conventions, *jingju* has symbolized government-defined Chineseness and *homeland* construction in Taiwan. Thus, radical transformations of this established performing arts tradition mark the questioning of a government-assigned *homeland*. By making changes in the supposedly unchangeable "national opera," the performance pushed both the performers and spectators to believe that mainstream ideology is also changeable. Instead of longing for a return to the *homeland*—the birthplace of *jingju*—, the performers put every effort into proving that Taiwan can be a *home* for *jingju* and for themselves. I take *Kingdom of Desire* (*Yuwang chengguo* 慾望城國, 1986), an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, as a particular example to demonstrate radical transformations of an established performing arts tradition. Wu Hsing-Kuo 吳興國, the director as well as the lead actor of *Kingdom of Desire*, provides insight into his acting experience to highlight how a contemporary

actor combines the traditional training methods of *jingju* and modern dance to strive for a stage where they can *stay* as *home*.

The chapter title "stepping out of the frame" has dual meaning. The first meaning of "frame" signifies the visible, or the performing convention of *jingju*; the second frame is invisible, referring to the national identity construction that happened through *jingju* in Cold War Taiwan. The relationship between politics and *jingju* in Taiwan has caught scholars' attention. Nancy Guy believes that "The ideologies that have shaped Peking opera's development penetrated and fundamentally influenced many aspects of life [in] Taiwan. . . Many forces have combined to make [Peking opera in its twilight in Taiwan]. Here, I focus on the political."[1] She examines various policies and analyzes their impact on *jingju*'s change in Taiwan. Guy's studies outline the history of *jingju* as "nation opera" (*guoju* 國劇) in Taiwan. However, her analysis presumes that *jingju* is an object that only passively received political influence. In my research, I argue that *jingju* is not merely a passive object. On the contrary, I demonstrate the *jingju* performers' agency and how their efforts prevented the twilight of *jingju* and manifested the hybrid subjectivity of Taiwan.

In addition to the political aspect, I particularly pay attention to the performance of *jingju*, because I believe that it is the performers' creativity that actively pushed the policy changes and opened up alternative possibilities for national identity construction. *Kingdom of Desire* not only combined two seemly incompatible theatrical traditions, but also marked a turning point for *jingju* in late-1980s Taiwan. The performance opened up new possibilities for Taiwanese people to rethink who they were and what the assigned *homeland* meant for them. This performance fundamentally untied the previously bundled concepts of theatre and nationalism. By figuring

[1] Nancy Guy, *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 10.

out the right way to bring their skill, talent, and creativity into full play, performers express their true selves on the stage, which makes the performing process their *home*.

My study is also an intervention for the Western-centric discourse on intercultural performances of Shakespeare's works. Much recent performance studies scholarship explores intercultural confluences in theatrical productions.[2] However, as Erika Fischer-Lichte notes, "the transfer of non-Western elements into Western theatre is dealt with in the main body of research on so-called intercultural theatre,"[3] whereas the use of Western elements in non-Western theatre "are generally seen within the purview of modernization, which is largely equated to Westernization."[4] *Kingdom of Desire* is also recognized as the mark of *jingju*'s modernization in Taiwan,[5] although the history of Shakespeare's plays is almost two hundred years longer than *jingju*.[6] The idea of modernization tends to put the West and the East in different trajectories of time. The idea of modernity tends to see "Eastern" as "pre-modern" and "Western" as "modern", even though in this case Shakespeare is older than *jingju*. Thus, the cultural exchange actually happens within an uneven interaction. As a worldwide language enabling scholars and artists

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[2] For the discussion on intercultural performance, see Richard Schechner and Willa Appel, eds., *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Patrice Pavis, *The Intercultural Performance Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1996). Phillip B. Zarrilli, *Psychophysical Acting: An Intercultural Approach after Stanislavski* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

[3] Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Interweaving Cultures in Performance: Different States of Being In-Between," *New Theatre Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (2009): 399.

[4] Ibid, 399.

[5] Wang An-Chi 王安祈, *Chuantong xiqu de xiandai biaoxian* 傳統戲曲的現代表現 (The Modernized Representation of Traditional *Xiqu*) (Taipei: Liren, 1996), 99-102.

[6] Shakespeare was actively involved in theater creation around the late 1500s to early 1600s. The formation of jingju as a recognized genre of Chinese opera was as late as 1790, after the first *huiju* (徽劇 Anhui "opera") performance was held in Beijing to celebrate the Emperor Qianlong's birthday. *Huiju* then absorbed various elements of other local operas performed in Beijing and became the precursor of *jingju*. Around the end of the 19th century, after merging for decades, *jingju* finally formed, and became the biggest of all opera genres in China. See Ma Shaobo 馬少波 ed., *Zhongguo jingju shi* 中國京劇史 (The History of *Jingju*) (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju, 1999).

from diverse cultures to communicate and collaborate, the work of Shakespeare has been an object of fascination for around four centuries. Recent scholarship has well established the remarkable array of cultural exchange facilitated by Shakespeare's works, thereby demonstrating the global resonance of theatre.[7] Due to the mobility of knowledge and the contemporary acceleration of intercultural exchange, Shakespeare, without doubt, is not an asset belonging to the English alone. Indeed, as many scholars trained in English literature have criticized, the plot of *Kingdom of Desire* oversimplified the original script, because the tragedy in this *jingju* adaption "is quite close to the idea of retribution in folk beliefs, and it lacks the humanistic thoughts and ethical spirit in Shakespearean play."[8] However, without considering what these adaptations signify within the Asian contexts in which they were produced, the discourse on Asian Shakespeares as cultural mediations hardly transcend what could be called a Eurocentric logic, as it would assume that adaptations of Shakespeare are only part of his theatrical legacy, overlooking what the adaptations mean for local histories. This chapter, thus, repositions this understanding of change in traditional Asian theatrical forms by probing into how multiple influences are intertwined in *Kingdom of Desire*. In tracing the various factors that shape actors' style and artistry, this article argues that cross-cultural training needs to be viewed in relation to its specific social, cultural, and historical contexts.

Instead of directly situating Chinese Shakespeare as one of many "international Shakespeares," I suggest a more structural approach to further articulate how *jingju* functions as

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[7] For example, the International Shakespeare Association (ISA), which hosts the World Shakespeare Congress every two years, functions to link various national Shakespeare associations and to generate discourse on Global Shakespeares.

[8] *Hu* Yaw-Herng 胡耀恒, "Xifang xiju gaibian wei pingju de wenti— yi yuwang chengguo weili 西方戲劇改編為平劇的問題: 以《慾望城國》為例 (The Problem When *Jingju* Adapt the West Theater: Take *Kingdom of Desire* as an Example), *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 (Chung-Wai Literary Monthly) 15, no. 11, (April 1987): 79.

the critical medium for mediating local contexts and highly nationalized theatre in Cold War Taiwan. I provide a detailed case study of how the process of cross-cultural adaption can be a way for actors, sponsors, and audience members to search for a local *home*. In addition to the script *Macbeth*, the Japanese film *Throne of Blood* (*Kumonosu-jō* 蜘蛛巢城, 1957) is an essential reference for *Kingdom of Desire. Throne of Blood* is directed by Akira Kurosawa; the film transposes the plot of *Macbeth* to feudal Japan, with stylistic elements drawn from *noh* drama. The narrative structure and the visual component of *Throne of Blood* significantly inspires Wu and enriches the expression of the main theme in *Kingdom of Desire*. In fact, the plot of Kingdom of Desire is based more on *Throne of Blood* than Shakespeare's original script. Wu and Kurosawa's works share the Buddhist idea of relinquishing secular ambition and desire but in opposite ways. *Throne of Blood* asserts an experience of collectivity, whereas *Kingdom of Desire* shifts our attention back to individuality.[9] After double translation– translating from a Japanese cinematic adaptation to a *jingju* theatrical performance—, *Kingdom of Desire* challenges the essentialized Chinese moral and cultural legacy attached to national opera in Taiwan. As Wu mentioned, as a matter a fact, "the doctrine of loyalty, filial piety, and chastity that national opera promoted cannot satisfy the modern audience's diverse feelings and emotions."[10] Thus, Wu attempt to disperse and reconstruct traditional performing techniques and to open up new perspectives on the Chinese theatre stage. Due to the characters' desire for power, friends turn their backs against each other, and loyal courtiers usurp the throne. Consequently, neither is the leading male character morally spotless, nor the leading female character purely

[9] Regarding the comparison of *Kingdom of Desire* and *Throne of Blood,* see Yu-Wen Hsiung, "Kurosawa's *Throne of Blood* and East Asia's *Macbeth*," in *Shakespeare in Hollywood, Asia, and Cyberspace*, eds. Alexa Huang and Charles Ross (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 78-87.

[10] Tang Pi-Yun 湯碧雲, "Guoju jie nianqing jingying touru" 國劇界年輕菁英投入 (The Young Elites of National Opera are in), *Zhongguo shibao* 中國時報 (China Times), November 26, 1986, 7.

virtuous, and such non-dogmatic characterization is one the most significant differences from traditional national opera.

Unlike the inflexible moral lessons taught by the characterizations in national opera repertoires, *Macbeth* puts emphasis on how ambition and desire gradually devour an individual step by step. The story frame and the ending of *Macbeth* coincidently correspond to the Chinese traditional belief of retribution, which is also one of the typically inherent morals of *xiqu* 戲曲 (Chinese "opera," which refers to the general concept of traditional Chinese theatre). Thus, audiences who are familiar with either theatrical tradition can "each take what they need."[11] My analysis considers both highly visible aspects during performance and performers' interactions during rehearsals. Through drawing on performers' biographical descriptions, interviews, as well as the author's own physical practice of *jingju*, this chapter thus considers both the processes of production and the final stage performance.

1- The "National Opera": *Jingju* in Taiwan

> *"December 12, 1986, the premiere of Kingdom of Desire, was an unforgettable night in my life. …The stage carried the air of euphoria, and the audience's blood seemed to boil with excitement."*[12]

The premiere night of *Kingdom of Desire* in 1986 was a turning point in the history of Taiwanese *jingju*, during which the newly-founded Contemporary Legend Theatre (CLT)

[11] Wang An-Chi 王安祈, *Dangdai xiqu* 當代戲曲 (Contemporary *Xiqu*), (Taipei: Sanmin, 2002), 148.

[12] Lin Hwai-Min 林懷民, "Zaijian, pinbo!" 再見, 拼搏 (See You Again, Fight!), *Lianhebao* 聯合報, (United Daily News), October 5, 2006.

presented a whole new version of *Macbeth. Kingdom of Desire* fused the singing, acting, reciting, and acrobatic fighting of traditional *jingju* with a work from the Western canon. In the last scene, Wu Hsing-Kuo, the CLT's founder and the play's protagonist, performed a magnificent back somersault off an eight-foot-high rampart, landing in full view of the audience. Some audience members applauded and some cried; the whole artistic community in Taipei was shaken by this work.[13] Lee Kuo-Hsiu 李國修, the founder of Taiwan's leading theatre group, Ping-Fong Acting Troupe, was among the numerous young audience members crying during the night of the premiere. He was simultaneously thrilled and upset regretting "why this [the innovations of *jingju*] happened so late."[14] Wu's backward falling can be read as a symbolic enactment of *jingju*'s decline and subsequent revitalization in Taiwan. The performance successfully revitalized the audience's impression of *jingju* and kick-started the use of innovative aesthetics in contemporary Taiwanese theatre.

In order to grasp the significance of *Kingdom of Desire* and to comprehend why the audience was so deeply moved by this performance, it is necessary to understand how *jingju* was initially nationalized in Taiwan.[15] *Jingju* is a regional drama originating from northern China. Among the over 300 regional forms of *xiqu*, *jingju* has established a primarily structured training system of the fundamental performing techniques. Other regional forms frequently adopt *jingju*'s physical training system, so *jingju* became widely popular across different regions in China.

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[13] "Yuwang chengguo yiju jingdong taibei yiwen jie"《慾望城國》一舉驚動臺北藝文界 (*Kingdom of Desire*: A Bomb of Taipei Artistic Community) *Zhongguo shibao* 中國時報 (*China Times*), December 12, 1986, 36.

[14] Lu Chien-Ying 盧健英 and Cheng Ya-Lian 鄭雅蓮 "Liang 'guo" lun xiju: Wu xinguo vs. Li guoxiu" 兩「國」論喜劇: 吳興國 vs.李國修, "Wu Hsing-Kuo and Lee Kuo-Hsiu's Discussion on Comedy," *Biaoyan yishu* 表演藝術 (Performing Arts Review) 153 (September 2005): 38.

[15] For details about the history of *jingju* in Taiwan after the end of WWII, see Wang An-Chi 王安祈, *Taiwan jingju wushi nian* 臺灣京劇五十年 (Fifty Years of *Jingju* in Taiwan) (Taiwan, Yilan: Chuanyi, 2002).

Even with highly established performing conventions, it is natural for *jingju* to absorb various elements and to get localized. For instance, the Shanghai-style (*haipai* 海派), which expands the visuality of *jingju*, is distinct from the Beijing-style. The Shanghai-style *jingju* was disseminated to Taiwan as early as the period of Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). The attractive performance stimulated the formation of local style *jingju* in Taiwan. The Taiwanese actors, who sang the *jingju* songs in Mandarin and spoke the dialogue in Taiwanese,[16] demonstrated how capable they were of integrating diverse elements in *jingju* in order to fit the local audience's interests. This hybrid *jingju* performance in Taiwan was gradually discontinued after 1949. In 1949, the KMT government brought *jingju* performers along with over one million soldiers when they emigrated from China to Taiwan. Due to the preferences of high-ranking military officers and the soldiers' nostalgia, *jingju* was the most popular live entertainment in the army. The main mission of *jingju* at that time was to entertain troops and boost the morale of soldiers. Numerous *Jingju* troupes were established in the armed forces. *Jingju* was therefore given the title: "National opera (*guoju* 國劇)."

In fact, the phrase *guoju* (national opera or national drama) was first brought up in the 1920s. The historian Joshua Goldstein examines the emergence of the phrase *guoju* as related to the May Fourth realism around 1920. At that time, Chinese scholars mainly used this phrase to indicate *xiqu* (traditional Chinese theater in general), which was significantly different from Western theater. The Chinese drama theoretician Qi Rushan 齊如山 especially asserted that the crucial difference between Chinese and Western drama was that the latter was "realistic" while

[16] Hsu Ya-Hsiang 徐亞湘, "Cong waijiang dao guoju: Lun Taiwan minjian jingju chuantong de xingcheng yu shiluo" 從外江到國劇: 論臺灣民間京劇傳統的形成與失落 (From *Waijiang* to National Opera: Study of Traditional Taiwanese Folk Style Peking Opera,) *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 (Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore) 170, (2010): 143-76.

the former was "aesthetic."[17] Qi often used the term *guoju* to encompass all forms of old Chinese drama, and his main concern was how to refine and innovate traditional *xiqu*.[18] Goldstein points out that "the 1930s constituted the high-water mark for the Peking opera as a centerpiece of Chinese national culture."[19] The artist Mei Lanfang's tour of the US in 1930 especially generated national pride, which made *jingju* into the national drama, a Chinese cultural treasure and a symbol of national essence (*guocui* 國粹).[20] *Guoju* was originally used to refer to the culture embodied in a significant aesthetic form rather than a political implication. However, this phrase became a political propaganda tool that only symbolized Chinese nationalism in Cold War Taiwan. The KMT government's efforts to uphold what they believed to be the essence of Chinese culture prevented *jingju* in Taiwan from advancing with the times.

Different from the localized *jingju* performance in colonial Taiwan, the national opera was isolated from the local society. Most of the national opera troupes were attached to army troops and enjoyed military resources, so they did not have to compete with local Taiwanese *jingju* troupes in the public market. In addition, the KMT government valued what they believed to be an "authentic" Chinese culture above Taiwanese culture. In order to strengthen their authority through a symbolically important art, the government generously supported national opera—which was mainly based on the Beijing-style *jingju*— and arbitrarily claimed that it was the most

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[17] Joshua Goldstein, *Drama Kings*: *Players and Publics in the Re-creation of Peking Opera, 1870-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 153.

[18] Qi Rushan 齊如山, Qi rushan guoju luncong 齊如山國劇論叢 (Qi Rushan's Commentaries on *Guoju*) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2015).

[19] Joshua Goldstein, *Drama King*: *Players and Publics in the Re-creation of Peking Opera, 1870-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 265.

[20] Ibid, 264-89.

legitimate form of theatre.[21] Under this economic and political disadvantage, the local Taiwanese *jingju* troupes, which were unable to compete with the national ones, gradually went out of business. The national opera became synonymous with *jingju* in Taiwan. Taiwanese audiences thus got the impression that *jingju* was a theatrical genre belonging solely to Chinese immigrants. Consequently, the national opera ironically failed to resonate with the local community across Taiwan and was hardly popular outside of the military

The competition over what could be called the most emblematic element of Chinese culture in Cold War Taiwan constructed a model of *jingju* that was very different from that of China. *Jingju* was taken as a symbol of the nation for both sides. In contrast to the CCP (the Chinese Communist Party, the ruling party in mainland China) that accentuated revolution and carried out the Drama Reform Movement (*xiqugaige* 戲曲改革),[22] the KMT (the Kuomintang Party, the ruling party in Taiwan) insisted on preserving the centuries-old Chinese cultural heritage in Taiwan, so any change of traditional *jingju* repertories and performing conventions was prohibited. The nationalization of *jingju* meant that *jingju* was expected to promote only official ideology, thereby restricting its creativity and innovation. The so-called national opera strictly maintained the traditions of *jingju* from the late Qing and early Republican period. The national opera in Taiwan therefore was treated as a vehicle for conserving an idea of Chineseness

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[21] Nancy Guy, *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan* (University of Illinois Press, 2005).

[22] In China, *jingju* was also the target of political propaganda. The Communist People's Republic of China (PRC) accentuated revolution and carried out the Drama Reform Movement (*xiqugaige*) in 1951, a massive reformation of Chinese traditional theatre. The Instructions of the State Council Concerning Reformation of Xiqu was issued, marking the official beginning of the Drama Reform Movement. This reform radically changed the creative, organizational, and training processes of Chinese opera. In the name of democratic and scientific modernization, a key component was the insertion of Western theatrical practices, including the use of directors, playwrights, and composers into what had previously been actor-centered theatres. Elizabeth Wichmann-Walczak, '"Reform" at the Shanghai Jingju Company and Its Impact on Creative Authority and Repertory," *The Drama Review* 44, no. 4, (2000): 96-119. Siyuan Liu, "Theatre Reform as Censorship: Censoring Traditional Theatre in China in the Early 1950s," *Theatre Journal* 61, no. 3, (October 2009): 387-406.

according to the KMT's needs. The "protectionism" in national opera consequently made it even more conservative and caused it to lose the vitality.[23]

Despite the support of its senior connoisseurs in the armed forces, national opera eventually faced a crisis of losing its audience base in the 1980s. On the one hand, the first generation of Chinese immigrants gradually passed away, and their dreams of retaking China became unrealistic for younger generations. On the other hand, Anglo-American culture in Taiwanese society, reinforced in part by the influx of American financial aid, came to represent modernity, impacting the cultural identity of the younger Taiwanese generation. Thus, national opera appeared to be outdated, gradually losing its attraction. In the 1980s, national opera had been protected and attached to the armed forces for over three decades. However, the younger soldiers did not like the outdated performances, so national opera could no longer function to entertain soldiers and boost morale. The actors who always received lukewarm responses also lost their passion for performance. The national opera troupes were awkwardly like "ponds with stagnant water."[24] The anxiety of being a *jingju* actor in Taiwan drove young actors to search for innovative new ways to perform. Since, by 1986, the audience dynamics of *jingju* in Taiwan had changed drastically, young actors had to explore methods of reaching out to the local market that differed from previous generations in order to survive on the stage.

The establishment of the Contemporary Legend Theatre (CLT) points to the attempts of Wu and other young actors to transform *jingju*. They had received professional training for a decade, but when they began performing, they found, to their great disappointment, that their

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[23] Chou Hui-Ling 周慧玲, "Guoju, guojia zhuyi yu wenhua zhengce" 國劇, 國家主義與文化政策 (National Opera, Nationalism, and Cultural Policies), *Dangdai* 當代 (Contemporary Monthly) 107 (2007): 50-67.

[24] Wang Hui-Ping 王惠萍, "She lai guanxin guoju" 誰來關心國劇 (Who Cares about National Opera), *Minshengbao* 民生報 (The People's Livelihood Newspaper) (January 6, 1988), 11.

productions hardly attracted young theatregoers. The crisis they faced thus motivated them to create a novel production enticing to both a younger and larger crowd. The name "Contemporary Legend Theatre" demonstrated the young actors' ambition of departing from tradition. "Contemporary" denotes the present time and generation; "Legend" refers to the origins of traditional opera while including the creation of new agendas; and "Theatre" indicated a modernized space of performance.[25] Wu, who was the director, joint playwright, and leading actor of *Kingdom of Desire*, took on some of Shakespeare's authority to unsettle national opera, avoiding Chinese ideological doctrine in his vision of contemporary theatre.

2- Beyond *Jibengong*: Contemporary *Jingju* Actor Training in Taiwan

The conservatism of national opera, in fact, reflected not only national identity construction but also *jingju*'s highly standardized conventions of performance. *Jingju* was defined by explicit rules of movement, role-types, costume design, and narrative arcs.[26] The training system of *jingju* formed specific performance conventions and models that are difficult to change. Actors received meticulous training at an early age in order to accurately execute the requirements of performance conventions.

Wu's career as a leader in revolutionizing *jingju* demonstrates how the strict performing conventions of *jingju* became unsettled. Having trained professionally in *jingju* for eight years, Wu declares that it had seeped into his very bones, but he did not know how to fully interpret a

[25] Lu Chien-Ying 盧健英, *Juejing mengya: wu xingguo de dangdai chuanqi* 絕境萌芽: 吳興國的當代傳奇 (The Contemporary Legend of Wu Hsing-Kuo) (Taipei: Tianxia wenhua, 2006), 153.

[26] Details on the performance system of *jingju*, see Wang An-Chi 王安祈, *Wei jingju biaoyan tixi fasheng* 為京劇表演體系發聲 (Voice for the Performance of *Jingju*) (Taipei: Guojia, 2006).

character until he became involved in "retraining" at Cloud Gate [27] — a modern dance troupe in Taiwan. Cloud Gate recruited and trained male *jingju* actors to be dancers, who were few in number during 1970s Taiwan. A scene in Cloud Gate's rehearsal room during 1974 concretely explains the troupe's impact on Wu:

> *Lin Hwai-Min, the founder and choreographer of Cloud Gate, was in the midst of directing* Wu Long Yuan*, a modern-dance piece adapted from jingju. Wu Hsing-Kuo, as a professional jingju actor and modern dance novice, was to perform the movement of clasping a female dancer's leg. In* jingju*, even in flirting scenes, actors should not touch each other. Wu, an outstanding young* jingju *actor, uncomfortably tried again and again until Lin impatiently stopped him and yelled, "Are you an actor?" Lin asked Wu to arm-wrestle with him and then demanded Wu to use the same force to clasp the female dancer's leg. Wu felt extremely ashamed and resentful. Though he had been a leading actor for a decade, he still could not meet Lin's requirement. Outside the second-floor rehearsal room was a crowded market. Lin roared at the people, so everyone stopped, curiously looking up at the window. Lin asked Wu, "Now, your turn!" After roaring, albeit with embarrassment, at the people, Wu felt that it was the first time a knot in his mind untied.*[28]

Wu's embarrassment illustrates how modern dance inspired him, releasing him from the framework of traditional *jingju* acting techniques. Whether a handclasp or seemingly crazy roaring, both implied the importance of "letting go." Letting go is the cornerstone of modern

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[27] Wang I- Fen 王怡棻, "Wu xingguo juanqi juchang baofengyu" 吳興國捲起劇場暴風雨(Wu Hsin-Kuo Caused the Tempest of Theatre), *Yuanjian* 遠見 (Global Views Monthly) 224 (2005): 250-53.

[28] Author's translation. Lu, *Juejing mengya*, 114-15.

dance, involving body, mind, and soul. Modern dancers perform more according to feelings than to performance strictures. Since there is no sole criterion for modern dance, each dancer has to connect experimentation with different movements while exploring the body's limits. Rehearsals become a crucial process, during which each actor contributes a personal interpretation of the character to create a comprehensive performance. Nevertheless, "letting go" contrasts entirely with *jingju*, which emphasizes precise control of every movement. In such a tradition, all movements should be based on conventions derived from *jibengong* 基本功 (fundamental performing techniques), which consequently does not encourage varying patterns or genuine emotion in performance.

Without considering how *jibengong* shapes an actor's body language and consciousness, it is hard to understand how *Kingdom of Desire* was a breakthrough in *jingju*. Traditional *jingju* requires the mastery of *jibengong*; literally, *jiben* means basic, essential, and fundamental, whereas *gong* refers to time, effort, work, ability, and meritorious deeds. Training revolves around highly standardized patterns, each with its own specific term. Broadly speaking, *jibengong* includes three basic training categories. The first is *yaotuigong* 腰腿功 ("core and leg work"), which hones an actor's flexibility and coordination, emphasizing basic stepping, walking, kicking, and dance movements. The second is *bazigong* 把子功 ("handle work").[29] Having evolved from martial arts, this aspect focuses on using weapons with handles, including holding, dancing, and sparring with weapons. The third is *tanzigong* 毯子功 ("carpet work"),[30] which

[29] *Bazi* (handle) refers to the classical Chinese weapons used on stage, which can be divided into three groups: the long handle (such as knives, spears, halberds, sticks, and the like), the short handle (such as knives, swords, axes, hammers, and the like), and the unarmed (pugilism and *kung fu*). Pan Xiafeng 潘俠風, *Jingju yishu wenda* 京劇藝術問答 (The Question and Answer for Jingju Art) (Beijing: Wenhua Yishu Press, 1987), 231.

[30] While practicing *tanzigong*, actions must be performed on a carpet to minimize the impact of falling and to protect the trainee. Actions can be roughly classified as turning, rolling, tumbling, falling, and fluttering. Ibid, 229-30.

involves somersaults and gymnastic movements. In a narrow sense, *jibengong* concentrates more on the first category, *yaotuigong*.[31]

Undoubtedly, *jibengong* is the foundation of *jingju*, functioning as the framework of an actor's physical style. Yet, paradoxically, *jibengong* cannot be performed directly on stage. Even though the evaluation of *jibengong* is based only on an actor's manifestation of it, what audiences see on stage instead is the expression of *jibengong* rather than *jibengong* itself. Whereas a classically trained ballerina is, for instance, expected to perform the movements on stage exactly as she has practiced them in the studio, *jingju* actors do not perform *jibengong* on stage. How successfully an actor has embraced the practice and philosophy of *jibengong* can be judged through an actor's standing poses, the angle of his arms, the gestures of his palms and fingers, and other fundamental movements.

This mandatory training aims to develop strength, balance and fine motor control while emphasizing the physical ability to generate movements at optimal angles. *Jibengong* relies on extreme repetition of the same movements as well as motionless positions. An actor is often required to maintain the same pose in order to train the flexibility and strength of his/her muscles. The motionless states are in fact the core of the training. This is reflected in the Chinese verb forms for performing *jibengong*, which is to hold/endure (*hao gong* 耗功) and to practice (*lian gong* 練功). The Chinese meaning indicates how *jibengong* involves a prolonged period of training. Such reiterative training not only cultivates physical endurance, but also results in an actor gradually experiencing a mental transformation: the physical training eventually becomes internalized, forming the foundation of the actor's inner prowess – the *gong*.

[31] My discussion adopts both narrow and broad definitions of *jibengong*.

The physical training not only frames *jingju* actors' body but also impacts their attitude toward conserving the cultural legacy. Given that *jibengong* is a long-term process, practicing *jibengong* refers to the mindset and the ideas accumulated in order to approach a paradigm of performance and to precisely accomplish established patterns. With constant, repetitive training, an actor starts to develop the ethos, characteristics, and capacity to perform characters through a specific style. Traditional *jingju* thus symbolizes a particular performativity of Chineseness, which is commonly utilized by *homeland* construction. In addition, traditional *jingju* masters had insisted on preserving patriarchal relationships while passing on their craft. Since it was believed that all performing arts have to be inherited through hands-on teaching, the sociocultural atmosphere in traditional *jingju* training schools gave weight to the authority of teachers. Consequently, *jibengong* can be understood as a type of acting constructed and instilled through physical training: its main purpose is, in fact, the systematic cultivation of actors' abilities to respect and sustain performing conventions.

Role-types (*hangdang* 行當) further secure the conventions of the *jingju*, as "specializations" for each actor. Particular *jibengong* varies with these role-types. The categories and subcategories of role-types are differentiated through makeup and performance skills. Actors represent characters according to set descriptions of role-types, and personal interpretation of characters is always secondary. Wu's master, Chou Cheng-Jung, an archetypical traditional *jingju* actor, once admonished him, "We [*jingju* actors] do not analyze the characters; as long as your *gong* is strong, the character can be formed."[32] Hence, the first thing Wu asked his actors to

[32] Lu, *Juejing mengya*, 133.

do was to forget *shanbang* 山膀 ("mountain arms", a common movement of *jibengong*).[33] Only if actors forget or "let go" of these conventions can they get into the characters' psychological situation.[34]

Wu admitted that although he had been acting in leading roles since he was young, he could not empathize with the historical emperors, officers, and generals he performed until he took Chinese literature and western drama college courses. This, in addition to the inspiration he received from Cloud Gate, suddenly made him realize that the world of performing arts was wider than he had thought. Consequently, he was not satisfied with remaining within his previous training, and attempted to combine works from the Western canon, such as Shakespeare's plays, with *jingju*. On the one hand, Wu hoped to apply his confidence in *jingju* to integrate what Richard Wagner has termed *gesamtkunstwerk,*[35] therefore expanding *jingju's* boundaries. On the other hand, he believes his practice will always remain rooted in and benefit from his *jibengong* training. Wu thinks that it was his background in rigorous *jibengong* training that developed his determination and strong mental willpower, which subsequently allowed him to persist in experimenting with different performance styles.[36] As such, he believes that *jingju* actors must have a solid grasp of *jibengong* at both physical and mental levels before being able to adopt cross-cultural elements to enrich their performances.

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[33] *Shanbang* (literally meaning "mountain arms"), as Li Ruru's explanation, emphasizes 'strength as if the arms had the power to hold a mountain" and provides "the foundation for all the elaborate *jingju* gestures and arm movements." Ruru Li, *The Soul of Beijing Opera* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 62.

[34] Lu, *Juejing mengya*, 168.

[35] *Gesamtkunstwerk,* according to Richard Wagner, is a manifestation of a disposition to "think big" and to plan all-embracing enterprises on a titanic scale and refers to a work of art that makes use of all or many art forms or strives to do so. Julian Young, *The Philosophies of Richard Wagner* (Idaho Falls: Lexington Books, 2014), 56.

[36] Wu Hsing-Kuo 吳興國, interview, *Mingren chuangtou shu* 名人牀頭書 (The Celebrity's Bedside Books). TV, CTi News (Chung T'ien Television in Taiwan), (June 5, 2015).

Wu believes that *jingju* training requires complete mastery of physical techniques, a resolute will, mental endurance, and self-discipline from actors. Without these conditions, it is impossible for actors to perfectly perform *jingju* and psychophysically inhabit their character roles. *Jibengong* appears to emphasize the physical aspect of *jingju* but is in fact a holistic process that pushes actors to strengthen their mental capacities. Unlike Western realist theatre, in which actors first analyze the character's personality and emotions before developing movements that embody their character interpretation, *jingju* actors learn how to perform the character by imitating movements and gestures derived from *jibengong*. Self-discipline includes accurately executing the details of *jibengong*. Wu believes that after becoming thoroughly familiar with *jibengong* techniques, *jingju* actors may gradually understand the character's psychological state. While he observes that not many *jingju* actors progress beyond the first stage of physical technique mastery, he nonetheless believes that the more solid their *jibengong* capacities are, the more capable *jingju* actors will be at approaching the deeper level of portraying a character's feelings, because they will be able to better focus on character interpretation.[37]

3- The Desire for Change: Searching for a New Definition of *Jingju*

Aside from physical training, the ways in which an actor's creativity is inspired also includes intellectual cultivation. Whereas *jibengong* training furnished the mindset for traditional *jingju*, I suggest that the young intellectuals' preference for new theatrical experimentation renovated *jingju*. Wu entered the Chinese Culture University in 1973, and the academic environment made him aware of how traditional *jingju* was isolated from contemporary society.

[37] Wu Hsing-Kuo, personal communication on Wechat (January 27, 2016).

In 1970, the Chinese Culture University began to hold the Theatre Exhibition of Huagang,[38] which performed Shakespeare's works annually. This exhibition was a rare chance for audience members to see Shakespeare's works onstage, so it was a grand yearly occasion for young intellectuals. Wu was struck by the full house of young audience members and their vibrant reactions to these performances that were similar to those he participated in at Cloud Gate; it was a strong contrast to when he performed *jingju*, as most of the audience there were in or beyond their fifties and the box office was cheerless.[39] This contrast stimulated Wu to create a Shakespearean *jingju*.

The inspiration for creativity could also cause actors to feel that their bodies, which carry professional performance techniques, can be a source of *home*-building. In addition to the intellectual stimulation he received at college, the humanistic inspiration along with modern dance training that Wu received from Cloud Gate proved a turning point in his career. The humanistic spirit of Cloud Gate expanded Wu's horizons, and the founder, Lin Hwai-min, encouraged Wu to rethink the meaning and responsibility of being a performer. In Cloud Gate, the courses for dancers were not limited to dance but included literature, music, painting, calligraphy, movies, and fieldwork investigating folk arts and outdoor *kua-a-hi* (traditional Taiwanese "opera"). After conducting fieldwork, everyone was required to share her/his opinions on what Taiwanese indigenous culture is.[40] The producer of the CLT, Lin Hsiu-Wei,[8] also a dancer at Cloud Gate, recalled working with Lin Hwai-min:

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[38] Huagang is the name of the college's location.

[39] Lu, *Juejing mengya*, 128.

[40] Ibid, 139.

[8] Lin Hsiu-Wei 林秀偉 is a dancer as well as Wu's wife. She helped Wu found the CLT and has served as producer for the CLT for thirty years.

> *The schedule at Cloud Gate was very rigorous. Lin Hwai-min introduced cross-cultural training since the 1970s. Everyday at 7 am, we had to practice Tai-ji, which asked dancers to sink low in their positions; at 9 am, we then had ballet classes, both American and Russian style, which asked dancers to pull up their bodies. In the afternoon, we learned the basic movements of jingju, and rehearsed modern dance from 3pm until night. After each rehearsal, Lin would gather dancers and give a speech. He insisted that Cloud Gate has no idols, no stars, but only social and cultural workers. Everyone here should be concerned with the history of this island and to care about its people. To expand the dancers" vision, he demanded all dancers to visit art museums when performing abroad.*[41]

This experience was dissimilar to that in the Dramatic Arts Academy, where practicing *jibengong* was the only routine. At Cloud Gate,

> *Dancers did not have to be under so many limitations. Dancers were always encouraged to represent themselves on stage, and they are really free and rich in spirit. It is unlike the actors of jingju, where even if you dropped your prop once, you failed. Everything there counts severely.*[42]

The ideal of being an artist, rather than merely a dancer or actor, inspired Wu to ask all CLT actors to identify themselves as artists at work, rather than merely as people singing *jingju* (*changxide* 唱戲的). Similarly, CLT's initial production, *Kingdom of Desire,* can be understood

[41] Lin Hsiu-Wei, personal communication in Taipei (May 26, 2015).

[42] Ibid.

as a representation of the desire to rebel against the themes of piety and loyalty in traditional *jingju* and to challenge what was believed to be unchangeable principles.

I suggest that *Kingdom of Desire,* a rewriting of *Macbeth,* marketed playwriting as a brand-new concept that allows the renovation of *jingju*. As the "national opera" of Taiwan, *jingju* had kept most of its traditional repertoires, which differed little from the plays of the late Qing dynasty and the Republic. Original *jingju* scripts were rare, and the concept of playwriting almost non-existent. Regarding the traditional style of training, *jingju* performance was taught from performer to performer, and all performing crafts had to be inherited through hands-on teaching. Therefore, writing a new *jingju* play was considered "experimental" in 1980s Taiwan, and adapting a Shakespearean play even more so.

Kingdom of Desire also mirrored the Taiwanese identity of being a hybrid, caught in between classical Chinese doctrines, Anglo-American orthodoxies, Japanese influences, and Taiwanese local culture. In Taiwan, the canonical status of Shakespeare's works loosened the strict performing rules of national opera. Accompanying with the economic support provided by US Aid, Anglo-American culture became prevalent in Cold War Taiwan. Anglo-American literary aesthetics, disseminated and steered by university English departments, had deeply influenced elite Taiwanese intellectuals. Shakespeare's works, which had been widely taught in the English departments of Taiwanese universities, became "the symbol of high culture, a must-know if [one wanted] to grasp the essence of Western civilization."[43] Wu mentioned that it hardly mattered if *jingju* or Shakespeare was the subject; the play's position as an amalgamation of *jingju* and Shakespeare was a whole new concept. Hence, neither the Peking opera connoisseur nor the Shakespeare scholar would be able to judge the play merely on established

[43] Hsiao-Mei Hsieh, "In the Name of Shakespeare: Cross-cultural Adaptation in Taiwan's Beijing Opera," *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 21, no. 2 (2011): 321.

convictions;[44] the audience would be forced to devise new interpretations that reflected the play's hybridity. Introspection about one's personal style when confronted with being in an in-between, or hybrid, situation, was exactly the spirit of literary modernism in Taiwan. *Kingdom of Desire* was a theatrical manifestation that represented precisely the anxiety of in-betweeness and the passions of creating a discernible style on stage.

Given that the nationalization turned *jingju* in Taiwan into a vehicle for conserving "Chinese-ness,"— especially the morals of filial piety and loyalty— the topic that *Kingdom of Desire* portrayed was even more astonishing: the struggle of fulfilling individual desire. Indeed, while several plotlines in *Macbeth* are similar to the traditional *jingju* play *The Punishment of Zi-Du (fazidu),* with which Wu was familiar from his training, the theme of showing an individual's struggle with desire was an original idea for both the actor and audience at that time. Some intellectuals might be familiar with reading Shakespeare's profound depiction of human desire and vulnerability, but seeing it performed via *jingju* was unthinkable. The script of *Kingdom of Desire* maintained the libretto rhyme of *jingju* and applied Shakespeare's strength of tracing the subtleties of human nature to make up *jingju*'s defect of relatively ignoring the dramaturgy structure and the mental analysis of characterization.

Kingdom of Desire directly highlights desire in its title. Aoshu Zheng 敖叔征 (the counterpart of Macbeth) is depicted as an ordinary person constantly battling against human vulnerability (Figure 1). The plot in which Aoshu Zheng murders the king completely subverts the doctrines of filial piety, loyalty, and integrity embedded in national opera, as it would have been considered absolutely politically incorrect to overthrow a superior. This politically incorrect plot directly challenges the *homeland*-building assigned to *jingju*. *Kingdom of Desire* was thus

[44] Lu, *Juejing mengya*, 168.

not merely a Taiwanese interpretation of Shakespeare or Kurosawa's work, but also a revolutionary literary creation for its Taiwanese audience.

Figure 1 Wu Hsing-Kuo performing Aoshu Zheng (Macbeth)'s desire on stage.[45]

4- Surpassing Conventions: Cross-cultural Performance in *Kingdom of Desire*

The location of the performance space itself demonstrated CLT's determination to distinguish their expected audience from that of national opera. National opera troupes often performed at the Chinese Armed Forces Cultural Center (CAFCC), which had been a landmark for traditional theatregoers and a venue for the army to hold film screenings, ceremonies, meetings or lectures. Due to the limitation of a military assembly hall, the stage of CAFCC was

[45] The figures in this chapter are provided with permission from the CLT.

merely a bright space separated from the auditorium, with little attention to lighting, rigging equipment, and scenery design. Although *jingju* had encountered radical change in China since the 1950s, this traditional formation—generally empty and stationary staging with limited props— was maintained in Taiwan until the 1990s. Different from national opera troupes, CLT chose to release their first production at the Metropolitan Hall, a new theatre built in 1983, with technical theatre equipment and spatial design. The theatrical space thus supported experimenting with a new formulation of *jingju*. CLT's ambition of theatrically modernizing *jingju* is demonstrated in the visualization of scenery and stage arrangement in *Kingdom of Desire*.

The location choice also showed the CLT actors' determination to attract a local audience— particularly young and intellectually engaged ones— instead of performing for soldiers and old connoisseurs. By differentiating its target audience members, the CLT actors put effort into creating a *home* here rather than into returning to a *homeland* somewhere else. Dissimilar to the young actors' intention to stay at *home*, Wu's master Chou Cheng-Jung 周正榮, an archetype of the traditional *jingju* actor, demonstrated the yearning for a faraway *homeland.* Chou spent most of his life performing in national opera troupes. Chou's entire acting career was guided by faith in maintaining the conventions of *jingju*— the shared mission of national opera— and he had indeed always hoped to return to Mainland China to perform for those who were believed to be "true" connoisseurs of *jingju*. No matter how national opera had declined in the 1980s, Chou unremittingly repeated the conventional physical and vocal training daily, because he believed that "audiences [in China] who really know how to appreciate *jingju* are

waiting for me."[46] Wu and other young actors, on the other hand, cared more for local audiences who were of their generation. The two generations' conflicts and distinct expectations mirror the very different viewpoints toward *homeland* and *home*. As Wu mentioned, their main purpose in creating this play was to let the rigid national opera move on from ancient times and spaces and create conversation with new audiences in new theatres. The young actors hoped that their new interpretation would revitalize the performance in a brand-new way.[47] Young actors and sponsors who supported the production of *Kingdom of Desire* shared a similar aspiration: to renew the old "national opera," making it our (the young generation's) own.

Kingdom of Desire demonstrated theatrical ideas distinct from national opera from its very first scene. In national opera, an embroidered curtain, called *shoujiu* 守舊, would hang toward the back of the stage. *Shoujiu* separated the stage into two parts: the back stage and the front stage. At the same time, *Shoujiu* was the only background setting available for different scenes of the whole play. National opera was traditionally performed on a relatively empty front stage. There would be no physical separation on the front stage between audience and actors. In this way, audiences could easily see the star actors and admire their graceful figures. However, *Kingdom of Desire* added a gossamer-like front-layer curtain during the first scene. After raising the gossamer, the audience is able to see the Mountain Spirit (*shangui* 山鬼) and the background landscape, a dark forest. This stage design makes the backdrop relevant to the plot, which is unprecedented in national opera. The design and arrangement of stage properties are also distinct from the relatively realistic style of background setting in Chinese opera films. For instance, the

[46] Wang An-Chi 王安祈 and Li Yuan-Hao 李元浩, *Jimo shazhou leng: Zhou zhengrong jingju yishu* 寂寞沙洲冷: 周正榮京劇藝術 (Chou Cheng-Jung's Art of *Jingju*) (Taiwan, Yilan: Chuanyi, 2003), 89.

[47] Wu Hsing-Kuo 吳興國, "Cong chuantong zuoru shaweng shijie" 從傳統走入莎翁世界 (Get into Shackspeare's World from *Jingju* Tradition), *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 (Chung Wai Literary Quarterly) 15, no. 11 (April 1987): 50.

back of the chair that Aoshu Zheng and his wife sit on stage is extremely high, which symbolizes the characters' rising desire. On the other hand, the lighting, which changes from gloom to glow, brings to mind the fluctuation between light and darkness. This maneuvering of stage lighting broke the conventions of national opera, which generally kept stage lighting static and unchanging throughout the entire performance.

The modeling of the Mountain Spirit challenged the *jingju* tradition of maintaining an actor's beautiful onstage image. *Kingdom of Desire*, similar to *Throne of Blood,* replaces *Macbeth's* three witches with an old female forest spirit. This adaptation signals the double re-creation of Shakespeare and Japanese *noh*. The Mountain Spirit has a shriveled, prune-like face, disheveled hair and bare feet, which contrasts with the very specific ideology of beauty in *jingju* that places high emphasis on an actor's graceful – albeit standardized – image on stage. In *jingju*, all makeup changes should be executed by a professional prop man (*jianchang* 檢場) to guarantee the ideals of beauty. Thus, for instance, Mei Lanfang (1894 –1961), the most famous cross-dressing *jingju* artist, mentions that even when he played a madwoman, it was still necessary to maintain this ideal of beauty onstage. When he performed a young lady who suddenly faced an emergency and was supposed to act "crazy," he insisted on performing the part in an almost unrealistic way. He merely pulled a strand of hair loose and smeared two streaks of rouge on his face to symbolize that the character's hair was in disarray and that her face had been scratched.[48] Mei's case illustrates how the dictums of *jingju* affect actors' opinions of their appearance onstage: no matter what the character or emotional circumstance, their appearance should be neat, good-looking, and graceful.

[48] Mei Lanfan 梅蘭芳 and Xu Jichuan 許姬傳, *Wutai shengya* 舞臺生涯 (Mei Lanfang's Career on Stage) (Taipei: Liren, 1979), 106-117.

Furthermore, the Mountain Spirit character also forced the actress to rework her physical training. Few female characters of nature spirits exist in *jingju*, but a representative example is the Spider Spirit, who is often played by performers skilled in martial arts, in the traditional *jingju* work *The Cave of Silken Web*. The Spider Spirit's customary costume has extremely bright colors and *jianxiu* 箭袖 (narrow sleeve-cuffs); the bright colors catch the audience's attention, and the *jianxiu* allows the actor to perform nimble martial arts movements. Colorful tassels on the shawl's fringe and hip scarf symbolize the Spider Spirit's instinct to spin webs. The color, *jianxiu*, and tassels function to make the performer look light and lively on stage. In contrast, the costume of the Mountain Spirit in *Kingdom of Desire* is a loose, dark gray frock with wide sleeves. The heavy fabric affects the performer's physical movement; accordingly, the Mountain Spirit has to walk with bare feet, maintaining a low center of gravity and stepping slowly. This lower stance, which does not exist in the traditional portrayal of spirit characters in *jingju*, was adapted from *Throne of Blood.* Kurosawa had drawn on stylistic elements from *noh* plays, which "typically presented the confrontation of a wandering priest with a ghost or spirit drawn back to this world."[49] Each step in *noh* involves a careful shift of body weight from one foot to the other. In the movement, "one leg is slightly bent and holds the weight while the other one is kept straight."[50] Stepping with a slight bend leads *noh* actors to hold their weight in the lower half of their body when they walk onstage. This method, however, contrasted with that of *jingju*; during *jibengong*, actors are taught to keep their legs entirely straight while walking, kicking, and stepping. The portrayal of the Mountain Spirit, who would point with orchid-shaped

[49] Stephen Prince, *The Warrior's Camera: The Cinema of Akira Kurosawa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 144.

[50] Katrina L. Moore, *The Joy of Noh: Embodied Learning and Discipline in Urban Japan* (New York: SUNY Press, 2014), 54.

fingers (*lanhua zhi* 蘭花指) with her body leaning forward on the left side, thus fused this lower stepping position with the twisting gestures of traditional *jingju* (Figure 2). This body position contradicts the conventions of *jingju*, in which a spirit characters were never portrayed as humpback, but Wu envisioned this movement to symbolize the twists of desire in the character's mind.

Figure 2 The Mountain Spirit in *Kingdom of Desire.*

These changes to the makeup, costume, and physical movements caused the actress, Ma Chia-Ling 馬嘉玲, to be extremely uncomfortable during rehearsals for *Kingdom of Desire*. For

her, it was hard to perform the Mountain Spirit, as such an image had never been represented in *jingju*; indeed, she also had to redefine both the standard of beauty in *jingju* and the role-type.[51] Ma could not accept that she had to perform an "unsightly spirit," and all of her *jibengong* training never included walking with a humpback. She was also upset about being unable to perform a beautiful *liangxiang* 亮相 pose[52] because of the dark lighting. All of these elements challenged the actors' original understanding of what *jingju* should be. Ma Pao-Shan 馬寶山 recalls that sometimes, when actors could not meet Wu's expectations, he would scold them irritably, and question them the way Lin Hwai-Min had done to him by demanding, "Are you still an actor?"[10] The young actors rehearsed for *Kingdom of Desire* with such anxiety, because they could not imagine their future success, given that the last generation's models had been cast aside.

Kingdom of Desire additionally expanded and diversified performing conventions that were previously based on role-types. Role-types can be understood as "specializations" for each *jingju* performer. The categories and subcategories of role-types are differentiated onstage through makeup, costume, and performance skills. Regarding traditional *jingju* performance, an actor should represent a character mainly based on the convention of role-types while the actor's personal interpretation of the character is secondary. However, in order to more realistically represent the characters' inner struggles and desires, the leading actress Wei Hai-Ming 魏海敏, who acts Lady Macbeth, transcended the restriction of her own role-type, *qingyi* 青衣 (the role-

[51] Lu, *Juejing mengya*, 169.

[52] *Liangxiang* means striking a signature pose on the stage.

[10] Ma Pao-Shan, Personal communication in Taipei, (May 27, 2015). Ma has been a core member in the CLT since it was founded.

type of a lady). Characters in the *qingyi* category are dignified, virtuous, and noble ladies. However, the Lady Macbeth in *Kingdom of Desire* has noble status but is definitely not virtuous. Wei wears a costume with no *shuixiu* 水袖 (the long sleeves that a *qingyi* usually used to portray her emotions), and performs Lady Macbeth's ruthlessness in a restrained way. Her performance is neither outgoing like a *huadan* 花旦 (the role-type of a maid) nor as gentle as a *qingyi*, but an innovative one that integrates both types.[53] As director, Wu mentions how the psychological analysis of guilt in the play forced actors to think more profoundly.[54] When directing his own productions, he not only paid attention to the specific arrangements of his cast's body movements, but also simultaneously motivated them to rely on their minds to challenge the performance framework they learned during *jibengong* training. Hence, actors were expected to bring in personal interpretations into their characters. As an actor in his own production, Wu also drew on his experience as a modern dancer and movie actor. His role-type would originally belong to the *wusheng* 武生 (martial man), the male martial artist. However, to more accurately represent Macbeth's inner struggles and desires, and keeping in tandem with his desire to renovate *jingju*, Wu's performance surpassed role-type boundaries. Wu mentions that he combined three role-types: *wusheng*, *laosheng* 老生 (old man), and *dahualian* 大花臉 (painted face).[55] Additionally, in the final scene, when Macbeth returns to the forest looking for the Mountain Spirit, Wu used a horsewhip to imply that he was riding a horse. This was a typical

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[53] Huang Wu-Lan 黃寤蘭, "Tupo chuantong paiyan yuwang chengfuo"突破傳統排演《慾望城國》(To Break through the Tradition: The Creation of *Kingdom of Desire*), *Lianheibao* 聯合報 (November 9, 1997), 12.

[54] Wu Hsing-Kuo 吳興國, "Cong chuantong zuoru shaweng shijie," 50-51.

[55] Hu Hui-Chen 胡惠禎, "Yuwang chengguo shinian: wu xingguo huishou feichuantong de yishi"《慾望城國》十年: 吳興國回首非傳統的伊始 (A Decade of *Kingdom of Desire*: Wu Hsing-Guo Talks About His Non-traditional Creation), *Biaoyan yishu* 表演藝術 (Performing Arts Review) 48: 25.

movement of traditional *jingju*, but Wu combined this with the techniques of cinematic slow motion. He exaggerated the height of his arms and relied on modern dance movements, creating the visual impression of cinematic slow motion onstage. The slow motion also allowed him to dramatize his facial expressions, similar to Toshiro Mifune's performance in *Throne of Blood.* When performing Macbeth's suffering after being stabbed, Wu also applied the Graham technique of "contraction and release"[56] in order to rework the 'straight spine" convention of *jingju*. Thus, while the attempt to create new dramatis personae that were unique individuals created initial difficulties for actors in stretching the boundaries of role-types,[57] *Kingdom of Desire* nonetheless demonstrates Wu's efforts in creatively incorporating modern dance concepts and making effective use of visual images in order to renovate *jingju* for a contemporary Taiwanese audience.

The extent to which *Kingdom of Desire* reworked the norms of national opera is evident in the arrangement of chaotic scenes involving soldiers' movements onstage. All the soldiers, despite being minor characters, had distinctive movement trajectories and individual emotions. This challenged the lead-actor centrism of *jingju*, in which minor actors were merely foils to the main character. Consequently, the responses and movements of minor actors were performed only according to role-type conventions; their individuality was not considered important. Their function might merely be walking onstage or standing back. However, in *Kingdom of Desire*, the significance of each role was maximized. The soldiers represented human desires through their body language. Wu states that when he did not know how to arrange the soldiers, he repeatedly

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[56] Henrietta Bannerman, "An Overview of the Development of Martha Graham's Movement System (1926-1991)," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 17, no. 2: 38.

[57] Catherine Diamond, "Kingdom of Desire: The Three Faces of Macbeth," *Asian Theatre Journal* 11, no. 1, (1994): 124.

watched *Throne of Blood*, and envisioned the arrangement of *Kingdom of Desire* having the same effect.[58] He insisted that every actor should have all details necessary to create a complete character. For example, when soldiers heard the forest moving, they displayed their fear of death through distorted body stretching. This enactment gave the soldiers more significance, allowing minor characters to actively contribute to the understanding of the scene. To instruct the soldiers on how to perform fear, Lin Hsiu-Wei applied her experience at Cloud Gate, offering courses in modern dance. She asked all of the soldiers to get into a human pyramid, letting them experience the panic and shouting, based on the feel of each other's weight and pressure. Another game relied on improvisational skills: each soldier had to clash with another soldier, while avoiding being clashed with at the same time. Since no one knew any other person's direction of movement, one had to think on one's feet.[59] But given that, in the cast, there were only twelve soldiers to represent a magnificent army with thousands of men, the soldiers had to move in diagonal lines (Figure 3). As Wang Kuan-Ching 王冠強 suggests, the movements thus actually contained a specific order within the apparent disorder and transformed *jibengong*.[60] These rehearsal practices, aimed at cultivating an actor's improvisational skills and the mindset of "letting go," demonstrate the extent to which the production of *Kingdom of Desire* differed from the rigidity *jingju* traditionally required.

[58] Lu, *Juejing mengya*, 172.

[59] Lin Hsiu-Wei, personal communication in Taipei (May 26, 2015).

[60] Wang Kuan-Chiang, personal communication in Taipei (May 27, 2015). Wang has been a core member of the CLT since it was founded.

Figure 3 The soldiers' performance of fear in the last act.

Wu believes that the creativity generated from an actor's innermost heart rather than politically correct themes is the most valuable aspect of Taiwanese *jingju*. To keep the tradition of *jingju* alive, and to make a living out of it, young actors in the 1970s had to discover new practices. Fortunately, Taiwan had opened up to the world earlier than China, so actors had more opportunities to enrich their multicultural knowledge and had a strong ambition for Taiwanese *jingju* to be recognized throughout the world.[61] Unlike Chinese *jingju* troupes that are always founded, funded, and censored by the government, the CLT is wholly independent, run by its own actors. Consequently, the CLT has more freedom to experiment with themes and styles. In 2001, the China National Peking Opera Company (CNPOC) bought a one-season copyright of *Kingdom of Desire* for approximately $65,000 USD and invited Wu to be the director. This

[61] Wu Hsing-Kuo, personal communication on Wechat (January 27, 2016).

experience in Beijing raised Wu's confidence in the irreplaceability of the CLT's style. Because CNPOC actors did not experience, as the Taiwanese actors did, the decline of the *jingju* tradition and subsequent efforts to revive it, Wu found that the CNPOC actors were unable to perform creatively. For instance, in the last scene of *Kingdom of Desire*, when soldiers learn that the forest is moving, the ideal performance should portray panic and flurried movements. However, the CNPOC actors were unable to vividly perform this chaos. They literally did not know how to be *chaotic* ("*luan"buliao* "亂"不了) since their *jingju* never had performances of chaos.[62] In contrast, Wu's experience combining *jingju* training, modern dance, and western theatre enabled him to visualize and artistically perform chaos. Indeed, because Wu and the CLT did not have previous models of *jingju* that incorporated multicultural aspects to follow, they were, in a way, forced to experiment with themes and mixed performance methods that eventually represented their own style. Thus, what is perhaps most distinctive about Taiwanese *jingju* is each actor's persistence in finding creative ways of performance combining traditional training with new, multicultural methods. Since Taiwanese *jingju* actors had to face more crises in the history of Taiwanese *jingju* than Chinese actors, this subsequently motivated them to continually evolve their acting skills and identities, permitting them to think beyond rigid traditions.

Epilogue

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the cross-cultural performance of *Kingdom of Desire*, both at rehearsal and performance levels, redefined *jingju* as the "national opera" of Cold War Taiwan. By integrating modern dance, Shakespeare's script, and Japanese play and film techniques, *Kingdom of Desire* not only challenged the conventions of *jingju*, but also

[62] Lu, *Juejing mengya*, 179.

undermined the forced identification of *jingju* with Chinese nationalism. The young performers' efforts challenged authoritative views of what theatre is, and how theatre should function by moving away from *jingju* an outmoded concept of the *homeland*. *Kingdom of Desire*'s success reflected the audience's approval of redefining *jingju* and its role as a symbol of government-defined Chinese-ness. In retrospect, this work, arguably, is the transitional point for Taiwanese actors and audiences to imagine an art form of *jingju* that going beyond state-imposed Chinese nationalism. *Kingdom of Desire* mirrored the Taiwanese identity of being a hybrid, caught in between classical Chinese doctrines and Anglo-American orthodoxies, as well as Japanese influences and local cultures.

I further argue that the rehearsing and performing process, which releases the performers from the conventional rules of national opera and enables them to find out more creativity of their bodies, is the performer's *home*. Most national opera performers have been "over-protected." From the point of entering the national conservatory schools (many of the schools are also attached to the army) to the point of getting married and having children, their whole lives are highly routine and arranged within the limited circle of national opera troupes.[63] The specific routine life gradually disconnect the performers from contemporary society. The rehearsing and performing of *Kingdom of Desire* breaks down the routine and invites them to use their body, mind, and soul collaboratively, which sparks a deep connection to their self-searching while simultaneously reconnecting them to contemporary life in Taiwan. Among the performers, the leading actress Wei's self-reflection and transformation is the most profound. She had been under tremendous pressure from peers and old audiences since the rehearsal. The greatest pressure came from herself: her achievement of traditional performance had been most

[63] Wang, "She lai guanxin guoju," 11.

considerable in her generation, and thus she had the heaviest moral burden. She was commonly expected to carry on the essence of national opera in spite of the difficulties, but she bravely participated in the performance that discarded the classics and rebelled against *homeland* orthodoxy. *Kingdom of Desire* was the performance for which she got the least emolument, but it was the most rewarding in terms of spiritual enrichment and introspection.[64] Through the characterization, Wei realized that the true happiness did not come from the pride of "always outstanding in front of the others" but from "once outstanding in front of you yourself," because you see your potential for continuous improvement.[65] The desire to search for a style representing the cultural diversity of contemporary reality challenged the belief in filial piety and loyalty embodied in *jingju* training. Arguably, it was never CLT's purpose to entirely abandon the traditions of *jingju*; instead, what they aimed at was to "extract the origin"[66] of the genre while bringing creative innovations.

A more creative body, arguably, can also become the performer's *home*, as the physical site that allows them to further bring their potential into play. The non-conventional performance pushes the performers to not merely follow the *jingbengong* movement patterns. They have to be more in touch with what is taking place inside their bodies. In order to vividly embody the characters, the performers must work to mediate and achieve mastery over all the forces at play within their bodies. Through being with self and other in the here and now, the actors come to

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[64] Chang Bi-Yu 張必瑜, "Tuozhan xiqu yanchu xin shiye" 拓展戲曲演出新視野 (A New Vision of *Xiqu* Performance), *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報 (Central Daily News), (July 3, 1987), 9.

[65] Chang Bi-Yu 張必瑜, *Shuixiu yu yanzhi* 水袖與胭脂 (Actor's Long Sleeves and Rouge) (Taipei: Shangzhou, 1996), 177.

[66] As for *jingju*, *jibengong* should be its origin. Chiang Shi-Fang 江世芳, "Cong chuantong dao chuanqi: tan dangdai chuanqi juchang de jingju gexin zhi lu" 從傳統到傳奇: 談當代傳奇劇場的京劇革新之路 (From Tradition to Legend: The Contemporary Legend Theatre's Innovation of *Jingju*), 表演藝術 (Performing Arts Review) 9 (July 1993): 70.

understand their selves. Their bodies all carry the *jibengong* training, but performance should be based on *jibengong*, not framed within it. The alterative *jingju* performance of *Kingdom of Desire*, thus, widens the performer's span of awareness and unfolds to parts of their ignored or unknown selfhood. Wei recalls that after abandoning the traditional rehearsal model, each rehearsal invokes each actor "to be a whole new self." The actors, indeed, work out different thoughts and feelings every time. The reason why everyone is so cautious is because the performance of *Kingdom of Desire* must be motivated by each actor's creativity and true emotions.[67] Modern dance is evidently essential to enrich and expand the vocabulary of body movements for contemporary *jingju*. The highly standardized *jibengong* of *jingju* has structured the paradigms of psychophysical embodiment onstage. Because traditional *jingju* actors are expected to obey and remain within rigid and standardized performance criteria, the representation of *jibengong* on stage does not allow *jingju* to be a genre that deeply explores metaphysical sensibilities. Instead, whatever portrays emotion is only performed according to specific modes and symbolic gestures, and actor-led innovations are extremely difficult. The whole basis of a performance founded on *jibengong* dictums is composed merely through imitation; no innovation or questioning is allowed.[68] The improvisational tendencies of modern dance in *Kingdom of Desire*, on the other hand, allows a whole new way for portraying an actor's personality onstage.

Togetherness is also a sense of *home* that *Kingdom of Desire* brings to its participants. The creation and preparation of *Kingdom of Desire* took around three years, during which severe critiques of this work never stopped. Conservative connoisseurs blamed the young actors for

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[67] Chang, *Shuixiu yu yanzhi,* 172.

[68] Though the great actors did make their own innovations, the masters who were successful at it were only a handful each generation, and their innovations in turn became the paradigm that later generations had to imitate.

grandstanding and said that what they were doing was "going into the devil" and "moving the life of national opera."[69] Although this unconventional creation was incompatible with those of the national opera troupes, it attracted many young volunteer actors, who joined the rehearsals after their principal job in the army troupes. These volunteers worked on this play for three years without any pay. *Kingdom of Desire* also made connections between seemingly unrelated people together and jointly carried out new and imaginative ideas into reality. Surprisingly, this newly founded theatre, which had no funding and might even have had no chance to perform for the public, received massive support from technical theatre artists and young intellectuals. The costume designer and scenic designer designed and made all the costumes and backdrops for free; the scenic designer even contributed around $30,000 USD for the production.[70] They worked together not only to challenge authoritative views of what theatre is but also to reconsider how theatre should function outside of the political frame. The volunteers' participation reflected their approval of redefining *jingju* and its role as a symbol of nationalism and government-defined Chineseness. *Kingdom of Desire* encouraged young performers to redefine the meaning of being a *jingju* actor in Taiwan. The transcultural elements in *Kingdom of Desire* were therefore a theatrical manifestation of the anxiety of in-betweeness and the desire to create a distinctive, Taiwanese style of *jingju.*

The sense of *home* arises from being allowed to be disordered and to make mistakes. There is no right or wrong way to be at *home*, which gives individuals the freedom of creativity. The chaotic scenes in *Kingdom of Desire* concretely demonstrate the value and uniqueness of Taiwan.

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[69] Yeh Hung-Sheng 葉洪生, "Ruhe wei guoju kaituo dierchun" 如何為國劇開拓第二春 (How to Open up the Second Spring of National Opera), *Minshengbao* 民生報 (The People's Livelihood Newspaper) (July 24, 1986), 11.

[70] Wu Hsing-kuo 吳興國, Lin Hsiu-wei 林秀偉, *Yingxiong bu xiejia: yuwang chengguo de chuanqi lucheng* 英雄不卸甲:《《慾望城國》》的傳奇旅程 (The Legendary Journey of the *Kingdom of Desire)* (Taipei: Riyue, 2010).

Identity politics had become more pronounced in 1980s Taiwan. Self-questioning one's personal style when confronted with being in an in-between situation was exactly the spirit of challenging existing authorities and searching for a new self-definition. Wu stated that he was really not reconciled with not bringing his nearly one decade of training into full play. Thus, no matter how much frustration and disorientation the actors had experienced, he believed that "they still had aspirations because they were young. Thus, they could be wrong, and they could afford to be."[71] Consequently, the creation was not about being "right" or "good," it was about allowing the performer to explore all sides of themselves through creativity, without worrying about the results. The moments of rehearsing and performing turned into a process of seeing what comes through the participants, of inviting them to *feel* how their voices were activated through the performance. The reason why *Kingdom of Desire* moved many audience members and made them feel *home* was "while [they] were holding their breath and seeing the performance, [they] also felt to see a long-term dream that finally came true through this play! … Ever since them, the theatre [in Taiwan], no matter *jingju* or modern drama, could had more complicated, varied, and creative possibilities."[72]

Far beyond the CLT's expectations, *Kingdom of Desire* helped young actors find their identity in *jingju* and to take pride in being an actor from Taiwan. After its premiere, the play received invitations to tour from different countries including Shakespeare's homeland, the United Kingdom, and *jingju*'s birthplace, China. These international experiences deeply encouraged the young actors. *Kingdom of Desire* thus brought opportunities for Taiwanese *jingju*

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[71] Tung Hsin 童心, "Guoju ticai fanxin" 國劇題材翻新 (The Innovation of National Opera's Topic), *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報 (Central Daily News), (November 3, 1986), 9.

[72] Lin Ying-Nan 林瑛南, "Yichang chuse de yanchu" 一場出色的演出 (An Outstand Performance), *Wenxun* (Literary Information) 28, (February 1987): 120-121.

to appear on the international stage based on its artistry. After receiving worldwide recognition, CLT actors began to be confident in the uniqueness of Taiwanese culture. They applied their experience in this work to creating other *jingju*-styled productions such as *King Lear*, *Medea*, and *Waiting for Godot*. Their subsequent works have proven their intentions to combine *jingju* with various cultural resources and theatrical styles. These works, displaying the CLT's potential to create a brand-new genre based on and beyond *jingju*, have in fact reinvented *jingju* by decentralizing it from mainland-based conceptions of the genre. The process of localized creation thus has another byproduct—the global recognition of Taiwan as a productive place for old and new theatrical forms.

Conclusion

As a vibrant representation of people's thoughts, values, and affections, artistic performance is one of the most powerful ways to demonstrate how a group of people imagines their national communities and searches for their subjectivities. This dissertation has looked at how the concept of *homeland* was taken up and used in Cold War China and Taiwan. Through the aspect of how China has been formally performed, it is reasonable to treat performance as a presentation of cultural or sociopolitical trends. Yet such aspect mainly focus on the end product viewed on the stage, and they relatively ignore to articulate how the performing and viewing experiences are ongoing processes that shape and reshape the ways in which both performers and spectators imagine their communities. My project thus emphasizes a method of intervention by framing each artistic performance within its process of creation and performing practices. Instead of only providing close readings of these works as they have been written or recorded, I have looked at how performers and spectators experience these performances.

In order to profoundly understand how the performances disturb the identity construction of *homeland*, I have examined the participants' sense of *home* during their performing and viewing processes. My emphasis is on the process instead of the final outcome of sensing *home*. Because people's expression about *home* reflects their personal values, interests, and preferences as well as how they see themselves and want to be seen by others, *home* can symbolize people's subjectivity and selfness. I point out that identity is not presumed as a common consensus and then accomplished by performance. On the contrary, identity is forming, negotiating, and reconstructing when the sense of *home* is emerging while the performance is being watched on

the stage or screen. Then, the performance becomes a hint or a trigger that evokes and assures spectators' emotions and affections. The interaction between the participants and the participants' shared experiences of being moved by the performance will again become the fuel that creates new performance works. Thus, the sensation loop of performance inspires people to reimagine, rethink, and reconceive themselves in alternative ways. It gives people power to have the freedom to critically think on the values of the mainstream, to redefine themselves, and to break rules and routines. Thus, every individual in a big group can find a meaningful moment, like a single puzzle piece fitting into the bigger picture of *home*. The potential to challenge the unified *homeland* gives value to sensing *home*.

There are some features of *home* that appear in every performance in this study. First, in contrast to performances that promote images of *homeland*, the performances that resonate with participants' sense of *home* usually do not represent completely positive images. Additionally, they do not obligate their members to maintain national glory and esteem national heroes. In order to maintain people's centripetal attraction toward *homeland*, the hero figures, the optimistic stories, and the expressed loyalty to leaders are commonly represented in melodramatic and romanticized ways through performance. A closed value system is promoted based on strong *homeland* attitudes and beliefs, which plays out in performances. In contrast to the unified value and ideal illusions that *homeland* promotes, the meaning of *home* is embodied in its tolerance, allowance of untidiness, and even "noise making." In each of my chapters, the ways in which the performance is apart from hero figures show how performance can inspire more diverse possibilities. *Teahouse* demonstrates old Beijing's diversity and the vitality of everyday life. Each character in this play is not a hero, but the performers' characterization of their ordinary yet sincere wishes echo the lifestyles of ordinary people in Beijing. Beijing, thus, is no longer

functioning as the typical symbol of centralized political power center. Accordingly, the performance style appeals to techniques that elicit tensions through moderating emotions; this is very different from propaganda dramas that always dramatize the conflicts between the hero and the villain. Controlling emotional expression in a moderate way is not only a test for performers' performance skills, it is also a way to create a space for the performance participants. Such moderate performances release the participants, who have been bombarded with highly politicized narratives, from the pressure of political passion. It gives them a chance to relax, breathe, and conduct inner dialogues during the performance process. The performing and viewing process effectively makes the participants sense *home* all the more because of the resulting alienation from political tones and *homeland* narratives. Similar to the apolitical tone of *Teahouse*, *Love Eterne* reconstructs a classical feminine China for Taiwan, which had been under intense war preparation for over a decade by the 1960s. The film demonstrates soft, romantic, and generic Chineseness that is untied from any specific region and history. These new imaginations of Chineseness, which are very distant from the precarious reality, unexpectedly weaken the military oriented, masculine, and heroic representations of a Chinese *homeland* that always prioritizes the conquest of territory. In contrast to this romantic style, *Legacy* breaks the myth that dance should be a beautiful and joyful entertainment and inspires the participants to rethink the meaning of this artistic form. The not always enjoyable process of dancing and watching offers a chance to relieve long-term repressed trauma and respond to shared loss. Adopting the liberal sprit of modern dance, *Kingdom of Desire* shows how the young *jingju* actors, who grew up in unsettled Taiwan, embody the value of Taiwan by creating meaningful chaos on stage. They go beyond the conventional patterns of traditional *jingju* and release *jingju* from the burden of Chinese nationalism. All of these performances manifest the value of *home*

by giving support to the individual's speculative resistance to conservative values, such as nationalism, patriarchalism, and *homeland* identity construction.

The second shared feature of *home* appearing in all of the performances is the compensation of a lack or loss. *Teahouse* indicates how forced speech made individuals lose the freedom to refuse to declare their perspectives. The censorship through forced talking in fact efficiently unified the public opinion and made Beijing gradually lose the vitality that had been a product of the various communities residing in this old big city. The particular lively performance of the first act, thus, is like a nostalgic gesture to the fading diversity of old Beijing. In contrast, *Legacy* insinuates how forced silences despoil not only people's freedom of speech but also their knowledge and memory of local history. The long term, forced silence even made people lose an awareness of what they had lost, and *Legacy* means to arouse this awareness. Just as *Teahouse* is concerned with lost vitality*, Kingdom of Desire* demonstrates the determination to revitalize *jingju*. For over forty years nationalization performance caused *jingju* to lose its innovative vitality. *Kingdom of Desire* revitalized *jingju* agency by unbinding *jingju* from political and moral propaganda. Distinct from the intense conflict between traditional performance conventions and the ground-breaking cross-cultural adaptions in *Kingdom of Desire*, the cross-media reconstruction of Chinese theater performance in *Love Eterne* created an alternative Chineseness. This was a version of Chineseness that hadn't existed in the militarily oriented Chinese *homeland* narrative with its focus on war preparation. Adopting from *huangmeixi* and *yueju* performance, *Love Eterne* considerably refined the music and visual components which produced an unprecedented aesthetic experience for its audiences. The performance of this film, which features the romantic visualization of a love story and cross-

dressing actors, enriches the Taiwanese experience of beauty and female agency—which was lacking in the KMT perspective of *homeland* construction.

I further argue that the depoliticization of performance can also be a political issue.

Both *Teahouse* and *Legacy* touch upon the deprivation of free speech but through different approaches. The shared interest both performances have in this theme demonstrates how different kinds of political manipulation in Cold War China and Taiwan evoked a common desire for depoliticization. In China, the CCP tended to force everyone to speak. The everyday struggles as well as the propaganda dramas that promoted a political *homeland* ideology would have exhausted audience members and made them believe that to be alienated from politics is to be free. In contrast, the KMT regime in Taiwan strove to prevent any critical comments and discourse on politics. The strict prohibition of assemblies, parades, and newspaper publications prevented people in Taiwanare from talking about politics in public. As a result, Taiwanese society has gradually forgotten its history due to the collective silence and political apathy. *Legacy* was considered to be fairly politically sensitive at the time, precisely because this dance challenged the collective memory loss of local histories. This dance also reflects what can happen if apolitical performances become a value or a common tendency, this is no less problematic than the politicization of performance. In other words, to release performances from the assigned political propaganda, it is helpful to undermine the construction of *homeland*, yet to regard the apolitical as a value to evaluate and analyze performances can be an arguably passive cynicism that also supports the political *homeland* construction in a naïve, purified way. Passive cynicism features "an idle indifference to the world and the people in it."[345] In a sense, governors like see that people, especially intellectuals, are indifferent to political affairs. If most citizens

[345] Jason G. Duesing, *Mere Hope: Life in an Age of Cynicism* (New York: B&H Books, 2018), 7.

commonly show indifference of politics, the governors can do whatever they like with no worry of peoples' supervision. Indeed, when a generation is educated that everyone must and can only be involved in politics in a specific way, the notion of *homeland* may become a hotbed of dictatorship. However, when a generation tends to completely ignore politics—whether for self-protection or due to a lack of critical knowledge of history—this is also the sign of losing critical thinking and a spirit of citizenship. Both the assignment of restricted political participation and the adoption of an entirely apathetic attitude towards politics can be easily used by the government to reinforce identity construction. The value of performance is embodied in making a break through either of the loops of forced talking or forced silence, both of which strengthen the highly political *homeland* construction by making depoliticization a common desire or value.

Thirdly, instead of a reflexive action, sensing *home* is a thinking process during which the performers can bring their creativity and potential into play. I argue that an artistic form distinct from mainstream performance functions as a catalyst for the awareness of an emerging new self. When a performer is determined to overstep performing conventions, the unconventional physical expression enables the performance to not repeat performative accomplishments. Through this estrangement of performing conventions, the performance can surprise spectators by explicitly demonstrating what has previously been recognized as unchangeable. If the performativity of Chineseness promotes ways in which a standardized *homeland* imagination can be accomplished, I argue that the performances that challenge the dominant conventions initiate the sense of *home*. By allowing the search for new ways of maneuvering a body, a performance encourages both performers and spectators to cast aside dominant conventions of acting and conventional understandings of *homeland*. The depiction of truthfulness in *Teahouse*, the displacement of the original opera and cross-dressing performance in *Love Eterne*, the realization

of the social and cultural aspects of being a dancer through *Legacy*, and the highlighting of minor characters in *Kingdom of Desire* all demonstrate how the unconventional performances create space for individuals to sense another dimension of themselves. The atypical physical expression and material settings are where *home* is hidden behind all external appearances. By figuring out the right way to bring their skill, talent, and creativity fully into play, each case shows that the value of performance is to transcend the existing frames and to inspire performers and audience members to rethink who they are and how they define themselves.

The atypical performances also touch upon the issue of exchanging the exemplary paradigms between different kinds of performances. *Xiqu* (Chinese "opera" in general), which features notably stylistic performance techniques and highly systematic training manners, has been a primary resource for various other forms of performance. In *Teahouse*, the actors use the *liangxiang* 亮相 pose[346] from Chinese opera to give the leading characters a spotlight when they first enter the stage. The final act also applies the technique of *dabeigong* 打背供[347] to speak out the character's inner monologue to the audience; this corresponds to the era when everyone was forced to talk yet not allowed to honestly speak their minds. The opera film *Love Eterne* integrates the feminine style adapted from *yueju* (Shaoxing opera) and *huangmeixi* (Huangmei opera) to reconstruct an apolitical Chineseness that was more approachable for a common audience. The modern dance *Legacy*, on the other hand, transformed many *jingju* martial arts movements to demonstrate the Taiwanese ancestors' strength in cultivating Taiwan. In contrast to the representational performance of spoken drama, like *Teahouse*, *jingju* is one of the most

[346] *Liangxiang* means striking a signature pose on the stage.

[347] *Dabeigong* is a technique commonly used in traditional Chinese opera. During the performance process, one actor talks to the audience while using gestures hinting that another actor cannot hear the words. It is a convention that allows a character to directly communicate internal or overlapping thoughts to the audience.

conventional genres of *xiqu.* In order to make up for *jingju*'s inability to vividly depict a character's inner conflicts of desire, *Kingdom of Desire* adopts the skills of realistic performance from the film *Throne of Blood.* In addition, the experience of how a modern dance is created through impromptu contributions during rehearsal also enriches the *jingju* actors' body language and the blocking of chaotic scenes on stage. The transformations of established performing conventions mark the questioning of a government-assigned national identity. Making changes to the supposedly unchangeable "national form" of performance pushed both the performers and spectators to believe that mainstream ideology is also changeable.

This dissertation contributes to pushing the boundaries of Chinese performance studies by adding the participants' sensory and affective engagement to the analysis. This new aspect illuminates the ways in which the performing actions are experienced and perceived. I elaborate how the sensations generated by the ongoing performing process enable performers and spectators to search for more possibilities of self-definition. I consider the reconstruction of Chineseness in a comparative approach, rather than examining the identity construction in China and Taiwan in isolation. I look into the dialectical relationships between *homeland* and *home*, between identity construction and identity search, between performativity and performance, and between sensation and sense. My analysis puts into dialogue notions of performance, history, and sociopolitical topics. This interdisciplinary project engages in dynamic new debates regarding performance and reception by enriching the understanding of the sensory landscapes and of identity tensions in Cold War China and Taiwan.

Springboarding from the research I have already done, I plan to extend my research into a more substantive scope to discuss the meaningful value of repertoires. All of the cases I analyze in this dissertation are innovative creations during the Cold War, but some works that had been

already in repertories could also be relevant to articulate the main theme of *home* and *homeland*. Repertoires are the regularly performed pieces of an art form. Generally, repertoire performance works are ones that have been often performed before and are sometimes re-interpreted to reflect the age in which they are revived. The repertoire also can be the collected works of individual practitioners which enact the embodied memory of past performances. As Taylor points out, "the repertoire requires presence: people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by 'being there,' being a part of the transmission."[348] Two repertoire performances are appropriate cases to help us gain a fuller picture of performance in the sensory landscape of Cold War China and Taiwan.

The first case is the *jingju* repertoire *Yang Silang Visits His Mother* (*silang tanmu* 四郎探母). This play has been one of the most popular plays in China and Taiwan, but it was once banned in both places during the Cold War era. I look into how the different adaptations provided a compromise between state policy and satisfied spectators. Yang's surrender to the Liao nation was the main reason that he was considered to be a traitor to his country and the Han nationality. Nevertheless, the theme of nostalgia in this play had been used to encourage national consciousness and as part of national identity construction. Yang's experience—leaving his family and hometown due to the war—was similar to the experience of numerous Chinese immigrants in Taiwan. This nostalgia, combined with the KMT soldiers' common hope to return to their *homeland*, supported the KMT's national discourse of retaking China. Thus, the KMT government accepted the new version, in which Yang helped the Han nationality defeat the Liao after visiting his mother. This opera echoed the policy of anti-communism and a longing for a

[348] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 20.

Chinese *homeland* (*fangong huaixiang* 反共懷鄉), but what makes it moving and meaningful for the immigrants may be the complicated notion that the alien land becomes one's *home*. This notion is one of the reasons why it was banned in the first place.

The second case is the *koa-a-hi* 歌仔戲 (Taiwanese "opera") repertoire *Burning of the Red Lotus Temple* (*huoshao hongliansi* 火燒紅蓮寺), a collection of performances that shows how Taiwanese theater incorporated both the Chinese and Japanese dramatic legacy in the Cold War. *Burning of the Red Lotus Temple* was originally a Chinese silent film serial filmed in Shanghai. With a total running-time of twenty-seven hours, it is among the longest films ever made, and was released in eighteen parts between 1928 and 1931. Adapted from the novel *Tale of The Extraordinary Swordsman* (*jianghu qixia zhuan* 江湖奇俠傳), it was one of the first *wuxia* 武俠 movies, and by far one of the most successful Chinese films of the pre-war years. Numerous ballad booklets published in 1930s Colonial Taiwan recorded how the main plots of the films were adapted into Taiwanese ballads. *Koa-a-hi* troupes soon performed local versions of *The Burning of the Red Lotus Temple*, and the popularity of this play continued into 1950s Cold War Taiwan. In addition to the commercial theaters' pronounced development, this play soon became one of the most representative repertoires featuring visual and aural innovations. The enduring popularity of this play in Cold War Taiwan not only reflected the nostalgic emotion of the Japanese Colonial era during the Martial Law period, but it also mirrored the Taiwanese subjectivity of being a hybrid, caught in between Chinese literary works, American popular culture, Japanese influences, and local creativity.

Through examining the generation of sensation which inspires participants to sense *home* and to question *homeland*, this dissertation explains why some performances stand out from hundreds or even thousands of other performances in Cold War China and Taiwan. The rigorous

homeland identity construction raised the issue regarding which aspect of feeling a sense of belonging can be chosen, or feel as if it were chosen, and which other aspects are controlled, repressed, and constrained. The sense of *home* is particularly initiated when the performances cast light on constrained aspects of individuals' subjectivities. Dissimilar to *homeland* construction, *home* is not prescriptive; it renders a sense and a horizon of possibilities for self-redefinition that arise out of by individuals' continuous thoughts and feelings.

Also, in contrast to nostalgia, the sense of *home* does not indicate a longing to return to the past or the point of origin. Rather, the sense of *home* directs individuals toward the status and identity they want to hold onto. This does not mean *home* has to be a utopia. I mean to emphasize that regardless of an individual's minority status or how marginalized a given minority is, the sense of *home* makes him or her feel proud of this identity. The importance of a performance is embodied in the moments when individuals are sensing *home*; these moments foster individuals' self-acceptance and empathy for others. As we realize our empathy for others through the on-going process of performance, we actually become better at empathizing with ourselves. The critical thinking and sympathetic understanding that we can gain through performance enables us to redefine ourselves, even when that redefinition does not agree with dominant perceptions, ideologies, and constructs.

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