

**MUSICAL TAIWAN UNDER JAPANESE COLONIAL RULE:  
A HISTORICAL AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION**

**by**

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## NOTES ON ROMANIZATION

This dissertation uses the pinyin style in rendering Chinese terms, and the Hepburn style in rendering Japanese terms. For most Chinese and Japanese personal names, I follow the convention of family name first and given name second. Taiwanese place and personal names in the early twentieth century were pronounced in the local languages or dialects; but for the convenience of current day readers the names will be rendered in Mandarin Chinese by pinyin.

However, for place names and personal names that are familiar in the English speaking world, the familiar or conventional spellings are given: for example, Taipei instead of Taibei, Tokyo instead of Tōkyō, Sun Yat-sen instead of Sun Zhongshan. The romanization of some personal names follows the form used by the individuals themselves in their published works: for example, Kun-Liang Chiu instead of Qiu Kunliang.

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines Taiwanese musical experience and musical life in the early Japanese colonial period, beginning in 1895, to understand how the Japanese and the Taiwanese negotiated their historically imposed roles through music. When Japan colonized Taiwan, Japanese colonizers faced the problem of how to establish governance on the newly acquired territory, while the Taiwanese confronted the uncertain future of becoming the colonized. The decade following the colonial annexation, 1895-1905, was a transitional period when both Taiwanese and Japanese negotiated new historical experiences and cultural agendas. Music was an essential part of their encounter.

This dissertation applies the theoretical concept of musiking – the manipulation of sonic and non-sonic objects of music in musically particularized sites and with musically strategic and driven processes to negotiate specific agendas with targeted partners – to analyze Taiwan musical experiences in the early Japanese colonial period. The Japanese colonizers and the Taiwanese colonized subjects presented and manipulated musical works and performances (objects) in several major venues and occasions (sites) in order to negotiate their

concerns and agendas (processes). Such a portrait of colonial Taiwan thus addresses the dynamic interactions between the foreign colonizing power and the local colonized population through musical activities. By analyzing how Japanese and Taiwanese musiked together for their own agendas in the early colonial period, this dissertation argues that the emerging new and hybridized soundscape of colonial Taiwan, comprised of a diversity of musics and cultures, set the foundation for the development of the modern and complex musical Taiwan in the twentieth century.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION: THE COLONIAL LEGACY OF MUSICAL TAIWAN

On November 3, 1895, the residents of Taiwan witnessed a celebration marking the beginning of a new era of political, social and cultural experiences on the island. On this day, the Sōtokufu, the Headquarters of the Governor-General, and its fifteen newly-opened local administrative offices on the island celebrated the Japanese emperor's birthday. Many musical sounds marked and enhanced the festive atmosphere of the celebration. The Japanese military band played music for the ceremony hosted by the Governor-General, and in other locations Japanese soldiers and governmental staff entertained themselves by singing military songs, dancing to folksongs, and watching and listening to performances of *jōruri*, narrative *shamisen* music, and *rakugo*, comic storytelling. The Taiwanese, in the cities where the Japanese had set up local administration, participated in the celebration by staging performances of operas and music ensembles. In Danshui, Lugang, and a few other cities, young Taiwanese students learned to sing the Japanese national anthem "Kimigayo" at the

ceremony. In Miaoli, the Austronesian aborigines improvised singing and dancing in the celebration.

More than a hundred years later in December 2006, a concert in the Presidential Hall featured another feast of musical sounds representing Taiwan's soundscape. The Presidential Hall concert series was launched in 1991 by Lee Teng-Hui, the first Taiwan-born President of the island. The concert series continued through the 2000s by the second Taiwan-born President, Chen Shui-Bian. In the December 2006 concert, the program paid homage to two famous figures of Taiwanese music: the legendary folksong singer Chen Da, and the famous songwriter Deng Yuxian. Chen Da (1906-1981) was a legendary folk troubadour from the Hengchun peninsula at the southern tip of Taiwan. Chen Da was especially known for his improvisational and poetic rendition of the Holo language folksong "su siang-ki," which had traveled to many corners of Taiwanese society and produced many variations.<sup>1</sup> The image of the partially handicapped Chen Da singing folksongs to *yueqin* ("moon guitar") accompaniment was iconic in informing the Taiwanese of a forgotten music

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<sup>1</sup> Hsu Tsang-Houei identifies this song as one of two folksongs that had traveled to other areas of Taiwan and thus had many derivative titles and tune renditions. See Hsu Tsang-Houei, *Taiwan yin yue shi chu gao* (Taipei: Quan yin yue pu chu ban she, 1991), 124. Here I adopt the song title "su<sup>1</sup> siang<sup>1</sup>-ki<sup>1</sup>" provided in Lü Chuikuan, *Taiwan chuan tong yin yue gai lun: ge yue pian* (Taiwanese Traditional Music: vocal music) (Taipei: Wu nan tu shu, 2005), 77. The Holo Taiwanese language has seven or eight tone, and the number 1 denotes the level tone.

tradition.<sup>2</sup> Deng Yuxian (1906-1944), a first-generation Taiwanese songwriter working in the burgeoning phonograph market of the Taiwanese popular song in the 1930s, created many beloved melodies that continue to be performed by current day Taiwanese in many different arrangements and styles. His legacy includes the most famous songs of “Wangchunfeng” (“Longing for the Spring Breeze”) and “Yuyehua” (“Flowers in a Rainy Night”).<sup>3</sup> Deng Yuxian and his works represent *par excellence* the new Taiwanese historical and cultural experiences that began with the celebrative musical sounds in 1895.

To pay homage to folksong singer Chen Da and songwriter Deng Yuxian, the December 2006 Concert program presented folksongs from the southern part of the island where Chen Da had lived, songs inspired by Chen Da’s life story, and selected songs composed by Deng Yuxian. The songs and their arrangements were performed in the different styles of folksong, *bel canto* duet, mainstream pop, and Western Classical string and percussion ensemble.

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<sup>2</sup> Chen Da’s discography includes, for example: (1) *Si-xiang-qi: Chen Da zi tan zi chang* [*Su-siang-ki: Chen Da singing and plucking*] (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yin shu guan, 1998), Audio CD. (2) *Shan Cheng Zou Chang (Fulao Folk Songs in Taiwan Island)* (Taipei: Wind Records, 2000), Audio CD. (3) *Chen Da yu Hengchun diao shuo chang* [*Chen Da and the narrative music of Hengchun tune*] (Taipei: Di yi ying yin, 2000), Audio CD. (4) *Hengchun ban dao jue xiang: you chang shi ren Chen Da* [*Last Voice of the Hengchun Peninsula: Chen Da the troubadour*] (Yilan xian: Center for Traditional Arts, 2006), Audio CD.

<sup>3</sup> A biography of Deng Yuxian can be found on <<http://www.taiwan123.com.tw/musicface/face03-2.htm>>, or in Cai tuan far en gong gong dian shi wen hua ji jin hui (Taiwan Public Television Service Foundation), *Taiwan bai nian ren wu zhi (The Record of Taiwan Great Men)*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Yushan she, 2005), 120-28. His complete works are recorded in two audio CDs titled *Yuyehua: Deng Yuxian zuo pin quan ji (1) (Flower in a Rainy Night : Music Works of Mr. Teng Yu-Hsien(1))*, and *Wangshunfeng: Deng Yuxian yin yue zuo pin quan ji (2) ( Looking forward to spring wind blow : music works of Mr. Teng Yu-Hsien (2))* (Taipei, 1994), Audio CDs.

Musicians performing in the concert came from varied backgrounds including amateur singers pursuing authentic folksong singing style, semi-professional singers, professional instrumentalists trained in Western Classical music, pop stars specializing in Holo language songs, and singers of aboriginal descent.<sup>4</sup> In Figure 1-1, the upper two images show the musicians honored in the concert, and the lower four images visually epitomize the performers' variety of musical, ethnic, and stylistic backgrounds.

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<sup>4</sup> Information on the concert program is provided at [http://www.president.gov.tw/1\\_art/concert/music8/list.html](http://www.president.gov.tw/1_art/concert/music8/list.html); information on the performers is available at [http://www.president.gov.tw/1\\_art/concert/music8/performer.html](http://www.president.gov.tw/1_art/concert/music8/performer.html).



Figure 1-1: The Presidential Hall Concert in December, 2006, honoring Taiwanese folksong singer Chen Da and songwriter Deng Yuxian and performed by musicians in various backgrounds and musical styles.<sup>5</sup>



The celebration of the Japanese emperor’s birthday in 1895 and the Presidential Hall Concert in 2006, although one-hundred-and-ten years apart, shared and projected the essential features of musical Taiwan: the complexity and diversity of musical genres, styles, and cultures. The 1895 celebration drew

<sup>5</sup> Image of Chen Da is scanned from the liner notes cover of *Shan Cheng Zou Chang (Fulao Folk Songs in Taiwan Island)*; image of Deng Yuxian is scanned from Taiwan Public Television Service Foundation, *Taiwan bai nian ren wu zhi (The Record of Taiwan Great Men)*, 122. Images of the performers of this concert are downloaded from the webpage <[http://www.president.gov.tw/1\\_art/concert/music8/performer.htm](http://www.president.gov.tw/1_art/concert/music8/performer.htm)>.

elements from the many cultures of Taiwan; the colonized Taiwanese and the colonizing Japanese encountered each other with their own distinctive musical sounds. Even among the colonized Taiwanese, different ethnic, regional, and cultural groups joined the celebration with localized and diverse musics. The 2006 concert featured a wide range of musical styles that the Taiwanese now consider as their own, a diversity that is a result of the geopolitics and history of Taiwan. In other words, although the two musical events appeared differently in content, presentation, and contexts, they were connected by a complex history that musical Taiwan has developed in the last four centuries. In particular, the historical experience beginning in 1895 significantly impacts how the Taiwanese perceive their music cultures. Colonization, local musical traditions, foreign cultural influences, and the interactions of these elements catalyzed the formation of musical complexity of modern Taiwan. This dynamic and organic process began in the first decade of Japanese colonization of Taiwan when the different groups musically negotiated their co-existences on the island.

## **I. Format of the Dissertation**

Thinking about the commonality of these two musical events more than a century apart, I ask what kind of socio-cultural mechanism was generated upon Japanese colonization of Taiwan (1895-1945) to pave the way for the subsequent

development of the complex and dynamic musical Taiwan in the twentieth century? What were Taiwanese musical experiences like in the early Japanese colonial period, when the Japanese explored ways to govern the colony and the Taiwanese were confronted with the uncertain future of becoming the colonized? I will answer these questions by analyzing the soundscape of colonial Taiwan.

Contemporary Taiwanese who heard the 2006 Presidential Hall Concert would easily identify the Japanese colonial legacy as represented by the works of Deng Yuxian and the Western-style musical rendition of many songs in the program. Trained in Japan, Deng worked in the Taiwanese phonograph market begun with Japanese capital; his songs entail a significant chapter of Taiwanese historical and musical experience as a Japanese colony. The Japanese colonization ignited an irreversible trend of the Taiwanese embracing Western-style music through colonial education, and as a result the colonial musical legacy is almost exclusively associated with Western music and popular songs.

On the other hand, the folksong performances of the 2006 concert would remind the Taiwanese of a musical tradition that had existed prior to Japanese colonization and continues to exist and evolve today. The folksong and many Taiwanese musical traditions do not have clearly identifiable sonic traces of Japanese influence and therefore are usually not associated with the “colonial legacy,” and so the fact that these traditions lived on through Japanese

colonization invites us to probe the relationship between the colonial polity and local traditions.

Therefore, I argue that when thinking about the colonial legacy of musical Taiwan, the scope of inquiry should expand beyond the implementation of Western-style music. While Western-style music did become a primary source of Taiwanese musical creativity in the twentieth century, many musical sounds appeared in colonial Taiwan as a result of Japanese and Taiwanese interaction in and around music to achieve their respective agendas. In other words, the role of music in Japanese colonial Taiwan is closely connected with the colonial polity and the negotiations generated by colonization. A history which addresses the complexity and diversity of Taiwanese musical experiences can only be produced through investigating the musically related political, social, and cultural negotiations commanded by the colonial context.

To understand the dynamics and complexity of musical Taiwan under Japanese colonization, this dissertation approaches musical Taiwan using the concept of *musiking*. In his efforts to historicize Chinese music of the past, Joseph S. C. Lam proposes the concept of *musiking* to frame his analysis of the multifaceted and multivalent phenomenon that we call music and music culture. To flexibly and inclusively investigate the meanings and operations of musics and music cultures, Lam argues that music should be broadly defined, and can

be examined as a discourse that manipulates music as objects, sites, and processes.<sup>6</sup> To underscore such a perspective and its use as an analytical framework, Lam thus coined the term “musiking” and explains:

to “musik” is to negotiate musically. Musiking is a discourse that people flexibly and strategically negotiate with one another, manipulating music as an object, a site, and a process of not only musical compositions, improvisation, performance, listening, interpretation, negotiation, teaching, learning and other related activities, but also of supporting deeds of musical production and consumption, which include but are not limited to the manufacturing and handling of musical instruments, writing and publication of music theories and narratives, and preparation and use of notated scores of musical works.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Christopher Small pioneered the theory of *musicking*, which emphasizes thinking of music as performance of meanings and social interactions. See Christopher Small, *Musicking: the meanings of performing and listening* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press/University Press of New England, 1998), 8-10. A musical performance is essentially a ritual in which a group of people uses musical sounds for its members to explore, affirm, and celebrate the relationships they are engaged with one another (*ibid.*, 183). To analyze musicking of all kinds, ranging from a symphony concert to jogging with a walkman, Small instructs his readers to examine: (1) the relationships between those taking part in the event and the physical setting, (2) the relationships among the participants, and (3) the relationships between the sounds that are made for the event (*ibid.*, 193). Small’s theory of musicking, groundbreaking and provocative in its liberation of our notion of music from musical works and their notational representations, focuses instead on the meanings of human engagement with musical sounds. However, the theory provides little structure to analyze music cultures and musical events in historical contexts in which the observation and interpretation of the social and musical relationships require further contextualization. Inspired by the theory of musicking, Joseph S. C. Lam’s theory expands the scope and provides working parameters to analyze music cultures ethnographically or historically.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph S.C. Lam, “Male Bonding in Ming China,” *NAN Nü* 9 (2007): 81-83. I am grateful to Joseph Lam for his discussion of the concept with me, and to the access to his earlier manuscript, “Musiking Masculinities in Late Ming China” (paper presented at Musiking Late Ming China Conference, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May 1-2, 2006). For further examples of Lam’s implementation of the concept in analyzing Chinese music culture, see Lam, “Male Bonding in Ming China”: 86-106; Joseph S. C. Lam, “Imperial Music Agency in Ming Music Culture” in *Culture, Courtiers and Competition: the Ming Court, 1368-1644*. ed. David Robinson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

In short, to musik is to negotiate or discourse musically, manipulating sonic and non-sonic objects of music in musically particularized sites and with musically strategic processes to negotiate specific agendas with targeted partners. This theoretical concept provides new leverage for exploring and interpreting historical musical Taiwan, studies of which are plagued with a relative lack of notated and audio-visual resources of specific musical works or events.

Implementing the theory of musiking, this dissertation probes the soundscape and social-political negotiations of musical Taiwan in the early Japanese colonial period. It was a time when Taiwanese society experienced a sudden change of polity and faced an uncertain future while the Japanese explored ways to effectively rule Taiwan. Both the Taiwanese and the Japanese had to play historically imposed roles to negotiate the particularized agendas of their time and place in colonial Taiwan. They negotiated with the tools available to them, which ranged from military force and cultural appeasement to armed insurgence and voluntary collaboration. One of the means of negotiation, and resultant discourse, was musiking.

As the Japanese colonial authorities developed policies and adjusted their methods of governing Taiwan, they also musiked. To propel their negotiations and achieve their goals, they appropriated various types of musical sounds and objects to mark political and social sites where they could enforce and bargain

colonial realities. In short, the Japanese colonial administration musiked to interact with and engage the colonized Taiwanese. In return, the Taiwanese used music to generate platforms and processes through which they could resist or negotiate with their Japanese colonizers. Through their musiking efforts, both groups laid the foundation and mechanism for the development of musical Taiwan in the twentieth century.

To illustrate the dynamics of musiking as a colonial discourse, this dissertation focuses on Taiwanese and Japanese musiking in the first decade of the colonial period (1895-1905), drawing on both primary and secondary sources. The first includes archived documents such as papers of the Japanese colonial government, newspapers published in colonial Taiwan, newsletters of the Taiwan Education Society, newsletters of the Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association, and other publications by various colonial offices and affiliated institutions. The secondary sources include published studies written in English, Chinese, and Japanese which examine colonial Taiwan, the musics of Taiwan, and other related subjects.

To establish the historical context of musical Taiwan in the Japanese colonial period and introduce the related theoretical issues, in this chapter I will provide a brief political-cultural history of Taiwan, and a survey of how ethnomusicological scholarship has approached colonialism and music. To

understand colonialism and music beyond established views, I argue that colonial musical Taiwan provides a case study to investigate how a colonial polity, Japan in this case, strategically colonized a new and foreign territory, Taiwan in this case, through musiking with a wide spectrum of musical objects, activities, and negotiation processes. Following this introduction in Chapter One, this dissertation will explore musical Taiwan in the early Japanese colonial period in seven following chapters. Chapter Two, “Theorizing and Historicizing Musical Taiwan,” will present the soundscape of musical Taiwan in historical perspective, review how musical Taiwan has been historicized in contemporary Taiwan, and discuss how the issues of historiography, identity politics, and music scholarship in post-WWII Taiwan have shaped the conceptualization and writing of the music history of Taiwan.

Chapter Three, “Musiking Citizens in Early Colonial Taiwan: 1895-1906,” discusses *shōka* (songs and singing in Japanese schools and in colonial schools in Taiwan) as an integral part of colonial policy and education through analyzing repertoire, venues of performance, and negotiations of control, resistance, and submission between the Japanese and the Taiwanese.

Chapter Four, “Musiking Taiwanese Time and Society,” discusses Japanese-controlled and structured Taiwanese daily life and society through colonial holidays and commemorations. Holidays and commemorations are



important tools for a community or a state to construct, shape, or negotiate their collective identity – who they are and how they project who they shall be.

Holiday celebrations and commemorative activities are marked by music, which serves as both an expression of and a catalyst for this negotiation. Within the first decade of colonization, for example, the Japanese colonial government not only transplanted Japanese national holidays to Taiwan but also created several commemorations specific to the colony. The fourth chapter discusses the musiking of colonial holiday celebrations in the Japanese remaking of Taiwanese society.

Chapter Five, “Musiking Colonial Ritual and Ritual Space: the *Taiwan Jinja Matsuri* (Taiwan Shinto Shrine Festival)” provides a case study of the ritual site of *Taiwan Jinja*, the first Shinto shrine built on the colony, and its musical negotiations. Among the holidays and commemorations installed by the colonial government, the *Taiwan Jinja Matsuri* was distinctive in its musical sounds, sites, and imperial connotations. For the imperial and wartime Japan of the twentieth century, Shinto shrines and worships were tools for intensive wartime mobilization and ideological control. In the colony Taiwan, the same endeavor was seen in the soaring number of Shinto shrines built all over the island and the forced change of family ancestral altars to Shinto sanctuaries in the late colonial period of the 1930s and 1940s. However, Shinto shrines had entered Taiwanese

life since the early colonial years. This chapter shows how musiking facilitated the penetration of a foreign visual and religio-political representation of the empire into Taiwanese life and society.

Chapter Six, “Musiking Elite and Religious Taiwanese,” examines the musiking of the Taiwanese literati-elites who attempted to restore and continue their Confucian/Chinese identity and values by performing the Confucian ceremony (*jikong*) in the Confucian temples. The Taiwanese literati-elites musiked with the Japanese colonial authority to negotiate their right to continue the tradition of ultimate cultural importance to them. When the Japanese colonial authority encouraged the Taiwanese to continue performing the ritual, they musiked a tactic to ease the tension and build rapport with local social leaders. By analyzing the elites’ musiking with the Japanese colonizers, this chapter underscores how colonization deeply impacted the Taiwanese elites’ communal formation and their negotiating positions and tactics.

Chapter Seven, “Musiking Colonial Modernity and Taiwanese Locality,” discusses one of the most important modernizing and musiking projects launched by the colonial government. This was the cross-island railroad, originally proposed to facilitate better military control of remote areas, but which subsequently became the economic artery of the island. This railroad project was celebrated with musical and theatrical performances as segments of its

construction were completed. As celebratory music sounded in various Taiwanese locales, it marked the arrival of modernity in those places.

Chapter Eight, "Conclusion: Colonial Taiwan's New and Hybridized Soundscape," highlights the Japanese non-interference cultural policy toward existing Taiwanese musical practices. This policy was an important factor that allowed the diverse historical and cultural forces in Taiwan to work together to lay the foundation for the twentieth-century Taiwanese soundscape. This chapter also underscores the dynamic nature of musiking and its indispensable role in Japanese colonialism. The musiking between Japanese colonizers and their Taiwanese subjects generated a mechanism of cultural change and a new Taiwanese soundscape, from which twentieth-century musical Taiwan developed to incorporate diverse musical styles and traditions into its culture.

The discussion of colonial musical Taiwan in this dissertation, however, does not include the musiking between the Japanese and the Taiwan aborigines. The Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) aborigines have lived in Taiwan since prehistory. By the time of Japanese colonization, many of the aborigines in the plains had, to some extent, adopted the customs of their Chinese-Taiwanese neighbors who formed the dominant majority population. The Japanese did not design a special policy to govern the Plains aborigines and in principle treated them the same as the Han Chinese. The aborigines living in the mountains,

however, formed a target group over which the Japanese colonial authority sought to exert control. Isolation, coercion, and violence – often with the knowledge supplied by anthropological studies – were used to suppress the insubordinate aborigines.<sup>8</sup> Because of the distinctive nature of the Taiwan aborigines, Japanese policies to control the aborigines differed greatly from their policies to govern the Chinese-Taiwanese. The negotiation and musiking between the Japanese and aborigines is an important story of Japanese colonization of Taiwan, but it is a subject beyond the scope of this dissertation.

## **II. A Political-Cultural History of Taiwan**

The culture and history of Taiwan has been constantly shaped and reshaped by various types of foreign forces and colonizations, such as maritime commercialism, immigrant settlements, and imperial expansion. In other words, political and cultural authorities from outside the island have exerted significant impacts on local society, which evolved over time accordingly. The locality of Taiwan has historically dictated both its isolation from and connection with other parts of the world. The small oval-shaped mountainous island borders the West Pacific Rim and the East Asian Continent. Only about 100 miles from China's

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<sup>8</sup> Early Japanese campaigns to control the Taiwan aborigines can be seen in Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, Formosa. *Report on the control of the aborigines in Formosa* (Tokyo: Tōyō printing co., 1911).

southeast coast, Taiwan is also in close sailing distance to the Philippines in the south and to the Ryūkyū Archipelago, Japan's Okinawa Prefecture, in the northeast. Taiwan is an ethnically and culturally complex locality and as a result, musical Taiwan is composed of layers of musics, hybrid in nature, and not without internal contradictions. In figure 1-2, the map of Taiwan in East and Southeast Asia and on the West Pacific Rim demonstrates the geographical relationship of the island to nearby regions.

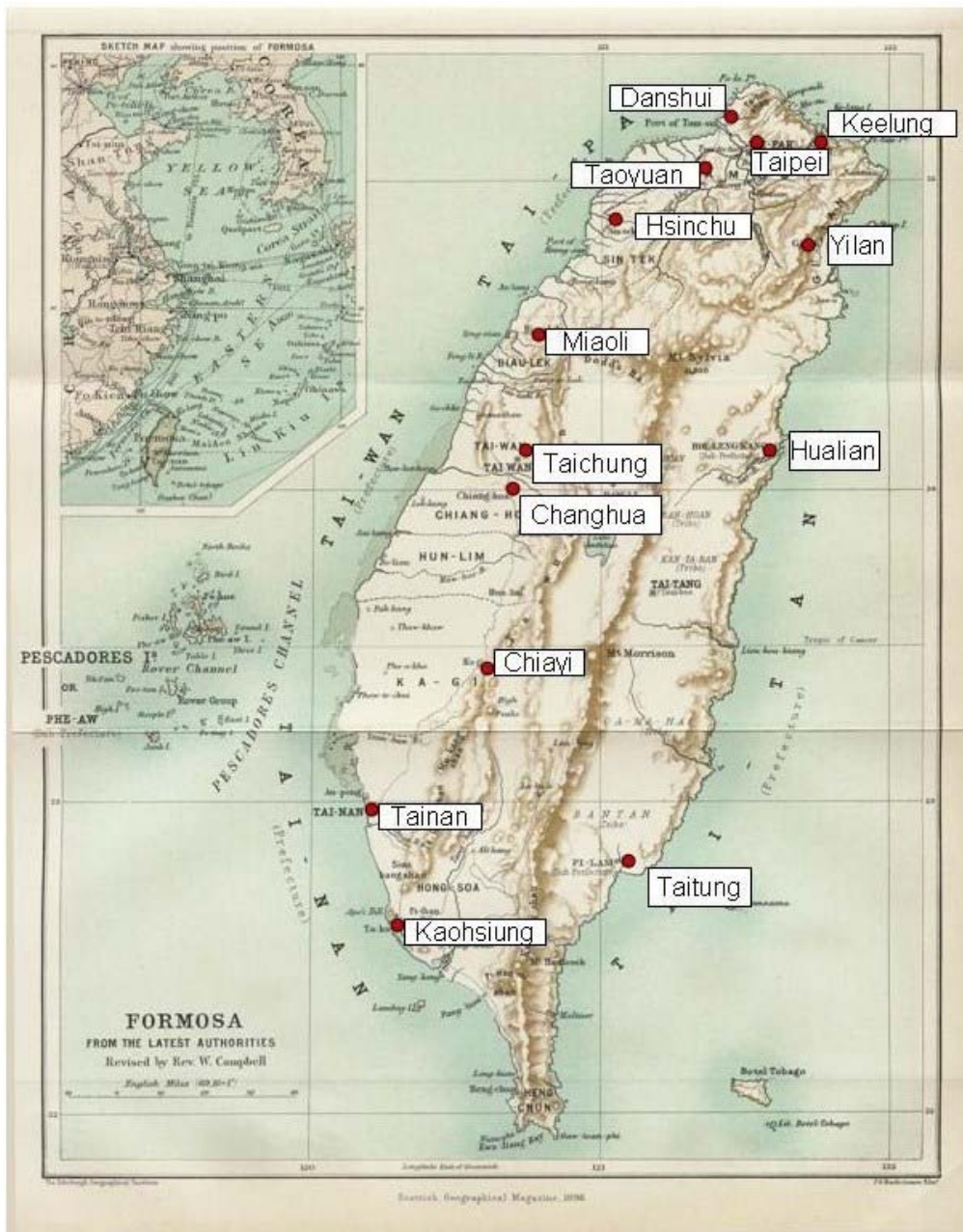
Figure 1-2: Map of Taiwan: Taiwan in Asia and West Pacific.<sup>9</sup>



<sup>9</sup> Modified from the map downloaded from [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle east and asia/asia east pol 2004.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle%20east%20and%20asia/asia%20east%20pol%202004.jpg). The original map is in the public domain. I thank University of Texas Libraries for making the scan available online.



Figure 1-3: Major cities of Taiwan.<sup>10</sup>



<sup>10</sup> Map modified and downloaded from [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/formosa\\_1896.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/formosa_1896.jpg). According to the information provided on the page <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/taiwan.html>, this map is originally published in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Volume XII: 1896. I thank University of Texas Libraries for providing the scan online.

## Prehistorical and Aboriginal Taiwan

Archaeological evidence suggests that humans settled on the island of Taiwan as early as the Paleolithic Age, 13,000 BCE.<sup>11</sup> Traces of the Neolithic civilization of Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) settlers are dated from 4,000 BCE, and by 2,500 BCE, agriculture appeared on the island.<sup>12</sup> Taiwan's location in the Pacific Rim and its proximity to the Asian continent and Southeast Asia suggests that Taiwan could have served as a stepping stone for the Austronesian people in their migration from Southeast Asia to the Pacific islands. The linguistic diversity of the Austronesian languages of the Taiwan aborigines suggests that the island was once a dispersal center of the Austronesian language family.<sup>13</sup> The origin and migration of the Austronesian aborigines to and from Taiwan remains puzzling, however, and scholars are still trying to formulate theoretical explanations to link archaeological traces, ethnographic facts, and linguistic data.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> John F. Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1999), 21.

<sup>12</sup> John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and political economy on the Taiwan frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 28.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28.

<sup>14</sup> The origin(s) of the Austronesian aborigines of Taiwan is not only part of the larger question of the migration of the Austronesian culture but also a politically charged question of how Taiwan's ancient connection with the Chinese mainland or the Southeast Asian continent is to be established. For an analysis, see Michael Stainton, "The Politics of Taiwan Aboriginal Origins," in *Taiwan: a New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (Armonk, NY, 1999).



## Entering the maritime trade network

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Taiwan entered the network of world maritime trade. In 1430 the famous Chinese voyager Zheng He (1371-1433), who led seven maritime expeditions to Indonesia, India, and as far as East Africa between 1405 and 1431, visited the island after a shipwreck and reported seeing the aborigines, but the Chinese Ming court did not intend to explore the island.<sup>15</sup> Sixteenth-century Portuguese sailors voyaging through East Asian seaways spotted the island and called it Formosa, a name used in the West used to refer to the island until the mid-twentieth century.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Chinese and Japanese merchant-pirates used Taiwan as a rendezvous for trade.<sup>16</sup> To optimize this, the Japanese sailed to Taiwan and built a small colony in northern Taiwan until Japan's isolationist policy commanded their withdrawal in 1628.<sup>17</sup> A few thousand Chinese fishermen and farmers from the impoverished region of southeast coastal China sought to work or settle in Taiwan for a better livelihood.<sup>18</sup> Some Chinese learned to speak the aboriginal languages and

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<sup>15</sup> Denny Roy, *Taiwan: a Political History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 11.

<sup>16</sup> Kuo-tung Chen, "Zhuan yun yu chu ko: He ju shi qi de mao yi yu chan ye (Transit and Export: Trade and Commerce in Taiwan during the Dutch Period)" in *Fu'ermosha: shi qi shi ji de Taiwan, Helan yu Dong Ya (Ilha Formosa: the emergence of Taiwan on the world scene in the 17th century)*, ed. Shi Shouqian (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2003), 55-56.

<sup>17</sup> Roy, *Taiwan: a Political History*, 12.

<sup>18</sup> Yang Yanjie, *He ju shi dai Taiwan shi [History of Taiwan in the Dutch Occupation]* (Taipei: Lian jing chu ban shi ye gong si, 2000), 43-50.

became mediators of trade between the aboriginal villagers and Chinese and Japanese merchants.<sup>19</sup>

### **The Dutch Era (1624-1661)**

In the seventeenth century, European maritime powers seeking to expand business profits in Southeast Asia and East Asia began to show greater interest in the island. The Dutch, after several attempts to negotiate trade with Ming China, arrived at southwest Taiwan in 1624 and built a trade entrepôt in Tayouan, today's Tainan. The Dutch intended to use Taiwan as a transit center to pursue trade of Chinese silk, textile, china, and gold with Japanese silver.<sup>20</sup> The Spanish, attempting to rival the Dutch in East Asian trade, arrived from the Philippines at northern Taiwan in 1626. The Spanish did not establish a strong base, and in 1642 the Dutch expelled the Spanish and brought the whole island under their control.

Supervised by the Dutch East Indian Company based in Java, the Dutch soon strategically expanded their control over Taiwan. As Taiwan's administrators, the Dutch invested in the island to secure the source of goods and develop the land to increase the supply of food. The Dutch endeavors left important cultural and economical imprints. To control the circulation of goods

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>20</sup> Chen, "Zhuan yun yu chu ko: He ju shi qi de mao yi yu chan ye (Transit and Export: Trade and Commerce in Taiwan during the Dutch Period)", 63-69.

and services, the Dutch first used military power to coerce alliance from the aborigines, and then deployed missionaries to inculcate the aboriginal villagers through opening churches and schools.<sup>21</sup> The Dutch induced the aboriginal youngsters to attend village schools by imposing penalties, and by dispensing clothes or rice to those who came.<sup>22</sup> Dutch missionaries developed a Romanized writing system for the aboriginal languages. Taught by the missionaries in church schools, the aborigines of the southwestern plains employed this writing system in their subsequent dealings with Chinese immigrants.

At the same time, to better sustain the food supply for Dutch expatriates in Taiwan, in the 1630s the Dutch administration began to recruit Chinese workers to labor in farming, mostly from the Fujian province across the strait.<sup>23</sup> Yams, sugarcane, and rice were among the products the Dutch attempted to grow.<sup>24</sup> The Dutch hence facilitated the first influx of Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. As a result, Taiwan under the Dutch colonization moved toward a

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<sup>21</sup> The Dutch administrative and missionary activities among Formosan aborigines can be seen in William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: described from contemporary records, with explanatory notes and a bibliography of the island* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1972[03]).

Information of the Dutch operation of church schools in the aboriginal villages is seen in Yang, *He ju shi dai Taiwan shi [History of Taiwan in the Dutch Occupation]*, 107-119.

<sup>22</sup> Yang, *He ju shi dai Taiwan shi shi [History of Taiwan in the Dutch Occupation]*, 113-14.

<sup>23</sup> When the Dutch arrived in Taiwan in 1624, the Chinese in Taiwan were mostly traders running business with the aborigines. By the end of the Dutch era in 1661, Taiwan's Chinese population was mostly agriculture colonists coming from China through Dutch incentives. For a brief description of Chinese traders, see Shepherd, *Statecraft and political economy on the Taiwan frontier, 1600-1800*, 83-85.

<sup>24</sup> Chen, "Zhuan yun yu chu ko: He ju shi qi de mao yi yu chan ye (Transit and Export: Trade and Commerce in Taiwan during the Dutch Period)", 72-73.

multi-racial society in which interracial tensions arose between the native aborigines, the Dutch rulers, and the Chinese settlers who began to advance their own economic security and control of natural resources on the island.<sup>25</sup>

### **The Ming-Zheng Era (1661-1683)**

In 1661, when China's Ming dynasty was collapsing, Ming loyalist General Zheng Chenggong (1624-1662) defeated the Dutch and claimed Taiwan to build a base for his revival of the Chinese regime. Known to the Europeans as *Koxinga*, General Zheng was born to a Chinese trader-pirate father and a Japanese mother and fought for the ailing Ming dynasty to counter the rising Manchu Qing regime, which took over Beijing, the Ming capital, in 1644. General Zheng and his successors established a government modeled after the Ming administration, and opted to continue the former Dutch trade network.<sup>26</sup> The Zheng regime induced large influxes of Chinese immigrants to Taiwan: soldiers and some elites came to Taiwan to follow the Zheng government, which claimed to succeed the Ming regime, and many people fled their destroyed homeland. To cut off Chinese support to the Zhengs, the Qing government forced coastal

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<sup>25</sup> Roy, *Taiwan: a Political History*, 17.

<sup>26</sup> Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?*, 26.

residents to move inland and forbade fishing and sailing.<sup>27</sup> It is estimated that during the two decades of Zheng rule, the Chinese population in Taiwan reached 120,000 or more, comparable to or above the aboriginal population, estimated at 100,000 to 120,000 people.<sup>28</sup> The Zheng regime operated for two decades and surrendered to the Qing in 1683, and the Qing court put the island on its political map.

### **The Qing Era (1683-1895)**

The Qing dynasty ruled Taiwan from 1683 to 1895. The Qing policy of governing Taiwan in general was biased toward preventive control rather than planning and development. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century, when European and Japanese powers again showed commercial and territorial interest in Taiwan, that the Qing government substantially modified its Taiwan policy. Qing China's early Taiwan policy, John Shepherd theorizes, was simultaneously focused on preventing the island, in its strategic peripheral location, from becoming a rebel base, as well as on maintaining the island's status quo, one that depended on a balanced economic relationship between the

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<sup>27</sup> The regulation, called *qianjie* ("relocate boundary"), forced coastal residents to abandon fishing and move inland to fortress China's southeast coast. The command was intended to cut off any possible logistic aid to the Zheng regime in Taiwan, but at the same time forced the coast residents to flee the impossible life caused by the regulation. Wu Micha, ed., *Taiwan shi xiao shi dian [Chronology and Dictionary of Taiwan History]* (Taipei: Yuan liu chu ban she, 2000), 30.

<sup>28</sup> Wan-Yao Chou, *Taiwan li shi tu shuo: shi qian zhi 1945 nian [Taiwan History in Iconography: Prehistory to 1945]*, 2nd ed, (Taipei: Lian jing chu ban shi ye gong si, 1998), 66.

aborigines and the Chinese immigrant-settlers.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the Qing policy makers closely regulated Han Chinese immigration to Taiwan; if uncontrolled, their continued influx might potentially threaten the economic and ecological environment of the aborigines, and subsequently, the issue of frontier stability and security.

In their attempts to manage the Taiwan frontier, the Qing administration was constantly challenged by the task of managing the increasing Han Chinese population, who arrived legally or illegally regardless of official policy.

Throughout the Qing period, the Chinese population in Taiwan grew much faster than the aborigines and contributed much to the island's population increase. For example, by 1735 the western plains of Taiwan, where most of its population lived, had seen a triple increase of inhabitants from 1684; by 1777, a six-fold increase had occurred and the total population reached almost 840,000 people.<sup>30</sup> In 1811, the census estimated the total population of Taiwan was 1,944,737.<sup>31</sup> Since the early Qing rule in the late-seventeenth century, the number of Chinese immigrants had grown so much that they became the dominant group controlling the resources and power of Taiwan.

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<sup>29</sup> Shepherd, *Statecraft and political economy on the Taiwan frontier, 1600-1800*, 3.

<sup>30</sup> Gary Marvin Davison, *A short history of Taiwan: the case for independence* (Westport, Ct.: Praeger, 2003), 30.

<sup>31</sup> "Qing dai Taiwan ren ko tong ji [Population statistics of Qing Taiwan]," <<http://thcts.ascc.net/template/sample6.asp?id=rc10>> (accessed February 21, 2009).

Recognizing the importance of protecting aboriginal land rights against the large influx of Chinese settlers, the Qing administration demarcated borderlines to separate the two groups, and forbade the Chinese to develop land across the line. However, the Qing policy still failed to protect the aborigines from losing their land to the Chinese.

Several factors contributed to the failure of this well-intentioned policy. First, the aborigines relied on the income generated from deer products to pay the heavy tax demanded by the Qing government. The deer population quickly shrank, due to the Chinese turning forest into agrarian land, and the aborigines could no longer hunt enough deer. Losing this income, many aborigines were forced to sell their land to the Chinese in order to pay the tax. Second, when the aborigines and the Chinese conducted transactions of land acquisition and tenancy, the aborigines were dealing with the unfamiliar yet sophisticated Chinese schemes of private ownership, mathematical calculation, and bookkeeping. Such rules were undoubtedly in favor of the Chinese, and many aborigines simply lost their land due to a set of concepts foreign to their culture. Third, early Qing policy required emigrants to Taiwan to leave their family behind on the mainland. As a result, intermarriage between Chinese men and aboriginal women frequently occurred and the next generations more easily

adopted the Chinese customs of naming, inheritance, and lifestyle.<sup>32</sup>

Consequently, the dominant population group of Chinese further marginalized the aborigines through land redistribution, intermarriage, and acculturation. In short, the most significant feature of Qing Taiwan was the making of aboriginal Taiwan into Sinicized Taiwan.

The Chinese domination of Taiwanese society, however, did not erase differences; it only created social and cultural layers generated by the differences in race, ethnicity, regional and dialectal bonds, and lifestyles. Even among the Chinese settlers, cultural and social differences existed and developed. For instance, the majority of Chinese immigrants came from the region of southern Fujian Province and eastern Guangdong Province, and spoke the Holo or Hakka dialects. The regional and dialectal differences extended to their new homes in Taiwan, and generated hostilities and armed conflicts.

By the 1860s, the rebellious Taiwanese society went through a new phase of social transformation. A small number of locally formed literati-elites emerged to become the social leaders of public affairs and local communities.<sup>33</sup> Since

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<sup>32</sup> I summarize this analysis based on Chou, *Taiwan li shi tu shuo: shi qian zhi 1945 nian* [Taiwan History in Iconography: Prehistory to 1945], 84-94.

<sup>33</sup> A case study of a locally grown Taiwanese gentry clan is provided in Johanna Menzel Meskill, *A Chinese pioneer family: the Lins of Wu-feng, Taiwan, 1729-1895* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979). After generations of settling in Taiwan, the Lin clan of central Taiwan finally transformed itself from wealthy landlords to gentries by producing members who obtained literati titles through the Chinese governmental examination system. In the second half of the nineteenth century, members of the Lin clan were engaged in public service in both the



Taiwan was a largely immigrant society, early social leaders were often wealthy landowners or merchants; very few came from the class of literati, who acquired leadership through Confucianist education and literacy, which allowed them to succeed in state examinations and enter governmental officialdom. The literati class is thus a cultural mark of traditional Chinese civil society. The formation of a literati class in Taiwan thus signified a transformation of the immigrant society into a more stabilized society which could support the emergence of a well-educated group of social-cultural leaders. This class formation indicated that Taiwanese society in the mid-nineteenth century was developing a new character, unseen in its earlier phases.<sup>34</sup>

### **The Japanese Colonization (1895-1945)**

In 1895, Japan won the Sino-Japanese war and acquired Taiwan as a colony. The Japanese aimed to extract as much economic profits from subtropical

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mainland and Taiwan, and thus rose to become one of the most politically influential families in Taiwan.

<sup>34</sup> Two competing theories, nativization (*tuzhuhua*) and sinicization (*neidihua*), have tried to explain the mechanism leading to the growth of the literati elite class in Taiwan. The former, proposed by Chen Qinan, emphasizes that the immigrants had settled into the new home and no longer bore the mentality of immigrants, thus the formation of Taiwanese literati class was a locally grown phenomena. Chen Qinan, *Taiwan de chuan tong Zhongguo she hui [Traditional Chinese Society in Taiwan]* (Taipei: Yun chen wen hua, 1987). The latter, proposed by Li Guoqi, emphasizes that the stabilizing immigrant Taiwanese society was becoming like the civil society of the Chinese homeland, and therefore would form the literati class. Li Guoqi, "Qing dai Taiwan she hui di zhuan xing -- nei di hua di jie shi [Transformation of Qing Taiwanese Society: the explanation of sinicization]." *Li shi yue kan (Historical Monthly)*, no. 107 (1996): 58-66. Both theories first appeared in the 1970s, and the authors have since published on the subject matters.

Taiwan as possible. Toward that goal, the Japanese needed to establish colonial rule in the political and economic spheres. When the Japanese first arrived in Taiwan, Taiwanese society did not yet have an established power structure that the Japanese could quickly take over,<sup>35</sup> so the Japanese colonial authority explored many avenues of control and governance. Their endeavors included militarily suppressing insurgencies, establishing an effective administrative and policing system, controlling the opium problem with a governmental monopoly, implementing colonial schools, and even tolerating Taiwanese social customs and cultural practices to reduce immediate resistance. These endeavors were successful. By the end of the first decade of colonization, the colonial government had become financially self-sufficient, and Japan soon began to profit from what the Taiwanese land and people could provide.<sup>36</sup>

To push the island further as a profitable colony of their empire, the Japanese launched modernizing projects in Taiwan to maximize economic exploitation and facilitate colonial governance. Modern institutions such as railroads, banks, power plants, postal services and telecommunication helped to introduce material modernity to the Taiwanese. More profoundly, modern

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<sup>35</sup> Ming-Cheng Lo, *Doctors within Borders: profession, ethnicity, and modernity in colonial Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 29-30.

<sup>36</sup> Zhong Shumin, "Ri ju chu qi Taiwan zong du fu tong zhi quan di que li, 1895-1906 [The Consolidation of the Ruling Power of the Governor-General's Office in Taiwan in Early Japanese Colonization, 1895-1906]" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1989), documents the strategies the Japanese colonial government undertook to consolidate its political control of the island and to achieve financial independence.

education introduced by the colonial government penetrated deep into Taiwanese thinking. Living as colonized people, the Taiwanese began to inquire into their own identity in relation to the Japanese empire, the world, and the island. The experiences of colonization and modernization added a great deal of complexity to the answers the Taiwanese found.

### **Taiwan since 1945**

The Japanese colonization of Taiwan ended in 1945 when Japan was defeated in World War II and the allies decided to return Taiwan to the Republic of China, reversing the result of the Sino-Japanese war five decades before. In 1949, the Chinese Nationalist Party (*Kuomintang*, hereafter KMT) lost the civil war with the Chinese Communists and fled to Taiwan, taking the island as its last political and military base. The KMT retreat generated a large, twentieth-century influx of mainland Chinese immigrants to the island. Operating the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan, the KMT vowed to soon return to and reclaim mainland China. To ensure its position and governance as the only political power, party, and authority in Taiwan, the KMT installed Martial Law in 1949, suspending the constitutional rights of the Taiwanese population such as freedom of speech, party formation, and congressional election. To counter Communist China and its revolutionary character, the KMT nicknamed Taiwan

“the Free China,” and positioned itself as the guardian of traditional Chinese culture.

To this end, the KMT promoted its interpretation of Han Chinese culture as the orthodox and representative manifestation for all Chinese. As a result of the KMT political and cultural dictatorship, the local cultural expressions of Taiwan were regulated, if not suppressed, and the historical, cultural, and experiential differences between the Taiwanese and the mainland Chinese were minimized. The native Taiwanese, defined as the descendants of those who came to Taiwan prior to 1945, felt marginalized and distrusted by mainland Chinese, symbolized by the KMT. The natives’ history of frontier development and colonization was silenced.

Nevertheless, the KMT dictatorship brought period of political and social stability to Taiwan, welcoming foreign investment and promoting economic development and industrialization. In short, the four decades of KMT rule (1945-1987) in Taiwan were politically oppressive but economically successful. Along with rapid industrialization, Taiwanese society experienced sweeping modernization and generated a fascination with Western culture, especially American.

The lifting of Martial Law in 1987 opened the door to a new era of political and cultural history in Taiwan, a development heralded by a number of

historical factors. Cold War politics in the 1970s isolated Taiwan when the United Nations and international diplomats no longer recognized KMT-controlled Taiwan as the official government of China; instead, the mainland-based People's Republic of China (PRC) took the UN's China seat in 1971. In 1979, the United States established diplomatic ties with the PRC, and the KMT-led Republic of China on Taiwan terminated official diplomatic relationships with the US. Ostracized by the international community, the KMT government could no longer sustain its purported goal of mainland recovery, which justified its dictatorial government and the presentation of itself as the guardian of orthodox Chinese culture while repressing local cultures.

Seeking to reconstitute the KMT government in Taiwan, Chiang Ching-Kuo (1910-1988), the KMT leader and ROC President in the 1970s and 1980s, lifted Martial Law in 1987 and furthered Taiwan's democracy. Since then, the call of *bentuhua* (indigenization/nativization) became widely heard in Taiwan, and the Taiwanese rapidly strove to reposition Taiwan in relation to China by redefining Taiwanese identity, nationality, and culture. In other words, answers to the questions of "who the Taiwanese are" and "what Taiwan is" have become, since 1987, the critical issues that are now openly debated and manipulated. Inevitably, the *bentu wenhua* (indigenous and local cultures) of the aborigines and the Holo and Hakka immigrant-settlers have now resurfaced and dominate the

public debates on what constitutes “Taiwanese culture”, pushing the “Chinese culture” once vehemently promoted by the KMT from the top of the cultural pyramid.

### **III. Colonialism and Music**

Any historicization of Taiwan must take into account its varied colonial experiences as a colony of maritime entrepôt, a colony of Chinese immigration-settlements, a colony of imperial expansion, and a geopolitical entity of internal colonization. Among all the colonial histories of Taiwan, it was the Japanese colonization that ushered in the political and cultural forces that heralded Taiwan’s arrival into the modern era. Thus, historicizing musical Taiwan in the Japanese colonial period must confront the issue of colonialism and its relationship to modernity as well as the native music culture.

Colonialism is usually perceived to exercise a negative impact on local cultures through the imposition of politically-engineered discourses of hierarchy and a purposeful economic system, forces that profoundly impact how the colonized perceive their culture and the lifestyles which sustain certain cultural elements. Yet, although some societies have found that colonization significantly contributes to the disappearance or change of traditions, other colonial and post-colonial societies have found continuously thriving local cultures. Hence,

relationships between colonial polities and local cultures are often much more complicated and intertwining than a simplified narrative of “repression and destruction” can explain. Since colonization creates contexts that force different cultures to interact, clash, converge and/or diverge, inquiring into the dynamic negotiations between the culture within and the polity without is essential to understand music culture in a colonial context.

As a modern phenomenon found throughout the world, colonial expansion reached its zenith in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century; it was rather quickly dismantled after World War II. Much of the world today has experienced some version of a colonial past, and many parts of the world still struggle with what was left by colonialism. Colonialism refers to “the specific form of cultural exploitation that developed with the expansion of Europe over the last 400 years.”<sup>37</sup> Edward Said succinctly explains that colonialism “is the implementing of settlements on distant territory”, almost always as a consequence of imperialism, which prescribes “the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory.”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Post-colonial studies: the key concepts* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 45.

<sup>38</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and imperialism* (New York Knopf, 1993), 8, cited in Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Post-colonial studies: the key concepts*, 46.

Jürgen Osterhammel provides a definition of colonialism that describes the relationship between the dominating metropolis and the distant colony: “Colonialism is a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule.”<sup>39</sup> Commenting on this relationship, Ania Loomba defines colonialism as a practice of “conquest and control of other people’s land and goods.”<sup>40</sup> This practice occurred in many parts of the world and its operation varied from place to place; yet the universal feature of colonialism was, however, the fact that “it locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history.”<sup>41</sup>

In sum, colonialism involves a particular process of action and dialogue between a local population and an outside power. The distance between the metropolis and the colony means that the colonizers and the colonized often have incompatible ethnic and cultural differences. To harness the colonized

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<sup>39</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: a theoretical overview*, Shelley L. Frisch trans. (Princeton & Kingston: Markus Wiener Publishers & Ian Randle Publishers, 1997), 16-17.

<sup>40</sup> Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London ; New York Routledge, 1998), 2.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.



majority, the powerful minority must adopt measures of control, ranging from violence and forceful co-optation to inventing deliberate discourses of cultural hierarchy and acculturation. The protagonists of colonial contact are constantly engaged in such negotiation.

Since colonialism is such a widespread and penetrating phenomenon, it invites close examination. Study of colonial impact upon colonized societies generates fascinating case studies of cultural, social, and historical change. For music scholars, the music cultures of colonized societies provide an arena to study the processes and mechanisms of musical creativity, continuity, adaptation, and hybridity. Music can be examined as a form of the expressions, actions, and dialogues of the colonizers and colonized. For instance, the music of non-Western societies colonized by Western powers has served as a prism through which to examine musical imagination and discourses between the West and the Other. Nineteenth-century European operas, such as *Aida* and *Madame Butterfly*, for example, made musical theatre a location of seeing, hearing and imagining the exotic Others.<sup>42</sup> Such orientalizing representations are not a European monopoly; similar representations were also produced by Japan. The popular theatre revue *Takarazuka* showcased an exuberant representation of the colonized exotic Others of Japan for ideological discourse during WWII. In such shows,

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<sup>42</sup> Further discussions of Orientalism and opera can be found in, for example, Ralph P. Locke, "Reflections on Orientalism in Opera and Musical Theater," *The Opera Quarterly* 10 (1993).

ethnographical knowledge was utilized to not only portray, visually and aurally, the Japanese empire and its colonies on stage, but also to shape popular attitudes toward the war and to meet the needs of wartime mobilization.<sup>43</sup>

An identifiable and widespread outcome of colonialism in music is the acceptance of Western-style music by non-Western societies, and the unique music generated by this acceptance. Many colonized societies have created hybridized musics that blend the familiar elements of local traditions with Western elements brought by their colonial rulers. Hybridized musics have motivated music scholars to focus on musical products as evidence of musical transformation. Musical traditions or works that appear to be free of audible Western elements may not, however, be free of colonial “contamination.” Judith Becker’s study of the Javanese Gamelan demonstrates that even though gamelan music possesses little audible influence of Western music, gamelan musicians have adopted Western influence in several ways. The development of written notation in orally transmitted gamelan music, for example, stemmed from the Javanese contact with European fashion, primarily Dutch, in the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Becker notes that maintaining gamelan in the Javanese court was

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<sup>43</sup> Jennifer Robertson, “Staging Ethnography: Theatre and Japanese Colonialism,” in *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, ed. Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999); Robertson, *Takarazuka: sexual politics and popular culture in modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 89-138.

<sup>44</sup> Judith Becker, *Traditional Music in Modern Java* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 12-17.

encouraged by the Dutch colonizers as they ruled through controlling the Javanese court and nobles.<sup>45</sup>

As hybridized music becomes a mainstream cultural phenomenon in many societies, music scholars have begun to analyze it as evidence of cultural changes and dialogues, which are always complex and dynamic. Thus some ethnomusicologists have formulated systems and terminologies to gauge the processes and meanings of musical hybridity. Bruno Nettl, Margaret Kartomi, and Mervyn McLean are among the ethnomusicologists who attempted to develop appropriate terminology and typology to describe the musical outcomes as exhibited in musical artifacts.<sup>46</sup> Further, scholars of colonialism have used music as a means to gauge colonial experiences particularized by history and geography. For example, Terrance O. Ranger studied the origin, development, and diffusion of *beni ngoma*, a popular cultural form in Tanzania and Kenya and a team dance that mocked the European band music of the British and German colonization.<sup>47</sup> Ranger argues that hybridization of traditional *ngoma* dance and a newly introduced European musical form demonstrates the East African

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>46</sup> Margaret J. Kartomi, "The Process and Results of Musical Culture Contact: a discussion of terminology and concepts," *Ethnomusicology* 25 (1981); Mervyn McLean, "Towards a Typology of Musical Change: missionaries and adjustive response in Oceania," *The World of Music* 28 (1986); Bruno Nettl, "Some Aspects of the History of World Music in the Twentieth Century: Questions, Problems, and Concepts," *Ethnomusicology* 22 (1978); Bruno Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985).

<sup>47</sup> Terence O. Ranger, *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa 1890-1970*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

response to modernity when they had limited space to express their creativity. Thus *beni ngoma* is a form of social commentary as well as an articulation of colonial experiences.

Recent ethnomusicological interests in colonialism and music propose to reflect on colonial contact as a channel allowing the colonized society to exercise their creativity by indigenizing new musical elements and vocabularies imported by colonial forces. Amy K. Stillman documents and traces the spread of Protestant hymnody in several Pacific Island societies through missionary routes. Contesting the anthropological and ethnomusicological obsession with finding what is “pre-contact” and “pre-Christian” as the traditional and the authentic, Stillman argues that after generations of practicing hymnody and embracing Christianity, many Pacific Islanders considered hymnody their “traditional music” and developed their own distinctive styles in which to render the hymn performance. For these Pacific Islanders, the process of indigenization has made a genre of foreign origin into a tradition.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the nostalgic quest for the remains of the “pre-contact” era is itself a colonial imposition. Stillman’s arguments are echoed by Michael Webb, who demonstrates that the Tolai of Papua New Guinea have mastered European musical vocabulary introduced by the missionaries. Instead of reviving a pre-contact music, the Tolai use the

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<sup>48</sup> Amy Ku’uleialoha Stillman, “Prelude to a Comparative Investigation of Protestant Hymnody in Polynesia,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, no. 25 (1993): 89-99.

imported musical material to create a new national Papua New Guinea music that manifests their national identity.<sup>49</sup> Veit Erlmann's studies of South African music similarly demonstrate another example of Africans appropriating and remaking Western music into a distinctively South African musical form.<sup>50</sup>

As Stillman argues, only when music scholars liberate themselves from the stereotypical notions of colonial vs. pre-colonial, new vs. traditional, and hybridized vs. authentic, and so forth, can they begin to view colonial contact as opportunities for cultural creativity, when human acts of expressing, perceiving, indigenizing and negotiating converge to make music. Salman Rushdie has insightfully commented that India has made English into one of the many Indian languages.<sup>51</sup> Like Indian English, the many forms of hybridized, syncretic, or newly-created musical idioms that mix Western and non-Western musical elements attest to the cultural and human dialogues between colonizer and colonized.

The relationships between colonialism and music are therefore dynamic and complex. To assess and evaluate the impact and effect of colonization on the

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<sup>49</sup> Michael H. Webb, "'Pipal bilong music tru'/'A truly musical people': Musical culture, colonialism, and identity in northeastern New Britain, Papua New Guinea, after 1875." (PhD dissertation, Wesleyan University, 1995).

<sup>50</sup> Veit Erlmann, *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Erlmann, "Migration and Performance: Zulu Migrant Workers' Isicathamiya Performance in South Africa, 1890-1950," *Ethnomusicology* 34: 2 (1990).

<sup>51</sup> Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* (London: Granta/Penguin, 1992), 64, cited in Osterhammel, *Colonialism: a Theoretical Overview*, 104.

music of local native communities, many social and cultural factors need to be investigated. For the case of Japanese colonial Taiwan, the process of how imported vocabularies and apparatuses were appropriated and indigenized to become Taiwanese cultural heritage needs to be examined in detail, with reference to the political and cultural forces of the colonial society. In addition, the dynamics of how colonial polity interacted with native musical practices need to be explored in order to comprehensively understand musical Taiwan under Japanese colonization.

#### **IV. Musiking and the Japanese Colonization of Taiwan**

Japanese colonialism is often recognized as singular among its contemporary colonial colleagues. The singularity of Japanese colonialism, however, does not lie in its non-European-ness or Japanese-ness. After all, Japanese colonial practices stayed within the fundamental operation of modern colonialism. The singularity, as Mark Peattie points out, was Japan's close distance to its colonial subjects, a closeness that Western colonial powers and their colonies did not share. This regional character meant Japan had a racial and cultural affinity to its colonial subjects in Taiwan and Korea.<sup>52</sup> Hence, Japan often

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<sup>52</sup> Mark R. Peattie, "Introduction." in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 7. Japan later broke away from this racial and cultural affinity in its imperial expansion into the Pacific territories. But the

found its colonies in conditions similar to its own history before the Meiji Restoration and modernization in 1868. Given this experience, the Japanese colonizers naturally opted to repeat the Meiji modernizing projects in their colonies.<sup>53</sup> Taiwanese historian Wan-Yao Chou also called what the Japanese pursued in Taiwan “a Meiji Restoration on a smaller scale,” an apt allusion to the emphatic modernizing character of Japanese colonial operations, and the similarity of the policies implemented in Meiji Japan and colonial Taiwan.<sup>54</sup>

To launch the modernization-colonization project in Taiwan, the Japanese colonial administration established institutions and infrastructures modeled after Japan, including education, the legal system, urban planning, land surveying, and campaigns for social change. At the same time, the colonial administration needed to broadly engage itself with Taiwanese society to better control the colony so that it could be more effectively molded into the intended shape. On the other hand, the Taiwanese must respond to colonization, the very reality of their everyday life. In the process, the Japanese manipulated music to advance their political agenda, and the Taiwanese responded through music in multiple ways, a fact that colonial newspapers in Taiwan extensively reported. Looking into the occasion, the venue, the function, and the types of musical performances,

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neighboring East Asian colonies of Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria remained Japan’s most important colonies.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>54</sup> Wan-Yao Chou, *Taiwan li shi tu shuo: shi qian zhi 1945 nian* [Taiwan History in Iconography: Prehistory to 1945], 2nd ed. (Taipei: Lian jing chu ban shi ye gong si, 1998), 142-44.

I argue that engaging in music is one of the most basic schemes the Japanese utilized to colonize Taiwan while the Taiwanese utilized to express their needs of living in a colonial society. Musiking allowed the Japanese and the Taiwanese to negotiate their subjectivity, intentions, and existence in their colonial social and cultural contexts.

To musik is to negotiate with music as object, site and process.<sup>55</sup> When Christopher Small coined the word “musicking” and proposed using “music” as a verb instead of noun, he problematized the convention of equating musical works with music, and emphasized performance, in which people participate to establish social relationships and meanings.<sup>56</sup> Joseph S. C. Lam’s theory of “to musik/musiking” takes the concept further to emphasize human engagement and discourse in musical activities; thus he proposes to approach music “as a nexus of people’s expressions and interactions in particular times and places.”<sup>57</sup> With this analytical framework, music no longer needs to be approached solely as specific musical works produced or assigned for the intended performance or consumption; music can be flexibly approached as objects that embody or represent sonic expressions, or as sites that musical sounds particularize so that

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<sup>55</sup> Joseph S.C. Lam, “Male Bonding in Ming China,” *NAN Nü* 9 (2007): 81.

<sup>56</sup> Small, *Musicking: the meanings of performing and listening*, 9.

<sup>57</sup> Lam, “Male Bonding in Ming China,” 81f.



individual participants can strategically negotiate their agendas with targeted partners in specific times and places.

Musiking thus allows flexible and meaningful examination of the negotiations generated in the Taiwanese soundscape in early Japanese colonization, when the Japanese and Taiwanese engaged with one another in a newly-created context. In the first decade of colonization, numerous musical activities occurred in Taiwan in diverse locations, featuring different contents, and involving a large number of participants. These musical events expressed and catalyzed the implementation of the colonial polity. As such, musiking is a prism that reveals the different dynamics of musical and colonial Taiwan.

In the next chapters, I will analyze Japanese and Taiwanese musiking in the early colonial period. I will begin by describing the ways the Japanese musiked to implement colonization, and then move on to explain Taiwanese musiking to maintain their traditions. The Japanese “colonizing through musiking” was a comprehensive process. The tactics involved implementing music education in colonial schools, installing colonial holidays and celebrations with music, creating a specific ritual and music space of the *Taiwan Jinja* (Taiwan Shinto Shrine) to symbolize colonial governance, and celebrating the modernizing project of the cross-island railroad. Taiwanese musiking was characterized by the Taiwanese elites’ attempts to maintain the Confucian temple

ceremony and by the continuation of traditional musical life in colonial Taiwan. In either Japanese-initiated or Taiwanese-maintained musiking, the colonizers and the colonized generated their intended expressions and communications through performing, hearing, and referencing musical objects, and manipulating them at particularized sites to strategically advance their specific agendas. By musiking with one another, the Taiwanese and the Japanese generated a new and hybridized soundscape that subsequently became the foundation of twentieth-century musical Taiwan.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORIZING AND HISTORICIZING MUSICAL TAIWAN UNDER JAPANESE RULE

Two major forces have constructed most contemporary knowledge about musical Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule: the larger framework of post-1949 Taiwan historiography, and the efforts of music scholars applying musicological and ethnomusicological methods to study musical Taiwan. In other words, post-1949 Taiwan historiography prescribes how the Taiwanese conceptualize their past; and this conceptualization guides how the Taiwanese historicize their musical experiences.

This chapter begins with an overview of musical Taiwan's soundscape in historical perspective, and how musical Taiwan has been historicized in two representative music histories. Then it will discuss the trajectory of post-1949 historiography of Taiwan to contextualize the development of music studies, particularly with respect to the treatment of colonial musical Taiwan. Post-1949 historiography positions Taiwan in relation to China, and thus can only see

Japanese colonial Taiwan and its music culture through a “Chinese” prism. The epistemology of music studies in Taiwan is based on genres and styles, and as a result, contemporary historical narratives of musical Taiwan are informative about individual genres, but have not yet extensively explored the dynamic interactions between Japanese colonialism and local Taiwanese music cultures.

### **I. The Soundscape of Musical Taiwan: Dynamics in Historical Perspective**

As demonstrated in Chapter One, Taiwan’s political and cultural past over the last four centuries was dominated by foreign powers. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the political authorities that ruled Taiwan came from outside the island, bringing immigrants and their cultural practices and forcing interactions between natives, locals, and newcomers. This pattern of interaction shaped the development of Taiwanese society and culture as a diverse and layered phenomenon. Musical Taiwan developed in this historical context as a complex, dynamic, hybrid, and even contradictory soundscape.

Therefore, musical Taiwan must be investigated and understood with reference to its geopolitical and cultural history. The foundation of musical Taiwan was first launched by the aborigines, who were ancient immigrants to the island. Archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests that the aboriginal Taiwanese, namely the Austronesians who arrived, settled and left the island in

waves of migration, lived in the plains as well as the mountains of the island.

The varied geography allowed them to live in isolation or in contact with other tribes and new immigrants. They probably built a musical culture that was nourished by intermittent episodes of both cultural contact and isolation.

Starting in the seventeenth century, colonization and immigration-settlement into Taiwan intensified, a development that forcibly and quickly added layers of cultural dynamics and interactions. In the mid-seventeenth century, Dutch colonization forced aboriginal Taiwan to confront European and Christian elements. Christian hymns, whether sung in the Dutch language or in the aboriginal languages, came and faded as the Dutch ruled Taiwan and were subsequently expelled. Brief as it was, the Dutch colonization of Taiwan nevertheless left practical legacies, which included written and romanized forms of the aboriginal languages. The Dutch/Christian influence on aboriginal musical Taiwan can hardly be pinpointed today; but it is a historical fact that should be recognized and probed.

From the late-seventeenth to the late-nineteenth century, a large and continuous influx of Chinese immigrants not only modified the ethnic and cultural landscape of Taiwan, but also its soundscape. As aboriginal Taiwan became Sinicized Taiwan, the Chinese music cultures brought by the immigrant-settlers dominated the Taiwanese soundscape. Some of the aborigines, especially

those of the southwestern Plains, became absorbed into the world of the increasing Chinese population and its cultural influences. Intermarriage, acculturation, and ecological-economic change contributed to the voluntary and involuntary integration of the Plains aboriginal Taiwanese. Consequently, Qing Chinese bureaucrats and local history editors wrote some descriptions of the exotic songs, dance, and musical instruments of Plains aborigines.<sup>1</sup> In present-day Taiwan, the musical sound of the southwest Plains aborigines can only be heard in an ancestral worship ritual performed by a small group of Siraya descendants.<sup>2</sup>

As the increasing Chinese immigrant-settlers brought regional popular musical practices from the mainland, their genres generated new native or pseudo-native musical traditions. Commoner immigrants from the Fujian province, for example, transmitted Holo folksongs, while elite immigrants from the same region brought *nanguan* music in ensemble form and enjoyed operas accompanied by *nanguan* music. *Nanguan* (lit. “southern pipes”), also named *nanyin* (lit. “southern music”), is performed by a core ensemble composed of the *pipa* (pear-shaped lute), *sanxian* (three-stringed lute), *erxian* (two-stringed fiddle),

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<sup>1</sup> Hsu, *Taiwan yin yue shi chu gao* [Music History of Taiwan: First Draft], 11-18.

<sup>2</sup> Lü, *Taiwan chuan tong yin yue gai lun: ge yue pian* (Taiwanese Traditional Music: vocal music), 36-37.

*dongxiao* (vertical end-blown flute), and *paiban* (wooden clappers).<sup>3</sup> The Hakka-speaking population from western Fujian and eastern Guangdong brought their folksong tradition of *shange*, mountain songs, and practiced several types of *bayin* music. The *bayin* music used in celebrations such as temple festivals and weddings is performed exclusively by large and small *suona* (oboe-like reed instruments) and percussion instruments of gongs, cymbals, and drums. For recreation and entertainment, a *bayin* ensemble is led by a flute or *suona* and features string instruments of two-string fiddles in various sizes and plucked lutes.<sup>4</sup> In addition to musical traditions specific to the coastal regions and dialects, other mainland musical styles and genres also came to Taiwan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, *beiguan*, a musical and operatic style sharing common roots with northern Chinese operas such as the Peking Opera, came to Taiwan and was transformed into a unique Taiwanese musical and linguistic style. Operas from the Fujian, Guangdong, and Chaozhou areas also became popular among the Taiwanese. The small group of powerful literati embraced *yayue*, refined and civilized music, and practiced *qin* (seven-stringed

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<sup>3</sup> Nora Yeh, "Nanguan Music Repertoire: Categories, Notation, and Performance Practice," *Asian Music* 19 (1988), provides a survey on *nanguan* music in the ensemble form.

<sup>4</sup> Zheng Rongxing, "Taiwan ke zu chuan tong yin yue [Traditional Music of the Taiwanese Hakka]," in *Taiwan yinyue yuelan* [Survey of Music of Taiwan], ed. Chen Yuxiu (Taipei: Yushanshe, 1997), 108-111.

zither) music, poem reciting, and Confucian ritual music.<sup>5</sup> The gentry, as a matter of fact, subsequently became critical sponsors and transmitters of Confucian ritual and music in the local Taiwanese Confucian temples.

By the late-nineteenth century, musical Taiwan boasted many genres and styles associated with race, ethnicity, linguistic and regional origin, and social class. The prominent aboriginal Taiwanese of the seventeenth century and before became marginal, but aboriginal music of the mountain tribes and some Plains tribes were still heard as a minority voice in the newly-transformed Taiwanese soundscape, one that was now dominated by the operas, music ensembles, and folksongs of the Holo- and Hakka-speaking immigrants.

In the twentieth century, two distinctive ruling powers, the Japanese and the KMT, came to the island from outside and introduced new musical sounds which further transformed the Taiwanese soundscape. The Japanese annexed Taiwan in 1895 and introduced modern and Westernized cultural practices. *Shōka*, Japanese school songs modeled after Western school songs and modified for Japanese schools came to the island in 1895 and soon became a critical and pan-Taiwanese musical experience. *Shōka* subsequently paved the foundation for Taiwanese people to accept and adopt Western-style music. In the late-1920s to

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<sup>5</sup> For a case study of Taiwanese elites' musical engagements, see Yang Xiangling, "Qing ji Taiwan zhu qian di fang shi shen di yin yue huo dong -- yi Lin, Zheng, liang da jia zu wei zhong xin [Musical Activities of the Qing Taiwanese Elites of the Hsinchu region: cases of the Lin and Zheng clans]" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 2001).



the mid-1930s, the need for music to accompany silent film viewing generated a Taiwanese phonograph market of popular songs, most of them created and performed by Taiwanese who were educated in colonial schools and had acquired their modern musical experiences and knowledge through *shōka*.

During the relatively stable and prosperous colonial decades, traditional Taiwanese musical life continued and even thrived. Mainland Chinese troupes were recruited by the Taiwanese to perform in the newly developed venues of commercial theatre in the cities and towns of colonial Taiwan.<sup>6</sup> Through these troupes the Taiwanese learned of and became fascinated with genres fashionable and popular in the mainland, such as the Peking Opera. The cross-strait theatrical traffic stimulated the rise of *gezaixi* (a.k.a. the Taiwanese Opera), the only native-born Taiwanese operatic genre, in the 1920s and 1930s.

Japanese music scholarship also contributed to the changing Taiwanese soundscape, and left a lasting epistemological legacy in the field of Taiwan aborigines and their musics by consolidating scholarly curiosity upon the Austronesian minority. Since the early colonial period, Japanese scholars, commissioned and sponsored by the colonial government, had traveled

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<sup>6</sup> Xu Yaxiang has provided analyses about the cultural inspiration the Taiwanese theatre obtained from the frequent visits of mainland Chinese troupes during the Japanese colonial period. Xu Yaxiang, *Ri zhi shi qi Zhongguo xi ban zai Taiwan* [*Chinese troupes in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period*] (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju, 2000). Xu Yaxiang, *Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi qu shi lun: Xian dai hua zuo yong xia de ju zhong yu ju chang* [*On the History of Taiwanese Theatre and Operas in the Japanese Colonial Period: theatrical genres and revenues in the field of modernity*] (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju, 2006a).

extensively throughout Taiwan to document the languages and cultures of the aborigines. In 1900, two Japanese scholars pioneered the first systematic classification of the Taiwan aborigines.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the colonial period, surveys and research conducted by many institutions affiliated with the colonial authority established a database for devising proper administrative policies to control the aborigines. The Japanese fascination with Taiwan aboriginal musics led musicologist Tanabe Hisao to travel to Taiwan in 1922, and in 1943 musicologist Kurosawa Takamoto visited all the major mountain aboriginal groups and produced comprehensive documentation.<sup>8</sup> Japanese scholars established aboriginal music as the unique aspect of the Taiwanese soundscape, and made the minority voices of the aborigines highly noticeable in scholarly inquiries.

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<sup>7</sup> Weng Jiayin, *Yi lun Taiwan shi [Alternative Thoughts about Taiwan History]* (Taipei: Dao xiang chu ban she, 2001), 26. For a description of the early colonial anthropological research conducted primarily by Inō Kanori (1867-1925) and Torii Ryūzō (1870-1953), see Paul D. Barclay, "An Historian among the Anthropologists: the Inō Kanori Revival and the Legacy of Japanese Colonial Ethnography in Taiwan," *Japanese Studies* 21(2) (2001): 117-136.

<sup>8</sup> Taiwan was part of the trip Tanabe Hisao made to survey musics of the several Japanese colonies. The imperial and colonial nature of Tanabe's music trip is discussed by Shuhei Hosokawa, "In Search of the Sound of Empire: Tanabe Hisao and the Foundation of Japanese Ethnomusicology," *Japanese Studies* 18 (1998). Kurosawa Takamoto's documentation of Taiwan aboriginal musics resulted in the monograph *Taiwan Takasago-zoku no ongaku (The music of Takasago Tribe in Formosa)* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1973). An analysis of Kurosawa's research and its purposeful association with wartime Japanese imperialism can be seen in Ying-fen Wang, "Music Research and Japanese Imperial Colonialism: Putting Tanabe's and Kurosawa's fieldwork in Taiwan in Context," (paper presented at Society for Ethnomusicology 45th annual meeting, Toronto, November 1-5, 2000); and Ying-fen Wang, *Ting jian zhi min di: Hei Ze Long Chao yu zhan shi Taiwan yin yue dia cha (Listening to the Colony Kurosawa Takatomo and the wartime survey of Formosan music(1943))*. (Taipei: National Taiwan University Library, 2008).

As described above, musical Taiwan developed in specific historical, cultural and political contexts. For that reason, the music history of Taiwan cannot be narrated as a conglomeration of genres or as stylistic evolution. To explain the cultural and historical dynamics of Taiwanese musical culture, analysis of genres and styles must be coordinated with investigations of historical, cultural, social and political dynamics.

## II. Current Scholarship in Historicizing Musical Taiwan

To demonstrate both the achievements and limitations of the current scholarship on musical Taiwan, a discussion of two recent music histories of Taiwan will suffice. In 1991, Hsu Tsang-Houei (Xu Changhui, 1929-2001), a leading Taiwanese composer and musicologist of the twentieth century, published his *Taiwan yinyueshi chugao* [*Music History of Taiwan: First Draft*] (hereafter *First Draft*) and attempted to give a general narrative of musical Taiwan. *First Draft* discusses many genres and traditions, but its historical perspective on musical Taiwan is essentially one of classification by type and genre.

Hsu categorizes the music of Taiwan into three major categories, which are Aboriginal music (*yuanzhumin yinyue*), Han Chinese folk music (*hanzu minjian yinyue*), and Western-style music (*xishi xinyinyue*). These three categories of

music came to Taiwan at different times, and Hsu uses them to construct musical Taiwan as a phenomenon of three musical layers. Aboriginal music forms the oldest layer of Taiwanese music culture, Han Chinese music traditions of the Holo and the Hakka immigrant-settlers the middle, and Western-style music the newest layer.<sup>9</sup>

Such a historization is practical and convenient as it reflects, to some extent, the historical and musical past of Taiwan, and coordinates the many musical traditions of Taiwan into a linear history. It also explains the transformation of the Taiwanese soundscape from the aboriginal to the Chinese to the Westernized and the modern. The linearity of the historical narrative suggests a residual and directional relationship between the three categories.

Hsu clearly shows the linear history by the way he approaches the Japanese colonial period of musical Taiwan. Hsu historicized the Japanese colonial period as a part of the third layer, when Western-style music was introduced and developed in Taiwan. Positioning the colonial period as a time of modernization, Hsu cites specific aspects that demonstrated the grounding of Western music in Taiwan. Hsu credits music education in the colonial schools as the major institution that introduced Western-style music, but focuses on biographies of Taiwanese musicians, most of whom were educated in colonial

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<sup>9</sup> Hsu, *Taiwan yin yue shi chu gao* [Music History of Taiwan: First Draft], 3.

schools and then trained in Western Classical music in Japan.<sup>10</sup> Hsu's historicizing of Western-style music in Taiwan is broad, as it includes popular music and the phonograph market which developed in the 1930s.<sup>11</sup>

As a pioneering work of the history of musical Taiwan, Hsu's music history of the Japanese colonial period is factual and informative: it identifies the factors (colonial musical education) and personnel (musicians) that developed Western music in Taiwan in the first half of the twentieth century. However, Hsu's history identifies the legacy of the Japanese colonial period only as the introduction of Western music. Even within this realm, Hsu hardly explores the dynamics of the colonial political and social context that contributed to and defined Taiwanese acceptance and adoption of Western-style music.

A little more than a decade later, Lü Yuxiu published her *Taiwan yinyue shi* [*Music History of Taiwan*], explaining musical Taiwan with descriptions of musical life and musical sounds.<sup>12</sup> Lü's history is divided into two parts as she utilizes two schemes to present musical Taiwan. In the first part, to narrate Taiwanese musical life historically, Lü periodizes musical Taiwan according to political history. Thus her periods of musical Taiwan include the pre-historical, Dutch (1624-1662), Zheng kingdom and Qing period (1662-1895), Japanese

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<sup>10</sup> Hsu, *Taiwan yin yue shi chu gao* [*Music History of Taiwan: First Draft*], 259-69.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 271-74.

<sup>12</sup> Lü Yuxiu, *Taiwan yin yue shi* [*Music History of Taiwan*] (Taipei: Wunan publication, 2003).

colonization (1895-1945), post-World War II (1945-1987), and post-Martial Law era (1987 onward). Within each period, Lü describes the musical life or musical sounds according to the three categories of music that Hsu establishes, which are the aboriginal, the Han Chinese traditional, and the Western-style. In the second part, to explicate the musical styles and characters of each category, Lü employs musical artifacts. Drawing from contemporary and historical ethnographic data, Lü analyzes many kinds of musical objects – notation, transcription, recordings, instruments, performance styles, and compositions.

Contrasting with Hsu's linear progression of musical transformation, Lü attempts to present the coexistence of major musical cultures in Taiwan throughout its history by highlighting a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic musical Taiwan. Focusing on the musical sounds and their styles, Lü provides short descriptions of the general political and social contexts of the musical life she describes. For instance, when discussing the Japanese colonial period, Lü lists music studies and publication, aboriginal music, Han traditional music, and Western-style music as the major categories of musical Taiwan.<sup>13</sup> The coverage is broader than Hsu's discussion of the same historical period, but the resultant picture is surprisingly similar. In her discussion of Western-style music, Lü includes more information about teachers, musicians, compositions, and

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 93-145.

performance activities unearthed since Hsu's publication in 1991. To understand how actively the Taiwanese pursued Western music in the Japanese colonial period, Lü describes the musical groups of small orchestras, bands, chamber music ensembles, and choirs launched in Taiwan to practice and perform Western music from 1920 to 1945.<sup>14</sup> However, the historical process of how the Taiwanese accepted new musical experiences and developed Western musicality from singing *shōka* remains under-addressed. In other words, the connection between the colonial music education that began in 1895 and the Taiwanese active engagement with Western music since the 1920s remains an assumption rather than knowledge explicated by proper data and interpretations.

To delineate multicultural Taiwan in the Japanese colonial period, Lü provides descriptions of Han Chinese traditional music. Lü highlights *nanguan* and *beiguan*, listing the names and activities of the old and new music clubs and ensembles.<sup>15</sup> Lü cites the visit of Prince Hirohito to the colony of Taiwan in 1923 as a major factor stimulating the thriving *nanguan* and *beiguan* activities.<sup>16</sup> The analysis, though centering only on one single event of the imperial visit, points to what scholars of musical Taiwan have noticed but not yet fully probed: the interaction between colonial polity and local music traditions.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 132-33.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 119-23.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 120-21; 122-23.

The achievements and limitations of these two general music histories of Taiwan point to the challenges of historicizing musical Taiwan. Both Hsu and Lü rely heavily on contemporary fieldwork and recordings and transcriptions to imagine the history of musical Taiwan, and attempt to objectify the past with sketchy historical records, so their interpretations find little evidential support from the past. And since both histories specifically focus on musical sounds and gloss over interactions between sonic expressions and non-sonic forces in musical Taiwan, the resultant narratives hardly project a comprehensive picture of musical Taiwan of the past. The gap in the histories of Hsu and Lü exposes the need to further examine the historiography of music of Taiwan, as the methodology to properly historicize musical Taiwan is still being developed and explored.

### **III. The Trajectory of Taiwan Historiography in Post-1949 Taiwan**

The two music histories of Taiwan discussed above by Hsu Tsang-Houei (1991) and Lü Yuxiu (2003) were written along the trajectory of post-1949 Taiwan historiography. In order to write a music history of Taiwan that transcends the limitations of established historical narratives as represented by Hsu and Lü, a review of their historiographic contexts is needed. Post-1949 Taiwan historiography is formulated, shaped and reshaped by Taiwan's active and



passive involvement in post-1949 Chinese politics, Cold War antagonism and its dissolution from the 1950s to the 1980s, and the process of democratization that brought new contexts to shape the meta-narratives of history.<sup>17</sup>

In 1949, the Chinese Nationalists (*Kuomintang*, hereafter KMT) lost the civil war to the Chinese Communists and fled to Taiwan, an island that had been a Japanese colony (1895-1945) for five decades. In 1947, two years before the KMT arrival and just after Taiwan was returned to China, Taiwanese living on the island experienced bitter conflicts with the administrators sent by the KMT government then in mainland China. The KMT officials did not understand Taiwan and the Taiwanese people, whose culture and society had been deeply transformed by five decades of Japanese colonization. When the KMT reclaimed Taiwan from war-defeated Japan, the Chinese did not expect to encounter a society very different from that of mainland China and invested little effort to understand the difference.

To quickly consolidate its rule of the island, the KMT chose to ignore the Japanese colonial past of the Taiwanese. This meant that they wanted to eradicate all Japanese residue in Taiwan, and to re-absorb Taiwan and the

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<sup>17</sup> Taiwanese scholar Zhang Yanxian summarizes the development of studying Taiwan history and the evolving narrative views in post-1949 Taiwan into three stages. According to Zhang, the scholarly interest in studying Taiwan, the changing political contexts, and the evolving views are closely correlated to each other. Zhang Yanxian, "Taiwan shi yan jiu di xin jing sheng [New Spirits in Taiwan Historical Studies]," *Taiwan Shiliao Yanjiu (Taiwan Historical Materials Studies)* no.1 (1993): 76-86. Here I follow Zhang's three stages to discuss the trajectory of post-1949 Taiwan historiography.

Taiwanese into the Chinese nation. To “(re)nationalize”<sup>18</sup> or “resinicize”<sup>19</sup> the Taiwanese, the KMT emphasized the historical and cultural connections between Taiwan and China, and focused on narrating Taiwan as an inseparable part of China, which the KMT planned to someday reclaim. As a result, KMT Nationalists promoted and sanctioned the study of Han China – history, geography, literature, and the national language of Mandarin – and at the same time suppressed knowledge about Taiwan. They considered learning about the local (Taiwan) instead of the national (China) a deviation to bring attention to the Taiwanese historical and experiential difference from the mainland Chinese, which would potentially create a separatist discourse, one that the KMT did not want to hear and thus labored to eradicate.

With the crisis of losing China to the Communists eminently felt, narrating Taiwan into China became an urgent work for KMT historians. They endeavored not only to explain the tie between mainland China and Taiwan but also to justify the KMT stance and presence on the island. Thus, the early years of KMT control of Taiwan (1949-1960s) were filled with calls to preserve and revive traditional Chinese culture on the island. These calls were in sharp contrast to the Communists’ stance of revolutionizing China by demolishing its historical and

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<sup>18</sup> Allen Chun, “From Nationalism to Nationalizing: Cultural Imagination and State Formation in Postwar Taiwan,” in *Chinese Nationalism*, ed. Jonathan Unger (Armonk, NY, 1996), 131.

<sup>19</sup> Alan M. Wachman, *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization*. (Armond, NY and London: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1994), 82.

cultural traditions, and allowed the KMT to project the image of being the perpetuator of traditional Chinese culture. The KMT re-shaped the Taiwanese teaching and learning about China, and made research on Chinese history the most important and exclusive concern of Taiwan's academic establishment.<sup>20</sup>

Given this political and social context, scholars studying Taiwan in this period were only focused on describing it as historically and culturally connected with the mainland. A representative example of such Taiwan historiography is Guo Tingyi's *Taiwan Shishi Gaishou* [Introduction to Taiwan's Historical Events]:

It is no doubt that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China; it is related to China just like the provinces of Shandong, Henan, Fujian, or Guangdong. The difference is only geography: Taiwan is an island, and others are in the mainland. However, because of the gap of the waterway, the few people who have other thoughts may deliberately argue for its separation from China [...].  
[...] Because of the dividing waterway, Taiwan developed a little later than other parts of China. But the huge achievement of the Chinese nation (*zhonghua minzu*) here in Taiwan, the completeness of Chinesization (*zhongguohua*) or sinicization (*hanhua*) of Taiwan, and the rapid cultural

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<sup>20</sup> Q. Edward Wang, "Taiwan shi xue di bian yu bu bian: 1949-1999 [Tradition and Transformation: Historical Studies in Taiwan, 1949-1999]: 1949-1999," *Taida li shi xue bao* [National Taiwan University Journal of History] (1999): 331. The Taiwanese academia at this time was dominated by Chinese scholars who came to Taiwan from the mainland following the KMT exile, and very few native Taiwanese scholars worked in academia. This peculiar academic environment was caused by the sudden change of the reign of Taiwan in 1945 and the quick imposition of Mandarin as the only language usable in the public domain. A generation of Taiwanese intellectuals was made "illiterates" because the politics forced them to lose the cultural capital affiliated with the Japanese language education. A handful of Taiwanese chose to stay in Japan, for it was the only place where they could capitalize on their acquired cultural and educational assets. See Wan-Yao Chou, *Hai xing xi de nian dai: Riben zhi min tong zhi mo qi Taiwan shi lun ji* [The Time of Umiyukaba: Essays on Taiwan History in Late Japanese Colonial Period] (Taipei: Yun chen wen hua, 2003), 12. Few Taiwanese intellectuals managed to learn and master Mandarin Chinese, the new official language imposed on Taiwan; and even fewer were able to work in an academic institution, which the exiled KMT polity needed to control the discourses it produced for ideology and security concerns.

progression have made Taiwan not only superior to some frontiers of the mainland but also not inferior to the China proper (*zhongyuan fudi*). Taiwan is truly the latecomer with high achievements.<sup>21</sup>

It is apparent that Taiwan historians of the 1950s only wrote the history of the island to claim or clarify the relationship between Taiwan and China as inseparable.

The notion that Taiwan was an integral but regional part of China and that Taiwan was a repository of traditional Chinese culture led to arguments that Taiwan could serve as a gateway for Westerners and other outsiders to study Chinese society, culture, and customs. These arguments were realistic because at the time much of China's territory was politically and physically inaccessible for most Taiwanese or Western scholars of Chinese studies. Furthermore, this view, needless to say, matched the KMT government's self-acclaimed image as the guardian of orthodox Chinese culture.<sup>22</sup>

This notion was not without some factual basis. The continuous influx of Chinese immigrant-settlers to Taiwan during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made the Han Chinese a population and cultural majority

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<sup>21</sup> Guo Tingyi, *Taiwan shi shi gai shuo* [Introduction to Taiwan's Historical Events] (Taipei: Cheng Chung Bookstore, 1954), preface. This work by Guo is often cited as representing the official view of advocating Taiwan as an inseparable part of China. The frequent citation of this work is possibly due to the scarcity of general history of Taiwan and also because of Guo's prestigious position as the founder of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica.

<sup>22</sup> Zhang, "Taiwan shi yan jiu di xin jing sheng [New Spirits in Taiwan Historical Studies]," 82. Wang, "Taiwan shi xue di bian yu bu bian: 1949-1999 [Tradition and Transformation: Historical Studies in Taiwan, 1949-1999]: 1949-1999," 358.

on the island. Seen through the prism of such a majority, Taiwanese society was a transplantation of Han Chinese culture, if not a duplicate. Given such arguments, studying Taiwan became a means to understand Han Chinese society and culture, traditional or modernized.<sup>23</sup> Studying Taiwan as Chinese society was amplified by foreign scholars. The United States' academia supported the view that the "Chinese character" of Taiwan rendered the island as a substitute to study China.<sup>24</sup> This view was practical during the Cold War years when US Cold War policy gave Taiwan strategic value, and when it was difficult for most Westerners to enter and study China under the Communists.<sup>25</sup>

Under the umbrella of Taiwan's assumed "Chineseness," the island became a lab site filled with empirical data about Chinese society and culture,

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<sup>23</sup> Taiwanese sociologist Chen Shaoxin (1906-1966) discusses whether studying Chinese society can be conducted in Taiwan in lieu of the phenomenon that Western scholars went to Taiwan or Hong Kong to conduct China studies because of the inaccessibility to the actual China. Chen Shaoxin, *Taiwan di ren kou bian qian yu she hui bian qian* [*The Population Development and Society Transformation of Taiwan*] (Taipei: Lian jing chu ban, 1979), 1-7. Calling Taiwan a "laboratory" of studying Chinese society in a paper written in 1965/66, Chen points out that Taiwan could not represent China, but the short history, small area, and available documents render Taiwan a laboratory to construct patterns of population development and social transformation of a Chinese society. In other words, to use Taiwan as a gateway to see China requires proper contextualization so that the sociological and/or cultural data could be interpreted meaningfully.

<sup>24</sup> Douglas Fix, "Mei guo xue shu jie di Taiwan shi yan jiu [The Study of Taiwan History in American Academia]." *Dandai (Con-temporary)* no. 30 (October 1988): 57.

<sup>25</sup> Several writers have pointed out the influence of US China policy during the Cold War era on the self-imaging of Taiwan, in addition to what had been propagated in Taiwan by the Nationalist government. For example, Zhang, "Taiwan shi yan jiu di xin jing sheng [New Spirits in Taiwan Historical Studies]"; and Wang, "Taiwan shi xue di bian yu bu bian: 1949-1999 [Tradition and Transformation: Historical Studies in Taiwan, 1949-1999]: 1949-1999." For a critique and examination of treating Taiwan as a substitute for studying China in US academia, see Fix, "Mei guo xue shu jie di Taiwan shi yan jiu [The Study of Taiwan History in American Academia]".

waiting to be excavated for study.<sup>26</sup> Taiwan as China, however, was a controlled site of scholarly inquiry and historical narrative: scholars could only examine its yield of data to advance the understanding of Han China. Whether Taiwan could be different from mainland China was not an acceptable research question. The assumption of Taiwan's Chineseness worked as a safety valve to elevate Taiwan into a pursuable subject in a time when China remained the ultimate center of historical enquiry, and so Taiwan's differences from China remained carefully kept beneath the surface.

Such ideological and political control, however, could not last permanently. Many events that took place in Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s prompted questioning the KMT's legitimacy and ideology. In 1971 the United Nations recognized the People's Republic of China (PRC) as the legitimate government of China; until then, Taiwan, with the name Republic of China, was the recognized China. With such diplomatic change, Taiwan not only lost its membership in the United Nations but also its geopolitical identity as the official and legitimate China. In the following years, Taiwan, carrying the title of ROC, rapidly lost diplomatic ties with sovereign nations, one after another. In 1979 the

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<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, the notion that the Taiwanese society is undoubtedly a Chinese society extended from the mainland was not unchallenged, especially considering the historical processes of emigration, settlement, and colonization which occurred in Taiwan in just a few centuries. For a critique of the research conducted in Taiwan by Western scholars to study Chinese society, see Stephen O. Murray and Keelung Hong, *Taiwanese Culture, Taiwanese Society* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994).

United States established official diplomatic ties with the PRC, recognizing its legitimate authority over Chinese people and territory. The diplomatic relationship between Taiwan and the US was downgraded to an unofficial friendly tie. As a diplomatic outcast and losing the US as a crucial supporter, “Taiwan” became a question. The Taiwanese people began to ask “what Taiwan’s identity is”, and to imagine what kind of future any perceived identity might lead the Taiwanese. The KMT’s call for returning to and reclaiming the mainland from the iron curtain of the Chinese Communists, at one time the ultimate call the Taiwanese had been demanded to embrace, became empty ideological rhetoric. Questions of whether Taiwan’s future lay only in reunifying into “the great China,” or if Taiwan could choose its own future, emerged in many forms.<sup>27</sup> Responding to Taiwan’s national and cultural identity crisis, the question of Taiwan became a theme widely explored in literary works, popular songs, and public debates.<sup>28</sup> Differentiated identity discourses, once severely repressed, could no longer be silenced. The China-centered historiography could

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<sup>27</sup> Thomas Gold, “Taiwan’s Quest for Identity in the Shadow of China,” in *In the Shadow of China: Political Developments in Taiwan since 1949*, ed. Steve Tsang (Honolulu, 1993), 176-83.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Gold surveys identity issues represented in novels, short stories, and song lyrics. *Ibid.*, 182-92. Chen Fangming has compiled a collection of articles engaging in debating the meanings and contents of Taiwanese identity. Chen Fangming, *Taiwan yi shi lun zhang xuan ji [Selective Readings of Debates on Taiwanese Consciousness]*. (Irvine, CA: Taiwan chubanshe [the Taiwan Publisher], 1985). Taiwan’s diplomatic and identity crises also inspired a new style of songs and lyrics, which later entered the mainstream popular music market. Zhang Zhaowei, *Shei zai na bian chang zi ji di ge [Who’s There Singing His/Her Own Songs?]* (Taipei: Shibao Wenhua, 1994).

no longer maintain its unchallenged status as the official historical narrative, and Taiwan became a focus of scholarly and historical investigation.

Having allowed Taiwan to become internationally isolated, the KMT could no longer sustain Martial Law, which was launched in 1949 to suspend democracy in order to expedite Mainland Recovery. Constructing a new strategy for its own realistic survival in Taiwan, President Chiang Ching-Kuo, who was also the KMT party leader, lifted Martial Law in 1987. The act dissipated authoritarian ideological control and ushered in growing democracy and freedom in Taiwan. A new set of social and cultural dynamics emerged. As Nancy Guy observes, after the late-1980s the forces guiding social changes in Taiwan no longer came from the party-state; they came from the Taiwanese people's social needs.<sup>29</sup> Among free and perhaps contested expressions were many previously prohibited topics. All were now open to discussion, and contrasting sets of values and discourses could compete for audiences. No single discourse would monopolize public attention as before.

In addition to the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, many other historical and social factors also contributed to the development of a new Taiwan historiography, one that challenged former notions that Taiwan could only be understood as part of China. As a result of such efforts, many Taiwanese

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<sup>29</sup> Nancy Guy, "How Does 'Made in Taiwan' Sound?: Popular music and strategizing the sounds of a multicultural nation." *Perfect Beat* 5:3 (2001): 2.



advocated for the revival of indigenous traditions and cultural expressions. First, beginning in the 1980s, Taiwanese society saw a surge of the local, the native, and the indigenous, and there were many attempts to redefine Taiwan as a multicultural and multiethnic community. Second, especially since 1987, the once-repressed discourse of Taiwan independence was revived with the quest for the indigenous and the Taiwanese. Third, the re-opening of traffic between Taiwan and mainland China since 1987 allowed Taiwanese to visit the “fatherland”, and bring home mixed feelings of being different and/or connected with mainland China.<sup>30</sup> When these mixed feelings are interpreted with reference to the increasing Taiwanese business investment in China, they evoke intense emotions that further color the charged issues of Taiwanese identity politics. When socialist China, a political entity that always claims Taiwan as an inseparable part of the “fatherland,” poses military threats to press Taiwan for reunification, or takes diplomatic actions to further isolate Taiwan in international relations, anti-Chinese reactions often erupt. Intensely emotional, the reactions often argue for Taiwanese differences and call for Taiwan’s independence as a nation-state. Fourth, both the academics and the general public have since embraced intellectual curiosity in learning about Taiwan, a subject matter that was marginalized due to previous cultural policies. Many

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<sup>30</sup> Hai Ren, “Taiwan and the Impossibility of the Chinese,” in *Negotiating Ethnicities in China and Taiwan*, ed. Melissa J. Brown (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 83-91.

people discover for the first time that they knew little about the place where they were born and grew up, and that quest of knowledge inevitably brings new perspectives of understanding and discoursing Taiwan.

The Taiwan historiography that has developed in the post-Martial Law era has two fundamental characters. First, instead of viewing Taiwan as a frontier or extended part of Chinese society, the new historiography focuses on understanding Taiwan in its *own* geopolitical terms, and on analyzing the ways social and cultural forces converged and interacted on the island throughout its history of maritime trade, immigration settlement, land exploitation, and foreign colonization. This new Taiwan-centered historiography impacts Taiwanese nationalistic discourse. Two of the most prominent results are studies about Aboriginal Taiwan,<sup>31</sup> and an open curiosity about Japanese colonial Taiwan. The two topics were not completely left out in previous historiographical stages, but were never given full attention. Their “non-Chineseness” rendered them marginal in discussions centering on Chinese culture and history. The Japanese

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<sup>31</sup> Lung-chih Chang provides a critique of how studying the Plains aborigines (*pinpuzu*, “the people living in the plains”) may lead to a new Taiwan historiography that breaks away from the traditional Chinese-Taiwanese centered historical view and moves toward a multiethnic and multicultural point of view. Lung-chih Chang, “Zhui xun shi luo di fu er mo sha bu luo: Taiwan pin pu zu chun shi yan jiu di fan si (The Search for the Lost Tribes of Formosa: Reflections on the Historical Study of Taiwan Plains Aborigines)” in *Taiwan shi yan jiu yi bai nian: hui gu yu yan jiu* (Anthology commemorating a century of Taiwan historical research), ed. Fu-san Huang, Wei-ying Ku, and Tsai-hsiu Tsai (Taipei: Zhong yang yan jiu yuan Taiwan shi yan jiu suo chou bei chu (the Preparatory Office for the Institute of Taiwan History Study, Academia Sinica), 1997), 257-272.

colonial period of Taiwan was in fact an embarrassing topic in the historiography that emphasized the oneness of Taiwan and China. Thus, many historical discussions glossed over this period by only selectively and strategically alluding to the anti-Japanese struggles of the Taiwanese. These allusions fit into Chinese nationalistic discourse, a prominent reaction to the Sino-Japanese war in the years of 1937 to 1945.

Second, identity politics has generated many difficult questions and conflicting answers for Taiwan historiography. These include, for example, questions and answers for “what is Taiwan?” “Who are the Taiwanese?” and “What is Taiwanese identity?” The questions and answers cannot ignore or remove reference to China, which casts a large shadow on Taiwan. Thus, identity politics almost become an undertone of Taiwan historiography.

Whether the current boom in Taiwan historiography can eventually help Taiwan find its own future by itself or with China is not a question historians of Taiwan can answer. Nevertheless, the question historians of Taiwan and Taiwanese culture cannot evade is how they can understand and interpret Taiwan in meaningful terms. For a music historian of Taiwan, the immediate concern is, how one can transcend the limitations of the music historiography developed and implemented by former scholars?

#### **IV. Musical Taiwan, the Development of Music Studies, and Musicology**

Music studies on historical and musical Taiwan followed the trajectory of Taiwan historiography discussed above. Nevertheless, music study also follows its own academic and social conventions. Teaching and research about Western classical music and Westernized Chinese music dominates most of the academic exercises in Taiwan's research and educational institutions, while learning and studying traditional and popular Chinese genres and native Taiwanese genres take place as the marginalized existence of formalized music education. Music scholars and the music historiography that Taiwanese musicologists produce can be selective and biased, as hinted by what Joseph S. C. Lam has pointed out in analyzing the pros and cons of contemporary Chinese music historiography and its paradigm.<sup>32</sup> Political, social, cultural, ideological, and intellectual factors, as well as the historian's personal perspectives and experiences, critically influence how Taiwan's musical past has been historicized.

#### **1949-1960s, Music of Taiwan: the Archaeology and Lineage of Chinese Origins**

The first account of musical Taiwan published after 1949 is Lü Sushang's *Taiwan dianying xiju shi* (*Historical Documents on Film and Drama in Taiwan*) in 1961.

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<sup>32</sup> Joseph S. C. Lam, "Chinese music historiography: From Yang Yinliu's A draft history of ancient Chinese music to Confucian Classics," *ACMR Reports: Journal of the Association for Chinese Music Research* 8 (1995).

This monograph is not a history dedicated to the music of Taiwan, and Lü is not a musicologist *per se*. Lü studied theatre and film in Japan and participated actively in Taiwan's theatrical life in the late Japanese colonial period and the early KMT period. As the title indicates, a major portion of Lü's work is about the development of cinema in Taiwan; the remaining portion, however, covers many theatrical genres seen in Taiwan, which includes spoken drama, radio, puppet theatre, and a number of Chinese operatic traditions the Taiwanese have adopted.

Lü's approach to the theatrical part of musical Taiwan can be characterized as genre-oriented and origination-focused. In its discussion of traditional theatre, it traces the roots of Taiwan's theatre to China and to the time of the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE). In its description of individual genres, Lü's history focuses on their Chinese origins.<sup>33</sup> In sum, Lü's "history of musical Taiwan" is a survey of the diverse theatrical genres in Taiwan, and an explanation of their Chinese origins. As a singular publication which did not attract much scholarly interest or debate, Lü's work is atypical and its impact on Taiwanese music historiography is hard to gauge. The genre-oriented and origination-focused approach to musical Taiwan was, however, widely practiced,

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<sup>33</sup> Except for *gezaixi* (often called "the Taiwanese Opera"), Peking Opera, and hand puppet theatre, of which the more recent impacts of colonial policy on their development have been discussed.

and its use can be found in a number of subsequently published studies of musical Taiwan.

### **1960s-1980s: Musicology and the Search for Cultural Traditions**

Musicological studies in Taiwan took off with the launching of the Folksong Collection Movement (*minge caiji yundong*) of the mid-1960s, which called attention to the living musical traditions. Initiated by Hsu Tsang-Houei and Shi Weiliang, two composers trained in Western classical music, the Folksong Collection Movement was modeled after the activities of Bartok and Kodaly, who recorded Hungarian peasant songs and made creative use of the collected materials into concert music compositions. Taiwanese folksong, for Hsu and Shi, formed a viable source for composers to create “modern Chinese music” with a national style.<sup>34</sup> Taiwanese folksong was, at the same time, a disappearing Chinese cultural tradition that required preservation. The two composers thus called for rediscovering and preserving the folksongs of Taiwan. In several trips to the rural and mountainous areas, the collection teams recorded songs of the Holo and the Hakka Taiwanese and of several Aboriginal tribes.

Although the Folksong Collection Movement ended after several field trips, it pushed the musicological study of musical Taiwan to a new stage. Even

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<sup>34</sup> Hsu Tsang-Houei, *Taiwan yin yue shi chu gao* [*History of Music of Taiwan: First Draft*] (Taipei: Quan yin yue pu chu ban she, 1991), 326.

though the field recordings were meant to document folksong traditions, they subsequently became research materials for musical scholarship and listening material for the public. The scholarship, in turn, became a force that raised public awareness of the vernacular and indigenous musics of Taiwan. The Folksong Collection Movement thus triggered a social movement that valorized neglected traditional music in Taiwan.

Discoursing Taiwanese folksongs as *a* traditional Chinese music echoed the view that Taiwan was a repository of Chinese culture. This view generated a number of studies on indigenous Taiwanese music culture, which were conducted between the mid-1960s to the 1980s to document and preserve the tangible traditions of Chinese culture. The music scholarship developed in conjunction with the Folksong Collection Movement was an idiosyncratic combination of ethnography, history, and musical analysis. Most scholars and students pursuing the scholarship were trained in Western Classical music, and tended to emphasize sonic objects through their representation in notation, recording, or transcription as entities whose musical structures can be analyzed in terms of tones, scales, instruments, and performance styles. Because fieldwork was the major tool to acquire these materials and develop detailed knowledge of the traditions, the historical understanding of the genres often meant tracing the origins of their existence. As a result, musical Taiwan was often historicized with

more references to its contemporary practices than to its historical manifestations. Many historical and musical descriptions of Taiwanese music thus followed a standardized narrative pattern. A typical study often provided some information about the social-cultural function of the genre it examined, and registered some data about its origination in the mainland and its arrival in Taiwan. The bulk of its description would take the form of a detailed musical analysis of tones, modes and scales, rhythmic patterns and other technical features.<sup>35</sup>

### **1990s and onward: Discovering Taiwanese Musical Experiences**

Studies of musical Taiwan entered a new stage in the post-Martial Law period. Scholarly and public curiosity and social sentiment about indigenous cultures and Taiwanese experiences have stimulated many efforts to find or identify the contents of Taiwanese music culture and the traces of Taiwanese musical experiences. As a result, many compilations surveying musical genres were published in the mid-1990s.<sup>36</sup> As information about musical Taiwan became available, the methodology and scope of Taiwan musicology expanded. For example, the social dimension of musical activities has become an integral part of

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<sup>35</sup> An example of this narrative pattern can be seen in Wang Zhenyi, *Taiwan di bei guan* [Beiguan of Taiwan] (Taipei: Bai ke wen hua shi ye gu fen you xian gong si, 1982). This said, as one of the pioneer studies of the *beiguan* music tradition in Taiwan, Wang's work is nonetheless informative.

<sup>36</sup> For example, Chen Yuxiu, ed., *Taiwan yin yue yue lan* [Music of Taiwan: A Reader] (Taipei: Yushanshe, 1997); *Yin yue Taiwan yi bai nian lun wan ji* [Hundred years of Musical Taiwan: Essays] (Taipei: Bailusi jijinhui, 1997); *Bai nian Taiwan yin yue tu xiang xun li* [A Journey to the Musical Iconography of Taiwan: a hundred years] (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 1998).



historical narratives of the music and musicians being examined.<sup>37</sup> By the same token, popular music also became a legitimate topic of music research.<sup>38</sup>

A prominent trend in the post-Martial Law era of Taiwan musicology is a growing interest in colonial Taiwan. Knowledge of this recent musical past of Taiwan had been ignored in pre-1987 music historiography of Taiwan. Credited as a historical force that introduced Western-style music to Taiwan, the Japanese colonial period first attracted attention to the colonial schools and the music education embedded therein,<sup>39</sup> and also to the pre-WWII generation of music teachers, performers, and composers.<sup>40</sup> Recognized as the era in which musical

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<sup>37</sup> For example, Ying-fen Wang, "Taiwan nanguan yi bai nian: she hui bian qian, wen hua zheng ce, yu nanguan huo dong [A Hundred Years of Taiwan's Nanguan: social transition, cultural policy, and nanguan ensemble activities]," in *Yin yue Taiwan yi bai nian lun wen ji [A Hundred Years of Musical Taiwan: conference proceedings and essays]*, ed. Chen Yuxiu (Taipei, 1997); Yang Xiangling, "Qing ji Taiwan zhu qian di fang shi shen di yin yue huo dong -- yi Lin, Zheng, liang da jia zu wei zhong xin [Musical Activities of the Qing Taiwanese Elites of the Hsinchu region: cases of the Lin and Zheng clans]" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 2001).

<sup>38</sup> For instance, Zeng Huijia, *Cong liuxing gequ kan taiwan shehui [Understanding Taiwanese society through Popular Songs]*. (Taipei: Laureate publisher, 1998); Zhang Chunlin, "Taiwan cheng shi ge qu zhi tan tao yu yan jiu, min guo er shi - qi shi nian [An Exploration of City Songs of Taiwan, 1931-1981]." (MA thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 1990); Zhang Zhaowei, *Shei zai na bian chang zi ji di ge [Who's There Singing His/Her Own Songs?]* (Taipei: Shibao wen hua, 1994).

<sup>39</sup> Liou Lin-Yu (Ryū Ringyoku), "Meijiki niokeru Taiwan no shōka kyōiku: 'Taiwan Kyōikukai zasshi' no kiji bunsaki wo chūshinni (The shoka education of colonial Taiwanese in the Meiji period: As reflected in the periodical Taiwan's educational academy)." *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū (Journal of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music)* 62 (1997); Liou Lin-Yu (Ryū Ringyoku), *Shokuminchi ka no Taiwan ni okeru gakkō shōka kyōiku no seiritsu to tenkai [The establishment and development of school song education on the colony Taiwan]* (Tokyo: Oyamaka, 2005); Sun Zhijun, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan shi fan xue xiao yin yue jiao yu zhi yang jiu [Music Education of Normal Schools in Taiwan under Japanese Rule]." (MA thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 1997).

<sup>40</sup> Chen Yuxiu and Sun Zhijun, *Zhang Fu Xing: Jin dai Taiwan di yi wei yin yue jia [Zhang Fuxing: The First Musician in Modern Taiwan]*. (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 2000); Lin Hengzhe, ed., *Xian dai yin yue da shi Jiang Wenye di sheng ping yu zuo pin [Life and Works of the modern music master Jiang Wenye]* (Irvine, CA: Taiwan Publisher, 1984); Zhang Huiwen, "Ri zhi shi qi nu gao yin Lin shi Hau di yin

modernity emerged in Taiwan, one that was heralded by the development of phonograph, its commercial market and popular music industry, the relationship between music technology and musical Taiwan was just beginning to be examined.<sup>41</sup> For example, the Japanese scholars used recording technology to document Taiwanese music cultures, especially the aboriginal musics, and this deployment underscored the relationship between Japanese colonialism and its facilitation of a musical epistemology of Taiwan.<sup>42</sup>

The interest in Taiwanese musical modernity, however, does not stop scholarly interest in traditional music, and in particular theatrical performances in colonial Taiwan. The thriving Taiwanese theatrical life in the Japanese colonial period has been explored by scholars of theatre. Several important factors had contributed to the flourishing of Taiwanese theatre in colonial Taiwan, and colonial and modernizing forces played important roles. The economic development of Taiwan secured the financial patronage of temple festivals, the

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yue sheng huo yan jiu, 1932-1937 (A Taiwanese Female Singer: Lin Hau's Musical Life in Japanese Colonial Period, 1932-1937)." (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 2003).

<sup>41</sup> Taiwanese popular songs and the phonograph market are described in Zhuang Yungming, "Taiwan liu xing ge qu liu shi nian [Sixty Years of Popular Song of Taiwan]", in *Tai wan shi yu Taiwan shi liao [Taiwan History and Taiwan Historical Materials]*, ed. Zhang Yanxian and Chen Meirong (Taipei: Zili wanbao, 1993); Zhuang Yungming, *Taiwan ge yao zhui xian qu [A Memory of Taiwanese Songs]* (Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1995). More details of the development of the phonograph industry in Taiwan are available in Ye Longyan, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan chang pian shi [History of Recordings in Japanese Colonial Taiwan]", *Taipei Wenxian zhi zi* 129 (1999).

<sup>42</sup> Ying-fen Wang, "Ting jian Taiwan: shi lun Gu lun mei ya chang pian zai Taiwan yin yue shi shang di yi yi (Listening to Taiwan: The Significance of Columbia Records as the Sources for Taiwan Music History)." *Min Su Qu Yi*, no. 160 (2008), 169-196.

most important venues of theatrical performances.<sup>43</sup> Economic development led to urbanization, which stimulated the emergence of new performance venues of public theatre in many city centers. The improved facilities attracted business opportunities for recruiting mainland Chinese troupes to perform in Taiwanese cities.<sup>44</sup> The use of technology, such as lighting and machinery, in stage design to enhance the visual, dramatic and entertainment effects further secured the Taiwanese audience's fascination with theatre.<sup>45</sup> The flourishing of traditional music propelled the burgeoning phonograph market to make recordings featuring popular opera numbers and theatrical music from *gezaixi*, *nanguan*, *beiguan*, and Peking opera.<sup>46</sup> In other words, the traditional and the modern in musical and colonial Taiwan were not at odds with each other. Indeed, Taiwanese musical modernity overlapped with its traditional practices and generated unprecedented musical and theatrical experiences.

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<sup>43</sup> Kun-Liang Chiu, *Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi ju zhi yan jiu: jiu ju yu xin jiu [Study of Theatres of Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period: old and new theatres]*. (Taipei: Zili wanbao chubanshu, 1992), 93-106.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-77. In addition, Xu Yaxiang points out that among the Chinese societies Shanghai erected the first modern theatre in 1908 and Taipei built the second theatrical venue of the kind in 1909. Xu Yaxiang, *Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi qu shi lun : Xian dai hua zuo yong xia de ju zhong yu ju chang [On the History of Taiwanese Theatre and Operas in the Japanese Colonial Period: theatrical genres and revenues in the field of modernity]* (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju, 2006a), 3.

<sup>45</sup> Xu Yaxiang, *Ri zhi shi qi Zhongguo xi ban zai Taiwan [Chinese troupes in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period]* (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju, 2000), 183-188; 229-232.

<sup>46</sup> Guo li chuang tong yi shu zhong xin chou bei chu (Center for Traditional Arts, Preparatory Office) ed., *Ting dao Taiwan lishi de shengyin: 1910-1945 Taiwan xiqu changpien yuan yin chong xian [Listening to the sounds of Taiwanese history: the recordings of Taiwanese theatre, 1910-1945]* (Taipei: Center for Traditional Arts, Preparatory Office, 2000).

## **Musicology and colonial musical Taiwan**

New studies of music in the Japanese colonial period have suggested that the period laid a foundation for Taiwanese society and culture to develop in the second half of the twentieth century. By injecting social and cultural analysis in their post-1987 musical studies, scholars of musical Taiwan have generated an idiosyncratic combination of historical musicology and ethnomusicology, which allows them to see the limitations of pre-1987 Taiwanese music historiography. They now see limitations in traditional and positivist musicology, which approaches music as sonic objects that can be studied through notations or recordings. As a discipline developed to understand Western (and in particular, European) classical music and its stylistic evolution, the methodology has focused its examination on compositions by individual composers who have contributed canonic works. As a result, notated representations of musical works, published or not, are taken as evidence of their musical sound. This approach, when applied to historical studies of musical Taiwan, works best with compositions produced by twentieth-century Taiwanese composers, who embraced compositional skills of Western classical music and found inspiration and musical materials from Taiwanese and Chinese music, folklore, and literature. Biographies of these composers and musical analysis of their

compositions can easily illustrate the modern and Westernized aspects of musical Taiwan.<sup>47</sup>

However, the same approach does not work well with Taiwanese music and music culture that does not rely on individual composers and their creativity. School songs, popular songs, and church hymns, many of which are preserved in printed score or transcription, cannot be analyzed as masterpieces of renowned composers whose works reveal artistic complexity. When the songs are to be approached as products of complex and creative expressions, the results can be misleading and negative. For instance, when Hsu Tsang-Houei analyzed early examples of Western-style music in Taiwan, he dismissed colonial school songs as Japanese imports devoid of Taiwanese or Chinese folk elements.<sup>48</sup> In his search for musical and stylistic evolution, however, Hsu paid more attention to discussing a Calvinist church hymn, which was possibly the first hymn the

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<sup>47</sup> Examples can be seen in Hsu, *Taiwan yin yue shi chu gao* [*History of Music of Taiwan: First Draft*], 336-51; and Lü Yuxiu, *Taiwan yin yue shi* [*Music History of Taiwan*] (Taipei: Wunan publication, 2003), 498-517. In recent years, Taiwanese students of music have paid more attention to Taiwanese composers' works by documenting them, e.g. Huang Yiqing, "Gang qin yin yue zai Taiwan di fa zhang yu zuo pin yang jiu [The Development of Piano Music in Taiwan and an Analysis of Piano Compositions]" (MA thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 1993); Xiao Yuwen, "Xiao ti qin yin yue zai Taiwan di yin jin yu fa zhang: Taiwan xiao ti qin zou ming qu di jie gou fen xi [The introduction and development of violin music in Taiwan: an analysis of violin sonatas in Taiwan]" (MA thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2001). Performing and/or analyzing works by Taiwanese composers is also seen among Taiwanese music students trained in the US. For example, Ru-Ping Chen, "The Cello Works of Hsiao Tyzen" (D.M.A., The Ohio State University, 1999); Bonnie Chia-ling Lin, "'Violin Concerto in D' by Tyzen Hsiao---The first violin concerto by a Taiwanese composer" (D.M.A., City University of New York, 2008); Jennifer Sho, "Hsiao Tyzen's '1947 Overture': The intersection of music, culture, and politics of Taiwan" (D.M.A., New England Conservatory of Music, 2006).

<sup>48</sup> Hsu, *Taiwan yin yue shi chu gao* [*History of Music of Taiwan: First Draft*], 275.

Taiwanese congregation of the Presbyterian Church sang in the 1860s and thus has certain historical significance.<sup>49</sup> However, both the school songs Hsu dismisses and the church hymn he discusses were direct foreign transplants to the Taiwanese soil in service of specific cultural agendas. The bias in Hsu's choice of music for analysis and historical discussion exposes the potential prejudice of the composition-focused analytical framework of historical musicology. Presenting his analytical data in an historical and social vacuum, a music historian could unintentionally manipulate how his readers perceive and conceptualize colonial and musical Taiwan.

Post-1987 Taiwanese music scholarship also exposed the limitations of ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicology, drawing influence from anthropology and focusing on music as culture, tends to approach music by locating a particular genre and by investigating its operation in cultural and social contexts. To acquire the information necessary for detailed analysis, the methodology of ethnographic fieldwork is emphasized. As a discipline developed primarily in the United States, ethnomusicology reached Taiwan sometime in the 1970s, and its methodology has been sporadically applied by individual scholars who had

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 275-77. Protestant missionaries of the British and Canadian Presbyterian Churches arrived in southern and northern Taiwan, respectively, in the 1860s, and contributed to the expansion of the Christian conversion in modern Taiwan. Between the end of Dutch colonization in 1661 and the 1860s when missionaries came to Taiwan from south/southeast China missions, Christianity was considered non-existent in Taiwan.

worked or studied in a US academic institution.<sup>50</sup> The first Taiwanese scholar who employed ethnographic methodology extensively was probably Lü Bingchuan, who was trained in comparative musicology and ethnomusicology in Japan and returned to Taiwan in 1970. Lü tried to introduce the concepts of world music and ethnomusicology, tools that could help Taiwanese scholars move away from Euro-centric aesthetics and methodologies.<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, Lü was unable to effectively deliver his message, and the music academia of Taiwan at the time could not appreciate what ethnomusicology promoted. Lü left Taiwan in 1980.<sup>52</sup>

Only after the 1990s did ethnomusicology become intelligible to Taiwan's academia. By that time, the content of "music" had expanded, and Taiwanese society had become more open. This development was heralded by a number of music scholars who had received training in the US and returned to Taiwan or

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<sup>50</sup> For example, Fu-yen Chen, "Confucian Ceremonial Music in Taiwan with Comparative References to its Sources" (PhD dissertation, Wesleyan University, 1976); I-To Loh, "Tribal Music of Taiwan: with Special Reference to the Ami and Puyuma Styles" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1982); Nora Yeh, "Nanguan Music in Taiwan: a Little Known Tradition" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985).

<sup>51</sup> In the 1970s Lü wrote many articles to promote the concept of world music and ethnomusicology. The essays were published as a collection in 1979. Lü Bingchuan, *Lü Bingchuan yin yue lun shu ji* [Collection of Essays on Music by Lü Bingchuan]. (Taipei: Shi bao shu xi, 1979).

<sup>52</sup> Ming Liguó, the biographer of Lü Bingchuan, points out that during the ten years from Lü's return to Taiwan in 1970 to his departure for Hong Kong in 1980, newspapers frequently reported his research activities and published his articles on music. However, despite of his fame, Ming comments, the closedness and conservativeness of the music academia of Taiwan could not appreciate Lü as an ethnomusicologist and the learning of non-Western music with a different aesthetic viewpoint from Western classic music. Ming Liguó, *Lü Bingchuan: he xian wai di du bai* [Lü Bingchuan: monologue outside the chorus]. (Yilan: Center of Traditional Arts, 2002), 36-40.

continued research on subjects related to musical Taiwan. These scholars and their ethnomusicological studies have greatly contributed to scholarly understandings of major traditional music genres and styles in Taiwan. These include genres such as *nanguan*,<sup>53</sup> *beiguan*,<sup>54</sup> and Peking Opera.<sup>55</sup> Issues pertaining to contemporary Taiwanese society and its music culture, such as gender performance,<sup>56</sup> identity politics,<sup>57</sup> and social commentary<sup>58</sup> through musical performances are also addressed by these ethnomusicologists.

As a discipline that emphasizes ethnographic fieldwork, ethnomusicology tends to focus on contemporary manifestations of music at the expense of its historical aspects. Thus it is not a surprise that relatively few ethnomusicologists

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<sup>53</sup> The classical genre of *nanguan* has attracted much scholarly interest and resulted in numerous researches. To cite a few, for example, Shen Dong, *Nanguan yin yue ti zhi ji li shi chu tan [Studies of Nanguan music system and history]* (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 1986); Ying-fen Wang, "Tune identity and compositional process in Zhongbei songs: a semiotic analysis of nanguan vocal music" (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1992); Chiener Chou, "Learning processes in the nanguan music of Taiwan." *British journal of ethnomusicology* 11, no. 2 (2002): 81-124.

<sup>54</sup> Ping-hui Li, "The dynamics of a musical tradition: contextual adaptations in the music of Taiwanese Beiguan wind and percussion ensemble" (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1991).

<sup>55</sup> Nancy Guy, *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Guy, "Governing the arts, governing the state: Peking opera and political authority in Taiwan," *Ethnomusicology* 43 (1999); Guy, "Peking Opera and Politics in Post-1949 Taiwan" (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1996); and Guy, "Peking Opera as 'National Opera' in Taiwan: What's in a name?" *Asian Theatre Journal* 12 (April, 1995).

<sup>56</sup> Chao-Jung Wu, "Performing postmodern Taiwan: Gender, cultural hybridity, and the male cross-dressing show" (PhD dissertation, Wesleyan University, 2008).

<sup>57</sup> Guy, "How Does 'Made in Taiwan' Sound?: Popular music and strategizing the sounds of a multicultural nation." *Perfect Beat* 5, no.3 (2001); Guy, "Trafficking in Taiwan Aboriginal Voices," in *Handle with care: Ownership and control of ethnographic materials*, ed. Sjoerd R. Jaarsma and Andrew Strathern (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2002).

<sup>58</sup> Chiung-Chi Chen, "From the Sublime to the Obscene: The performativity of popular religion in Taiwan" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006).



of musical Taiwan have investigated the colonial period of musical Taiwan. Only since the recent decade or so have Taiwanese ethnomusicologists begun to examine the colonial legacy. One of the first issues they identified is the relationship between Japanese scholarship and colonizing Taiwan. This relationship reveals not only the nature of colonial Taiwan but also the colonial nature of ethnomusicology.<sup>59</sup>

The distinctive combination of historical musicology and ethnomusicology in post-1987 Taiwan has generated a wealth of information and a sizable literature on musical Taiwan. However, many aspects of the colonial heritage of musical Taiwan remain to be investigated. The sonic objects, sites, and processes through which the Taiwanese experienced Japanese colonialism and modernity have yet to be analyzed. And the discourses that the Japanese colonizers and the colonized Taiwanese generated in the colonial context cannot be traced by analyzing the scales, intervals, and rhythms of individual compositions and performances. As Christopher Small argues, the meaning of music lies not in the object of musical works but in what people do when they take part in a musical performance through performing, composing, listening,

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<sup>59</sup> Ying-fen Wang, "Music Research and Japanese Imperial Colonialism: Putting Tanabe's and Kurosawa's fieldwork in Taiwan in Context" (paper presented in Society for Ethnomusicology 45th annual meeting, Toronto, Canada, November 1-5, 2000); Ying-fen Wang, "Zhi min hua yu quan qiu hua: cong ri ji shi qi yin yue xue zhe di diao cha ji lu kan Taiwan yun zhu min yin yue di bian qian ji qi cheng (Colonialization and Globalization: Musical Change and Its Factors among Taiwan Aborigines Based on the Observations Made by Musicologists During the Japanese Colonial Period)," *Min Su Qu Yi* 148 (2005).

rehearsing, or even dancing, to explore, affirm, and celebrate the relationships they experience.<sup>60</sup> To answer the question of how Japanese colonial Taiwan contributed to musical Taiwan today, scholars must show how historical-cultural forces interacted to shape and transform Taiwan's native and modernizing music culture.

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<sup>60</sup> Christopher Small, *Musicking: the meanings of performing and listening* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press/University Press of New England, 1998), 8-9, 183.

## CHAPTER THREE

### MUSIKING CITIZENS IN EARLY COLONIAL TAIWAN: 1895-1906

Colonizing Taiwan was a challenge for Japan. Anticipating resistance and discontent, the Japanese took Taiwan through military operations in 1895. Taiwanese armed resistance and uprising occurred intensely in the first two years after the annexation and continued sporadically until 1915. Although Japan used military power to rapidly consolidate control of the island, Japan could only make the colony a profitable addition to the empire with Taiwanese cooperation. In order to develop a relationship conducive to colonial rule, the Japanese endeavored to transform the Taiwanese into obedient subjects who abided by modern Japanese cultural values, social customs and legal systems. Thus, one of the first tasks of Japanese colonial administration was to launch colonial education to transform the Taiwanese.

Music played a critical and integral role in this education. *Shōka*, school songs and singing, was introduced to Taiwanese students from the very beginning of colonial schools. *Shōka* facilitated the teaching of the Japanese

language (*kokugo*) and culture, tools with which the Taiwanese youngsters could learn to become like Japanese. Thus, in colonial education, what to sing, when to sing, and where to sing were not only musical questions but also political and ideological concerns. The colonial ideology pre-determined the repertoire (musical objects), occasion and place (site), and function (agenda) of *shōka*.

The Japanese colonial policy of transforming Taiwan resembled the Meiji modernizing project. The condition of Taiwan reminded the Japanese of the educational reform that the Meiji leadership launched to modernize the empire. Japan's success in modernization confirmed the political and social functions of schooling. Thus, Japan promptly exported Japanese education to Taiwan. To elucidate the connection between music education and colonial negotiation in Taiwan, this chapter will first introduce Meiji education to contextualize the operation of colonial education in Taiwan. This introduction will highlight the educational discourses of *kokugo* ("national language", which was the Japanese language) and *shōka* (school songs and singing). Second, this chapter will describe the educational policy planned for the colony and the development of its schools. Third, the chapter will discuss the political and educational function of *shōka* as demonstrated in the repertoire and its performance. Fourth, this chapter analyzes *shōka* as a musicking negotiation between the Japanese colonizers and the colonized Taiwanese in the contested arena of education.

## I. Education in Meiji Japan: the Role of *Kokugo* and *Shōka*

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 marked the beginning of Japan's modern era. Concerned that colonizing European forces would soon reach Japan, the Meiji leadership took action to rebuild the empire so that it could fend off colonial encroachment. To make Japan a powerful country with a strong army – *fukoku kyōhei*, “rich country strong army” – the Meiji government launched a series of reforms. The first was to centralize power to transform Japan into a nation with a strong sense of unity. To reach that goal, the emperor was elevated from a mysterious and remote figure to become a highly visible symbol of Japanese empire and culture.<sup>1</sup> Second, new systems of taxation, military organization, and education were formulated. Emulating elementary education in the West, the new Japanese elementary schools were designed to reach children of all backgrounds and teach them the practical knowledge they would use to generate national wealth and strength. In 1872, Japan proclaimed the Fundamental Code of Education (*gakusei*), making elementary schooling universal and compulsory, and directing the schools to teach modern subjects such as arithmetic using Arabic numerals, world history and geography, and singing – skills and knowledge that were seen as the building blocks of modern Japan.

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Duus, *Modern Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 88-89.

The Meiji education reform was not unchallenged. Several months after the Fundamental Code was implemented, however, peasants rioted in 1873 to challenge the Code which had brought confusion to their lives. They associated the new schools with unwelcome reforms in land policy, taxation, and military conscription.<sup>2</sup> More protests occurred in the later 1870s when negative reactions to the new education system joined forces with the Popular Rights Movement, demanding educational freedom and local autonomy.<sup>3</sup> In the 1880s, Meiji Japanese society nevertheless became stabilized as the government became increasingly authoritarian and its power became more centralized. Education aligned with nationalism and assumed the role of ideological perpetuator. More than teaching the practical knowledge needed for building the nation, schools inculcated the discourses of *kokutai*, the national polity of Japan, which provided ideological ground for Japanese nationalism.

*Kokutai* claimed that all the Japanese people, from the emperor to the commoners, were bound by the same blood. Since the Japanese imperial family possessed a long lineage traceable back to the mythical time of the Sun Goddess Amateratsu and continuously ruled Japan without being broken by any foreign

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<sup>2</sup> Brian Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), 186-193.

<sup>3</sup> For a brief description of the Popular Rights Movement see Duus, *Modern Japan*, 108-114. The mutual interaction between educational freedom, local autonomy and the Popular Rights Movement is analyzed in Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890*, 221-232.

power, it demonstrated the historical continuity and genealogical purity of the Japanese nation. Such continuity bound the emperor with his people into a closely-knit “family state” in which the emperor and his people were positioned as parent and children.<sup>4</sup> Drawing on metaphors of the human family, the Japanese nation was thus uniquely constructed on the notion of pure blood and continuous lineage. The theory of *kokutai* was particularly important and effective because it helped Japan overcome class hierarchy and regional diversity, two features that plagued Japanese efforts to unite and build a rich and strong nation.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Kokutai* and *kokugo*: linking national polity and national language**

The discourse of *kokutai* elevated the Japanese emperor to become the great patriarch of the Japanese nation; as such he symbolized national identity and demanded patriotic loyalty. In the mid-1890s, the *kokutai* discourse took up a new set of meanings linked with *kokugo*, “national language”. The concept of a standardized Japanese language, in which the written and the spoken elements were coordinated and the regional and dialectal differences were minimized, emerged early in Meiji Japan. However, language reform efforts only gained

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<sup>4</sup> Duus, *Modern Japan*, 128-29.

<sup>5</sup> Pei-Feng Chen, “Chong xin jie xi zhi min di Taiwan di guo yu 'tong hua' jiao yu zheng ce -- yi ri ben di jin dai si xiang shi wei zuo biao (A Reanalysis of Dōka and Educational Policy in Colonial Taiwan in the Context of Modern Japanese Political Thought).” *Taiwan Shi Yan Jiu (Taiwan Historical Research)* 7 (2000): 29-31.

desired momentum when the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 fanned nationalistic pride. In 1894, linguist Ueda Kazutoshi seized the timing to campaign for the standardization of the Japanese language by linking the national language with national polity.<sup>6</sup>

In his canonic 1894 lecture entitled “*Kokugo to Kokka to*” (“Our Nation and Its Language”), Ueda argued that the national language was “the identifying mark of a state that is the mother of its people”, and that the Japanese language was “the spiritual blood binding her people together”.<sup>7</sup> Ueda’s argument was that the Japanese language sustained the *kokutai*; it was “the ‘loyal retainer’ of the imperial household”.<sup>8</sup> Since loyalty to the Japanese state was defined by loyalty toward the emperor, speaking *kokugo*, the Japanese language became a patriotic act of showing loyalty to the emperor and perpetuating the *kokutai*.

When Japan acquired the colony of Taiwan, *kokugo* became a tool to discursively integrate, if not assimilate, ethnically and racially different people into the Japanese *kokutai*. Following Ueda’s new logic, the national polity (*kokutai*) was now defined by speaking the Japanese language (*kokugo*). In other

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<sup>6</sup> Nanette Gottlieb, “Japan.” in *Language and National Identity in Asia*, ed. Andrew Simpson (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 189.

<sup>7</sup> Nanette Twine, *Language and the Modern State: the reform of written Japanese* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 164.

<sup>8</sup> Eika Tai, “Kokugo and Colonial Education in Taiwan,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 7 (1999): 507.



words, *kokugo* was now the criteria and indicator of “becoming Japanese”.<sup>9</sup> By the mid-1890s, the government had turned education into a propaganda tool for the unique Japanese *kokutai*. In that context, the concept of a national language serving the nation-state was unchallengeable. Therefore, when Japan colonized Taiwan in 1895 and launched colonial education, the teaching of the Japanese language in the colony had ubiquitous ideological and discursive importance in integrating the new people into the expanding Japanese empire.

### **Izawa Shūji and *Shōka*: the functionalist role of music**

Music, and in particular *shōka*, became a political tool in Meiji Japan. Music education entered modern Japanese schools when Meiji leaders designed curricula after Western models. The Fundamental Code of Education in 1872 listed music in the curricula of the elementary schools and the middle schools, yet the teaching of music was not promptly implemented. Most teachers in early Meiji Japan came from traditional schools and had little knowledge of or experience with modern subjects like music.<sup>10</sup> In other words, music education

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<sup>9</sup> Pei-Feng Chen, “Zhi min di Taiwan guo yu 'tong hua' jiao yu di dan sheng -- Yi Ze Xiu Er guan yu jiao hua, wen ming yu guo ti di si kao (Isawa Shūji's Views on Education, Civilization, the *Kokutai*, and Christianity: the Birth of the Japanese Assimilation Education Program in Taiwan).” *Xin Shi Xue [New Historical Studies]* 12 (2001): 135-37. Chen points out that Ueda's discourse of *kokugo* and *kokutai* turns the criteria of defining the Japanese nation from the *a priori* biological bond into the *a posteriori* linguistic condition. In other words, an ethnic non-Japanese could become a member of the Japanese nation through speaking Japanese.

<sup>10</sup> Duus, *Modern Japan*, 92-93.

existed in theory but not in reality. Full-scale efforts to implement music education did not begin until 1880, when Izawa Shūji (1851-1917) founded the Music Investigation (*ongaku torishirabe seiseki*). Soon, Japan's music education took shape when its repertoire emerged, pedagogy was formulated, and teaching manuals were developed.<sup>11</sup>

Izawa Shūji, an enthusiastic Meiji educator, played a pivotal role in grounding music education, and *shōka* in particular, in the developing Meiji elementary schools. Izawa's advocacy of music education and his approach to music were rooted in personal experience. Coming from the former samurai class and educated to become the principal of a Normal School, an institution to train teachers, Izawa received a Japanese governmental fellowship to study education at the Bridgewater Normal School in Massachusetts in the United States. Among all the subjects of study, he found singing the most difficult and frustrating. He, nevertheless, mastered singing after studying with Boston music teacher Luther Whiting Mason (1818-1896).<sup>12</sup> In the process, Izawa became convinced that Japan

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<sup>11</sup> Nihon Kyōiku Ongaku Kyōkai, ed., *Honpō ongaku kyōiku shi* [History of Music Education of Our Country] (Tokyo, 1934[82]), 77, 80.

<sup>12</sup> Luther Whiting Mason was recruited by Izawa to Japan as a consultant in his project of researching and developing songs for Japanese schools. See Donald P. Berger, "Isawa Shuji and Luther Whiting Mason: Pioneers of Music Education in Japan." *MEJ (Music Educators Journal)* LXXIV (1987): 31-36.

needed a systematic music education based on school songs and singing.<sup>13</sup> Upon his return to Japan in 1878, he proposed to the Ministry of Education a project to research and create songs appropriate for Japanese schools.<sup>14</sup> The proposal states:

at present all educators in Europe and America consider music one of the subjects of education since music refreshes the mind of schoolchildren, provides relaxation from the efforts of hard study, strengthens the lungs, promotes the health, clears the voice, corrects the pronunciation, improves the hearing, sharpens the thinking, pleases the heart and builds good character. This is the direct influence of this subject. When the society receives this good recreation, it naturally moves toward the good and away from the evil, and advances to a civil society. The people shall praise the rulers' virtue and enjoy the peace.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Izawa Shūji, *Rakuseki jiden kyōkai shūyū zenki* (*Autobiography of Rakuseki S. Isawa, or records of expedition around the pedagogical world*) ed. Izawa Shūji-kun Kanreki Shukugakai. Reprint from 1912 ed. (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1980), 28-29.

<sup>14</sup> Iwai Masahiro, *Kodomo no uta no bunkashi: nijisseiki zenhanki no Nihon* [*A Cultural History of Children's Songs: Japan in the first half of the twentieth century*] (Tokyo: Daiichishobō, 1998), 26.

<sup>15</sup> Ury Eppstein, *The Beginning of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1994), 30-31.

Figure 3-1: Izawa Shūji.<sup>16</sup>



Suffice it to say, Izawa's viewpoint on music, or more specifically, on Western style music and musical practices, was social and functional. Music was not needed for aesthetic expression or artistic edification; it was, however, indispensable for singers to build physical and moral strength. Collectively, such

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<sup>16</sup> Image scanned from Kaminuma Hachirō, *Izawa Shūji* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962), [i].

singers would make harmonious societies. Such arguments were related to Confucian theories of music as a tool of self-cultivation and governance, theories that Izawa probably knew well. However, it was through his study of Western music education that Izawa truly experienced the impact of such theories and found a practical, working system of implementation. Music writer Luciana Galliano remarks the pragmatism of studying Western music in Meiji Japan: “Western music was regarded as an essential contributory factor to the program of modernization. At court, as in all other areas of culture and education, Western music was initially adopted because it meant prestige. The idea that Western music might be interesting and beautiful was never considered and, in fact, the first performances of Western music were met with bewilderment.”<sup>17</sup>

Izawa’s discourse promoted music education and resonated with the prevailing Meiji mentality of “rich country, strong army”. Izawa emphasized the effect of singing on the human body and on the emotions and justified the need of music in schools. Modernized Japan needed strong bodies, loyal citizens, and a harmonious society. In Izawa’s eloquent argument, *shōka*, moral education, and the cultivation of loyalty and patriotism converged as the educational foundation for the New Japan.

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<sup>17</sup> Luciana Galliano, *Yōgaku: Japanese Music in the Twentieth Century*, Martin Mayes trans. (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2002), 33.

Izawa's championing of music education, along with his leading the Music Investigation to compile songbooks, rendered music an accepted subject in the school system. Governmental intervention further accelerated the implementation of *shōka*. In 1891, the Ministry of Education officially instructed schools to observe holidays with ceremonies and singing proper songs.<sup>18</sup> In 1893, the same office further proclaimed eight songs, with texts and music scores, for use in national holidays and ceremonies. The eight songs included *Kimigayo* (Japan's national anthem), *Chokugo hōtō* (Reply to Imperial Rescript), *Ichigatsu tsuitachi* (January 1st), *Genshisai* (Shinto Festival of Origins, January 3rd), *Kigensetsu* (Empire Day, February 11th), *Kannameisai* (Shinto Festival of New Rice, October 17th), *Tenchōsetsu* (the Emperor's Birthday), and *Niinamesai* (Shinto Harvest Festival, November 23rd). The ministry hence pressured all schools to start teaching *shōka* to their students.<sup>19</sup> By the mid-1890s when Japan won the Sino-Japanese war, *shōka* had become an expressive, social, and political reality in Japanese schools.

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<sup>18</sup>Donald P. Berger, "Shōka and Dōyō: songs of an educational policy and a children's song movement of Japan, 1910-1926." (PhD dissertation, Kent State University, 1991), 27.

<sup>19</sup> Okuda Shinjō, ed., *Kyōka kyōiku hyakunenshi* [A Hundred-Year History of Curriculum Development] (Tokyo: Kenpakusha, 1985), 399-400.

## II. Education for the Colony

Izawa Shūji was not only an enthusiastic advocate for music education in Japan but also a passionate education planner for the colony Taiwan. In February 1895, Izawa visited Rear Admiral Kabayama Sukenori, designated governor-general of Taiwan, and volunteered his service to develop education for the colony. Kabayama assigned Izawa to take charge of the Bureau of Educational Affairs.<sup>20</sup> To cope with Taiwan's current situation and to plan for the future, Izawa proposed a two-part program which included an immediate plan and a long-term project.<sup>21</sup> The immediate plan focused on the urgency of communication needs, and the solution was to teach *kokugo*, the Japanese language, and also to equip Japanese officials with some Taiwanese language skills. The long-term project envisioned a complete educational system of elementary, vocational, and normal schools. The goal of elementary schools and vocational schools was to give the Taiwanese people the practical knowledge needed for developing the economy, and normal schools were to train Taiwanese

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<sup>20</sup> Izawa, *Kyōkai shūyū zenki*, 204-06.

<sup>21</sup> E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977), 14. The full-length version of the proposal can be found in several works, such as Taiwan Kyōikukai ed., *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi [Development of Taiwan Education]*. Reprint from 1939 ed. (Tokyo, 1982[39]), 6-9. Though the specific date of the proposal is not given, Tsurumi suggests Izawa already had the proposal when he visited General Kabayama in February 1895.

teachers who would subsequently take up the work of education.<sup>22</sup> Izawa's tenure in Taiwan lasted only two years from 1895 to 1897, but his plans for the colonial school system provided the blueprints for subsequent development. Educating the Taiwanese with *kokugo* became not only one of his personal legacies but also a lasting signature of Japanese colonial education in Taiwan.

### ***Kokugo: making the Taiwanese Japanese, making the Taiwanese modern***

Izawa enthusiastically expected the Taiwanese to acquire knowledge and become Japanese via *kokugo* education.<sup>23</sup> A famous anecdote described his determination in making the Taiwanese into Japanese speakers. In October, 1895, Izawa visited Reverend Barclay, a Scottish Presbyterian missionary, in Tainan. Drawing on his experience of teaching English to the Taiwanese, Barclay advised Izawa not to be ambitious in teaching the Japanese language to the Taiwanese. In Barclay's experience, the Taiwanese who learned English well in church schools often abandoned their promise of becoming a missionary or a teacher and ended

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<sup>22</sup> In the early colonial period, the colonial government paid attention to establishing elementary schools and teacher-training institutions, but vocational schools were not a well-availed option for the Taiwanese. Tsurumi observes that up to the late-1920s the colonial government imported technicians and engineers from Japan instead of locally producing the skilled manpower for developing the economy. The colonial government, however, opted to include selected vocational training subjects in the Taiwanese elementary school curriculum. Tsurumi points out that the condition resulted from the colonial educational policy that tightly regulated higher education (i.e. post-elementary) availability to the local population. The policy intended to control the colonial society by regulating education and thus maintaining the hierarchy of the Japanese and Taiwanese. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, 53-58.

<sup>23</sup> Kokubu Tanetake, *Taiwan ni okeru kokugo kyōiku no tenkai [The Development of Japanese Language Education in Taiwan]*, Reprint from 1931 ed. (Tokyo: Tōji Shobō, 1988[31]), 17.



up using their language skills to advance other careers. Barclay thus implied that the effort in educating the Taiwanese with a foreign language could be wasted because the goal was rarely attained, and advised Izawa that the Taiwanese should be taught in their own languages for easy accessibility and effective learning.<sup>24</sup> Barclay's gloomy view, however, did not discourage Izawa's faith in *kokugo* education.

Believing that Taiwan could be integrated into Japan, Izawa argued that the Japanese nation contained broader inclusion than the Yamoto race. Anyone loyal to the Japanese emperor and speaking Japanese could be the citizen of Japan, Izawa argued. Appropriating Ueda's image of the *kokugo* as a mother holding her children together, Izawa asked Japanese educators to be mothers to the new Taiwanese children and teach them the Japanese language. In other words, what Izawa discoursed on *kokugo* education in the colony was an overseas rendition of Ueda's discourse on *kokugo*.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 38-39. Kaminuma, *Izawa Shūji*, 221. Barclay also suggested Izawa to look into the possibility of using the Romanized Taiwanese language developed by the Presbyterian missionaries as the written form. The missionaries found using Chinese characters to propagate the Bible impractical and elitist, since many members of the congregation could not afford the education of learning to read and write Chinese, and there existed a discrepancy between the spoken and the written forms. The Romanization system, in a sense, spelled out the spoken part of the language into visual form. Boasting its low threshold of learning, the Presbyterian Church had propagated this system to its congregation. This system was still seen as a viable means of writing when the Taiwanese intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s debated how to reform the Taiwanese language to popularize literacy.

<sup>25</sup> Chen, "Zhi min di Taiwan guo yu 'tong hua' jiao yu di dan sheng -- Yi Ze Xiu Er guan yu jiao hua, wen ming yu guo ti di si kao (Izawa Shūji's Views on Education, Civilization, the *Kokutai*, and Christianity: the Birth of the Japanese Assimilation Education Program in Taiwan)", 138-39.

*Kokugo* education, however, involved more than political education. It was also a vessel to help the Taiwanese learn modern knowledge and practical skills. Japanese colonial textbooks contained a wealth of information on multiple topics. The earliest textbooks used in colonial classrooms in Taiwan, namely the *Taiwan tekiyō kokugo dokuhon shoho* ["Primer of Japanese Language: for use in Taiwan"] compiled in 1896, indeed read more like natural history books than language tutorials. Early colonial educators wanted to enlighten the Taiwanese through *kokugo* education, and emphasized learning about the physical world and its principles.<sup>26</sup> Izawa Shūji considered intellectual understanding of the physical world a step towards learning the unique Japanese *kokutai*. By this logic, becoming modern was a necessary condition of becoming Japanese.<sup>27</sup> Education was among the first arenas in which the Taiwanese experienced the colonial version of the Meiji Modernization.

### **The school system in the early colonial period, 1895-1905**

Colonial education in Taiwan developed in three stages, a process marked by the launching and revision of the school system in 1895, 1896, and 1898.

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<sup>26</sup> Cai Jintang, "Ri ben ju tai chu qi gong xue xiao 'guo yu' jiao ke shu fen xi [An Analysis of Japanese Language Textbooks in Common Schools of Early Japanese Colonization]." in *Zhong guo yu ya zhou guo jia guan xi shi xue shu yan tao hui lun wen ji* [Essays of Symposium on the History of Relations between China and Asian Countries], ed. Zheng Liangsheng (1993), 248-250.

<sup>27</sup> Chen, "Zhi min di Taiwan guo yu 'tong hua' jiao yu di dan sheng -- Yi Ze Xiu Er guan yu jiao hua, wen ming yu guo ti di si kao (Isawa Shūji's Views on Education, Civilization, the *Kokutai*, and Christianity: the Birth of the Japanese Assimilation Education Program in Taiwan)", 148-149.

Elementary and higher education took shape in 1896, when schools for Taiwanese and Japanese were established and given different curricula. This dual-track school system based on ethnic segregation continued until 1919 when the Japanese government revised its colonial policy and issued the new Taiwan Education Regulation to merge the two tracks into one system. The following discussion will focus on elementary education for the Taiwanese.

In July, 1895, Izawa Shūji began his colonial teaching experiment in the Taipei suburb with six Taiwanese pupils. To recruit these students, Izawa visited local elite families and explained to them the necessity of sending their young members to attend Japanese school to learn the new civilization that Japan would bring to Taiwan.<sup>28</sup> This school, *Shizangan gakudō*, had the mission of teaching the Japanese language to selected Taiwanese so they could work as bilingual clerks for the colonial administration. As the first colonial classroom, *Shizangan gakudō* was also a laboratory to test the teaching of the Japanese language to the Taiwanese, and for compiling teaching materials and Taiwanese-Japanese dictionaries. The *Shizangan gakudō* was successful. Some students from the first and second classes became proficient Japanese speakers. To show off such

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<sup>28</sup> Kaminuma, *Izawa Shūji*, 217.

students and to underscore the promise of *kokugo* education in Taiwan, Izawa took two of them to Japan in late 1895 to recruit more teachers.<sup>29</sup>

The success of *Shizangan gakudō* quickly led to the opening of two offshoot educational facilities in 1896, the Japanese Language Academy (*Kokugo gakkō*) and the Japanese Language Labs (*Kokugo denshūsho*). The Academy operated as an institution of higher learning for Japanese nationals, who upon graduation would serve as colonial teachers and bureaucrats. In 1899, the need for teachers pushed the colonial government to begin training Taiwanese to become teachers. Beginning in 1902, the Japanese Language Academy had two departments. The language study department trained Japanese nationals to become colonial bureaucrats; the normal school department split into two divisions, one for training Japanese nationals to become school administrators, and the other for training Taiwanese to become teachers.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Fujimori Satoko, "Ri zhi chu qi 'Zhishanyan Xuetaang' (1895-96) di jiao yu - yi xue xiao jing ying, jiao xue shi shi, xue sheng xue xi zhi huo dong zhi fen xi wei zhong xin. [The Education of *Shizangan gakudō* in the Early Japanese Colonial Period: on school administration, teaching, and students' learning]." *Taiwan Wen Xian [Taiwan Documents]* 52 (2001): 575-576.

<sup>30</sup> Between 1899 and 1902, the colonial government opened three normal schools to train Taiwanese teachers. To better coordinate the resources, the normal schools merged into the Japanese Language Academy in 1902 and the merging process completed in 1904. After the merger, the Japanese Language Academy restructured its existing Department of Normal School to two divisions. Division One trained Japanese nationals to teach the Japanese national's Primary School, or to be superintendents of the Taiwanese Common School. Division Two was solely for training Taiwanese teachers for the Common School. For the development and evolution of teachers training institutions colonial Taiwan, see Wu Wenxing, *Ri ju shi qi Taiwan shi fan jiao yu zhi yan jiu [Teacher's Training Education in Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period]*, vol. 8, Guo li Taiwan shi fan da zue li shi yan jiu suo zhuan kan [National Taiwan Normal University,

In 1896, the Japanese Language Labs were launched in fourteen Taiwanese cities and towns. Each Lab offered a six-month program and a four-year curriculum. The six-month program was designed to intensively train Taiwanese young adults between fifteen and thirty years old, who were already literate in classical Chinese, and who would become bilingual interpreters or clerks. To recruit such Taiwanese, students enrolled in the six-month program were offered free tuition and allowances with the agreement that they would serve three years in a colonial institution upon graduation.<sup>31</sup> The monetary benefits and the ensuring job opportunity attracted the Taiwanese. By mid-1898, the fourteen Japanese Language Labs saw the number of students increase, and in some areas the Taiwanese petitioned to expand the Lab facility to accommodate more interested local Taiwanese.

The Lab's four-year curriculum targeted Taiwanese youngsters between eight and fourteen years old. Once accepted into the Labs, they would study five basic subjects, including *kokugo*, reading, writing/composition, calligraphy, and arithmetic. In addition, they would also take selective courses in history,

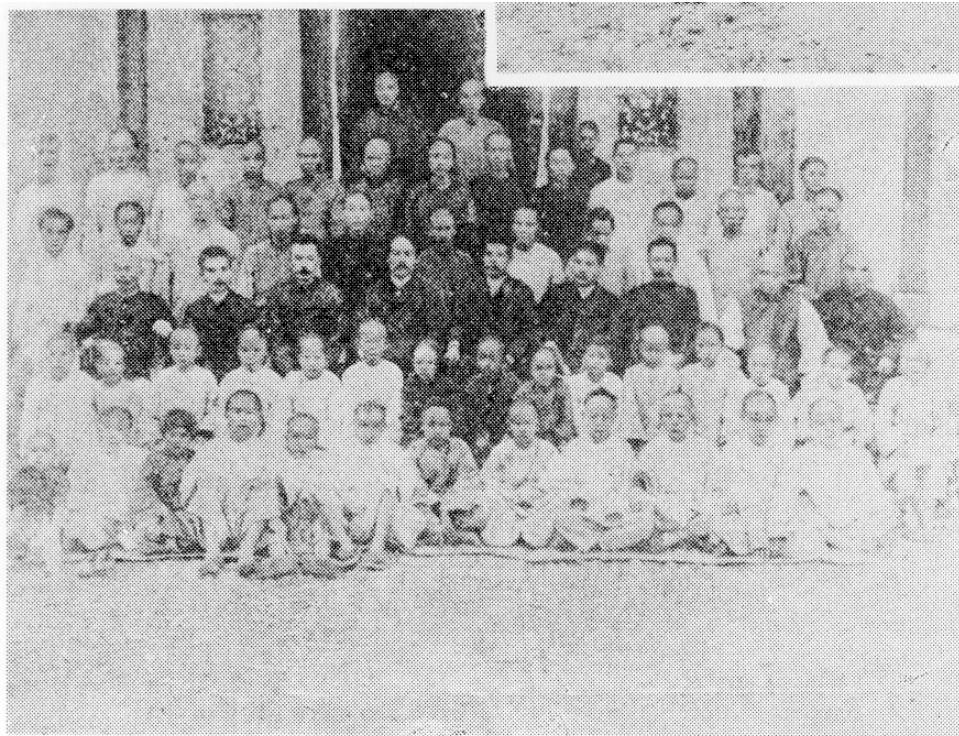
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Graduate Institute of History Special Issue Series] (Taipei: Graduate Institute of History, National Taiwan Normal University, 1983).

<sup>31</sup> Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, 30.

geography, *shōka*, and physical education (*taisō*).<sup>32</sup> This four-year curriculum provided a prototype modern elementary education.<sup>33</sup>

Figure 3-2: The Japanese teachers and Taiwanese students of the two programs of the Japanese Language Lab in Miaoli, ca. 1896-1898.<sup>34</sup>



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<sup>32</sup> Taiwan Kyōikukai, ed., *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi* [*Development of Taiwan Education*], 168-169.

<sup>33</sup> The Japanese Language Academy also operated three affiliated schools, including a special class for Taiwanese girls and young women, who had been traditionally excluded from formal education. In principle, the affiliated schools were parallels to the four-year curriculum of the Japanese Language Labs. But they also provided the Academy faculty and students the opportunity to experiment with new pedagogies and curriculum. *Ibid.*, 707-712.

<sup>34</sup> Image scanned from *Ibid.*, [n.p.]. The picture shows the younger Taiwanese students in the front rows, the Japanese and Taiwanese teachers in the middle, and Taiwanese adult students at back rows.

In 1898, the Common School (*kōgakkō*) replaced the transitional Japanese Language Labs. Featuring a standardized six-year curriculum, the Common School taught the Taiwanese children eight subjects: *shūshin* (ethics), *kokugo*, *sakubun* (writing/composition), *dokusho* (reading), *shūji* (penmanship/calligraphy), *sanjutsu* (arithmetic), *shōka* (singing), and *taisō* (gymnastics/physical education).<sup>35</sup> The success of the Japanese Language Labs had prompted the colonial government to expand and revise the school system, planning to reach more Taiwanese by building schools in not only city centers but also villages. However, the colonial government could not operate schools for free. Realizing that the Taiwanese were receptive to colonial schools and targeting wealthy Taiwanese families who would pay for their children's education, the colonial government built more schools but asked the Taiwanese share the costs of building schools and pay operational costs.

Moreover, building more schools in towns and villages was a political strategy. By attracting Taiwanese children to the Common Schools, the colonial government hoped to diminish the private academies (*shufang/shobō*) that provided Chinese education. Unable to abolish the private academies immediately and by force, the colonial authority increased the Common Schools

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 229.

and regulated what the private academies could teach. Within a decade the Common School enrollment had surpassed that of the private academies.<sup>36</sup>

Taiwanese graduates of Common Schools became knowledgeable and productive subjects of colonial Taiwan. The colonial government expected the graduates to work in agriculture, commerce, or in the industries that the administration developed.<sup>37</sup> Those graduates with ambition and ability could further their education by studying at the teachers' training department of the Japanese Language Academy. For the particularly talented and competitive few, Medical School (*igakkō*) was also a possibility.<sup>38</sup> In short, colonial education in Taiwan was comprehensive, with a purposefully tight control on post-elementary education. This structure remained intact until 1915 when the Taiwanese social leaders campaigned and petitioned to open a middle school for the Taiwanese young adults.

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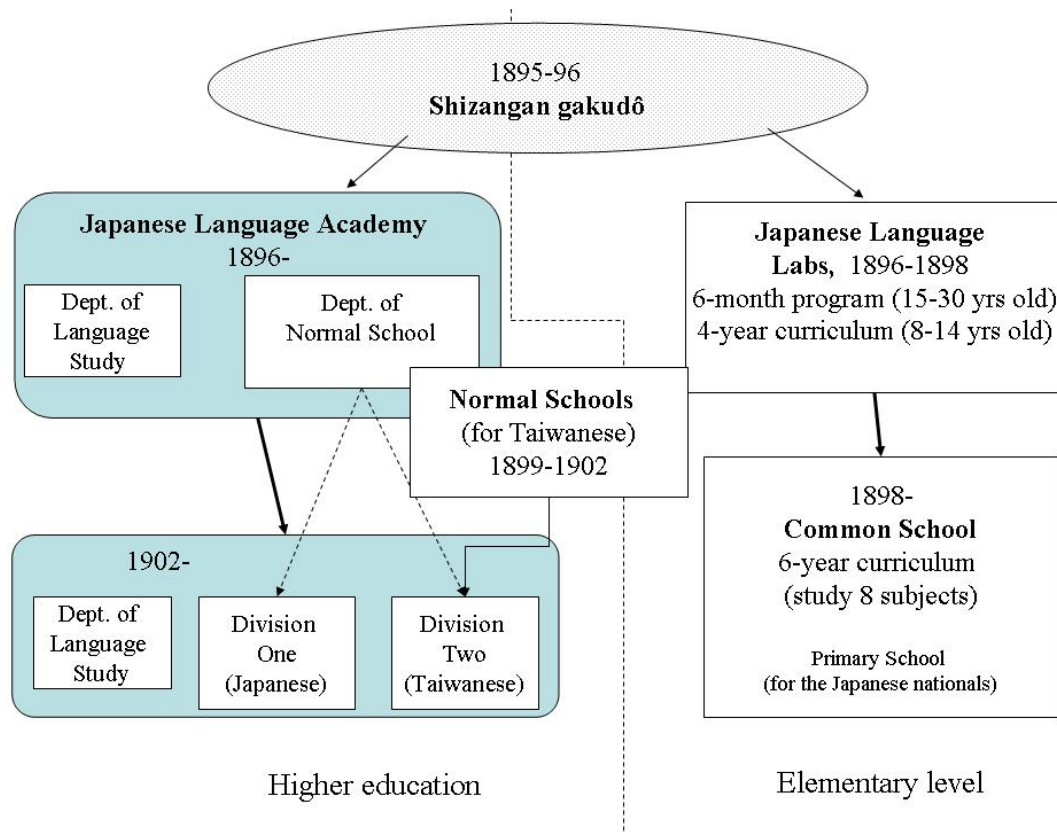
<sup>36</sup> Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, 32-34.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>38</sup> Tsurumi points out that since the beginning of colonization, the government had been careful in warding off Taiwanese demand for higher education. Teaching and medicine might just be safety valves to allow a small number of Taiwanese to seek upward mobility. The restriction and lack of opportunity propelled well-to-do families to send their youngsters to Japan to acquire higher education. *Ibid.*, 77, 65.



Figure 3-3: Development of Colonial School System in Taiwan, 1895-1906.



### III. Musiking *Shōka*: Political and Educational Functions as Reflected in Repertoire (Object) and Performance Occasions (Site)

*Shōka* originally referred to a body of songs Meiji Japan developed for its schools. With the introduction of colonial education, *shōka* entered the Taiwanese musical experience. Colonial educators envisioned *shōka* to be an effective educational tool to transform the young Taiwanese in multiple ways.

## *Shōka* and its musical transformation of Taiwan

Soon after 1898 when *shōka* became a required subject in the Common School, it became an important educational and political tool. Some Japanese teachers even argued that *shōka* was a perfect tool to “soften” the stubborn Taiwanese so that they could learn the new values and ideas.<sup>39</sup> Early colonial educators used *shōka* to teach the Taiwanese students not only the Japanese language but also Japanese values. When Izawa Shūji himself taught at the *Shizangan gakudō*, he used *shōka* to discipline students and correct their posture. One Taiwanese student vividly recalled that Izawa *sensei* sang loudly a “song of discipline”, which indeed was titled *Masugu ni tateyo* (“Stand straight!”), and had the misbehaving student sing along, with his hands clapping on a desk to mark the tempo and rhythm.<sup>40</sup> As the Taiwanese student sang, he was told what to do: the song text tells him to stand upright, look straight ahead, keep good posture, follow the order, and walk in pace. Singing the song text in Japanese, the student was at the same time engaged in a Japanese language lesson. He had to loudly pronounce the words, understand and memorize the meanings of the verses so

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<sup>39</sup> Miya Shitsuka and Okamoto Yōhachirō, “Kōgakkō no shōka kyōju ni tsuite [On Teaching Common School Singing Lessons].” *Taiwan Kyōikukai Zasshi* [Taiwan Education Society Newsletter] 6 (1902): 24.

<sup>40</sup> Taiwan Kyōikukai, ed., *Izawa Shūji sensei to Taiwan kyōiku* [Great Teacher Izawa Shūji and Taiwan Education] (Taihoku (Taipei), 1944), 31. The Taiwanese student from *Shizangan gakudō* recalled that Izawa *sensei* composed a song of discipline for misbehaved students to sing. According to Liou Lin-Yu’s investigation, the song Izawa taught was *Masugu ni tateyo* (“Stand straight!”) from *Yūchi’en shōkashū* (“The Kindergarten Songbook”) published in 1887.

that he could accordingly adjust his posture. By combining the teaching of physical discipline, language learning, and aesthetic instruction, *shōka* epitomized the Japanese value of bodily regulation in civil education. When Izawa had his Taiwanese students sing the song *Masugu ni tateyo* and adjust their postures, he forced the young Taiwanese to re-program not only their bodies but also their minds.



Japanese Text/Pronunciation

English Translation

Masugu ni tateyo	Stand straight!
Tadashiku mukeyo	Face forward!
Hidari wo mirunayo	Don't look left
Migiri mo mirunayo	Or to the right
Atama wo magezu	Don't turn your head
Mune wo baidashi	Stick out your chest
Yuden wo suruna	Don't you dare relax
Gōrei wo Mamore	Follow the command
Ashinami soroe	Fall into step
Shizuka ni ayume	Advance quietly

Following the model of Izawa, colonial teachers extensively used *shōka* in their classrooms. For instance, a teaching note dated Monday, July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1896, records that the class met for three hours: in the first hour the students practiced Japanese pronunciations; in the second hour the students learned a specific set of sentence types; in the third hour, both teacher and students rehearsed the song *Kigensetsu* (“Empire Day”).<sup>42</sup> Scheduling a *shōka* lesson after two hours of Japanese language lessons underscored the general perception that singing refreshes the mind so that the students could learn and study more effectively. The song *Kigensetsu* (“Empire Day”) described the great achievement of the legendary first Japanese emperor Jimmu (711-585 BCE). Written in classical Japanese, the lyrics read as poetry would not be intelligible to Taiwanese students with limited Japanese language ability. Their learning of *Kigensetsu* as a

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<sup>42</sup> Kokubu, *Taiwan ni okeru kokugo kyōiku no tenkai* [The Development of Japanese Language Education in Taiwan], 81.

*shōka*, however, allowed them a chance to learn the difficult lyrics in multiple ways – reading, singing, listening to the teachers’ explanation, imagining the images, and memorizing the performances. The teaching and learning generated by the singing of *Kigensetsu* thus constituted a mini series of lessons in Japanese language and history. As such, it provided a means for the Taiwanese students to learn to become loyal subjects of Japan. *Shōka* impressed the Taiwanese students because it gave them a new experience of learning and understanding through singing. Izawa Shūji’s melody for the song compliments the meanings of the lyrics. When sung in stately melody and rhythm, the song *Kigensetsu* could lead the students to experience a sense of awe and reverence even when they did not clearly understand the lyrics.

Figure 3-5: Musical example: *Kigensetsu* ("Empire Day").<sup>43</sup>

紀 元 節

一三四  
 クナモバニラソビユルカチヤホノ  
 ナイカネオロシヨニクナヤモキマシキ  
 ナメグビキフナシシクメシラマホクミシヨチ  
 アフケケフフコソタタノシケレ

1. The clouds tower over Mt. Takachiho,  
The cold wind blows down from the high mountain.  
It blows through the trees and grass,  
All is leveled by the power of the Imperial Reign.  
We revere the Imperial Reign with happiness.
2. We are blessed by the great waves  
Coming from the sea of Haniyasu  
We revere the Imperial reign with happiness.
3. The Imperial Throne never changes.  
One thousand generations, ten thousand generations, it never moves.  
The gods have decided that Emperor's position will never change.  
We revere the Imperial Reign with happiness.
4. The Land of the Rising Sun is the best county in the world.  
The main pillar of the country is the Emperor.  
We revere the Imperial Reign with happiness.

<sup>43</sup> Image of score scanned from Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Kōgakkō shōkashū* (Taihoku (Taipei): Taiwan Sōtokufu, 1915), 44. Translation of the song text is quoted from Berger, "Shōka and Dōyō: songs of an educational policy and a children's song movement of Japan, 1910-1926", 28-29.

## The Repertoire: imported *shōka* expressing Japanese agendas

Most of the *shōka* that the Taiwanese students sang came from Japan.

During the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, Japan produced a plethora of school songs, and many were exported to Taiwan. Four songbooks, one compiled by Izawa Shūji and three published by the Ministry of Education, were particularly important sources for colonial teachers to find songs for their singing and cultural and political lessons.<sup>44</sup> An analysis of the songs reveals the agendas that colonial Japan intended to musik with their Taiwanese subjects in colonial music education.

### Agenda 1: Singing the Empire

The first agenda of the official *shōka* repertoire was singing about the empire and learning citizenship. To familiarize Taiwanese students with the history and culture of the empire through *shōka*, the Common School Regulations specified that schools should teach the songs used for national holidays of Japan. The colonial government emphasized the prime importance of the eight holiday and ceremonial songs proclaimed by the Ministry of Education in 1893.<sup>45</sup> Four songs from the collection – *Kimigayo* (national anthem), *Kigensetsu* (Empire Day), *Tenchōsetsu* (Emperor's birthday), and *Ichigatsu tsuitachi* (January 1st) – became

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<sup>44</sup> *Taiwan kyōikukai zasshi* [Newsletter of Taiwan Education Society] 1 (July, 1901), 47.

<sup>45</sup> Taiwan Kyōikukai, ed., *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi* [Development of Taiwan Education], 232.



the standardized holiday and ceremonial songs used in Taiwan. In other words, Taiwanese children learned to sing the empire in the same way as Japanese children.<sup>46</sup>

Figure 3-6: The holiday and ceremonial *shōka* used in Taiwan: *Kimigayo* (Japanese national anthem).<sup>47</sup>



<sup>46</sup> *Chokugo hōtō*, “Reply to the Imperial Rescript,” was the fifth holiday/ceremonial song later added to this group. However, the three songs of Shinto festivals – *Genshisai* (Shinto Festival of Origins, January 3rd), *Kannameisai* (Shinto Festival of New Rice, October 17th), and *Niinamesai* (Shinto Harvest Festival, November 23rd) – listed in the eight holiday songs of the 1893 announcement apparently were never used in Taiwan. Evidence supporting this claim is fact that these songs did not appear in the song lists compiled by the early colonial teachers, and most published songbooks and manuals since 1915 did not include them, either. Since the *shōka* lessons and pedagogies of Taiwan closely followed the trend in Japan, further research is needed to identify whether the absence of the three Shinto festival songs was an adjustment to the actual condition of the colony, or was a result of the revision of holiday and ceremonial songs in Japan.

<sup>47</sup> Text and translation quoted from *Kokin wakashū: the first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, with Tosa nikki and Shinsen waka*, Helen Craig McCullough trans. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985), 83, no. 343.

wa ga kimi wa  
 chiyo ni yachiyo ni  
 sazareishi no  
 iwao to narite  
 koke no musu made

May our lord endure  
 for a thousand, eight thousand  
 long generations –  
 may he live until pebbles  
 grown into mossy boulders.

Figure 3-7: The holiday and ceremonial *shōka* used in Taiwan: *Tenchōsetsu* (Emperor’s birthday).<sup>48</sup>



1. This joyous day is the joyous day that His Majesty was born.  
 This joyous day is the joyous day that the light came out.
2. People, celebrate together His Majesty’s reign that expands light.  
 People, celebrate together His Majesty’s reign that expands blessing.

<sup>48</sup> English translation by Yuri Fukazawa. Because of the different grammatical structure of Japanese and English, the Japanese lyrics are translated by verse.

Figure 3-8: The holiday and ceremonial *shōka* used in Taiwan: *Ichigatsu tsuitachi* (January 1st).<sup>49</sup>

一月一日

♩ = 96

ニ は つ ひ の ひ か り さ し い で て

マ ツ タ ケ タ ラ タ カ ド ゴ ト ニ  
き み が み か げ に た ぐ へ つ つ

あ ふ ぎ み る こ そ た ふ と け れ

1. Today that we celebrate the joy of the endless reign by setting up pine and bamboo at each gate as a custom for the beginning of a year is very enjoyable.
2. Looking up at this morning's sky where the first sunshine of the year comes out and glows in all directions while comparing it with His Majesty's image is very precious.

To make learning the holiday songs more efficient, two experienced colonial teachers, Miya Shitsuka and Okamoto Yōhachirō, suggested that their fellow colonial teachers schedule the teaching of the songs strategically.

Taiwanese children needed time to learn and practice the songs; otherwise they

<sup>49</sup> English translation by Yuri Fukazawa. Because of the different grammatical structure of Japanese and English, the Japanese lyrics are translated by verse.

could not sing properly in the holiday ceremonies. For example, since the Meiji emperor's birthday was celebrated on November 3rd with the singing of *Tenchōsetsu* (Emperor's Birthday), the teachers suggested that Taiwanese first graders should begin to learn the song in October. This would allow the students a month or so to become familiar with the song so that they could sing properly for the ritual occasion. Similarly, to celebrate New Year's Day, the students would begin to learn the song "January 1st" in December. To prepare for singing the song *Kigensetsu*, for Empire Day, celebrated on February 11th, students would begin learning or reviewing the song in January.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to the small group of holiday songs, Taiwanese students also learned to sing songs that underlined the values promoted by the Japanese state. For example, they sang *Sumeramikuni* ("The country the Emperor reigns"), a song about devoting oneself to serve the Emperor and his country Japan. They also sang songs that promoted Japanese virtues, such as loyalty, filial piety, diligent study, courage, and harmonious friendship. These songs, though not explicitly speaking of the empire, delivered messages of ideal citizenship desired in the empire. For example, early colonial teachers often taught the song *Yūkannaru suihei* ("Courageous sailor"). A song in the style of a march and inspired by the

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<sup>50</sup> The monthly *shōka* lesson schedule provided by Miya and Okamoto demonstrates this logic of *shōka* teaching. Miya and Okamoto, "Kōgakkō no shōka kyōju ni tsuite [On Teaching Common School Singing Lessons]", 35-36.

Sino-Japanese war in 1894, it praises courage, duty and devotion. Its lyrics were probably not easy for the Taiwanese children to understand.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, as a lively march it was a favorite *shōka* of the Japanese teachers.

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<sup>51</sup> A Japanese educator, namely Katō Chūtarō, stated that *Yūkannaru suihei* was among the several difficult *shōka* unsuitable for Taiwanese students younger than the third grade to grasp the meanings, and reminded fellow colonial teachers to pay attention to the appropriateness of text when selecting *shōka*. Katō Chūtarō, “Shōka no kashi ni tsukite.” *Taiwan Kyōikukai Zasshi* 49 (April 25, 1906): 8-9.

Figure 3-9: *Sumeramikuni* (“The country the Emperor reigns”)<sup>52</sup>

皇 御 国

加藤司書<sup>かとうししよ</sup>\*

一

すめらみくにの、もののふは、  
いかなる事をか、つとむべき。  
ただ身にもてる、まごころを、  
君と親とに、つくすまで。

二

皇御国の、おのこらは、  
たわまず おれぬ、こころもて。  
世のなりわいを、つとめなし、  
くにと民とを、とますべし。

里見 義

— 『小学唱歌集(二)』明16・3

\* 加藤司書徳成(ノリシゲ。1830—1895)は福岡藩士で勤王家、慶応元年十月二十五日切腹。この歌詞は作曲者伊沢修二が加藤桜智編『古今今様集』からとり、『小学唱歌集』編集のとき里見義に第二章を付け加えさせた。

皇 御 国

加藤司書 作詞  
里見 義 作曲  
伊沢修二 作曲

すめらみくにのもののふは  
いかなることをか、つとむべき  
ただみにもてるまごころを  
きみとおやとにつくすまで

1. A warrior of the country that the Emperor reigns should make efforts on anything.  
He just gives His Majesty and his parents the utmost sincerity that he has.
2. Men of the country that the Emperor reigns must have a mind that does not bend or break.  
Work on livelihood and prosper the country and its people.

<sup>52</sup> Image of score and text scanned from Horiuchi Keizō and Inoue Takeshi, eds., *Nihon shōkashū* [*The Japanese Songbook*] (Tokyo, 1982), 20. English translation by Yuri Fukazawa.

Figure 3-10: *Yūkannaru suihei* (“Courageous sailor”).<sup>53</sup>

勇敢なる水兵<sup>\*</sup>  
佐木信綱

一  
煙も見えず 雲もなく  
風も起らず 浪立たず  
鏡の如き 黄海は  
曇りそめたり 時の間に

二  
空に知られぬ いかずちか  
浪にきらめく 稲妻か  
煙は空を 立ちこめて  
天つ日かげも 色くらし

三  
戦 今か たけなわに  
つとめつくせる ますらおの  
尊き血もて 甲板は  
から紅にかざられつ

勇敢なる水兵

佐木信綱 作詞  
奥好義 作曲

け かり も み え ず ー く も も な く  
か ー ぜ も お こ ら ず な み た た ず  
か が み の ご と き ー こ う か い は  
く ー も り そ め た り と き の ま に

(1) With no smoke seen, no clouds, no wind blowing, no wave coming, the Yellow Sea as smooth as a mirror has started becoming cloudy in a shout time.

(2) Is there unknown thunder in the sky? Is there lightening shining on the wave? Smoke fills the sky, and the sunshine in the sky is also dark.

(3) The battle is now at a peak. The deck has been decorated in bright red with precious blood of great men fulfilling their duties.

<sup>53</sup> Image of score and texts scanned from *Ibid.*, 44. The song contains eight verses of lyrics. Only the first three are translated here. English translation by Yuri Fukazawa.

## Agenda 2: Experiencing the Culture

The second agenda of *shōka* was to make Taiwanese students experience Japanese children's culture. In order to transform the Taiwanese youngsters into Japanese subjects, they were made to feel like Japanese children. Since Taiwanese children could neither visit Japan nor play with Japanese children, the former could sing what the latter would experience or imagine. Japanese children's songs often featured simple melodies and rhythms set into simple Japanese texts. These features enabled the children's songs to be particularly suitable for young Taiwanese students, who came to colonial schools with neither Japanese language ability nor the experience of singing *shōka*.

The song *Karasu* ("The Crows"), for example, is one *shōka* that early colonial teachers taught to Taiwanese first graders.<sup>54</sup> The song itself is short and simple. Musically, the variation of rhythmic patterns creates a feeling of liveliness, and the narrow range of notes – only six degrees – makes the song easy to sing. The repetitions of the melodic phrases and textual verses render the song an easily memorable and accessible tune for young children. Language-wise, the song makes a good introduction to Japanese vowels and consonants. The lyrics of this song contain a number of "Ah" sounds in combination with

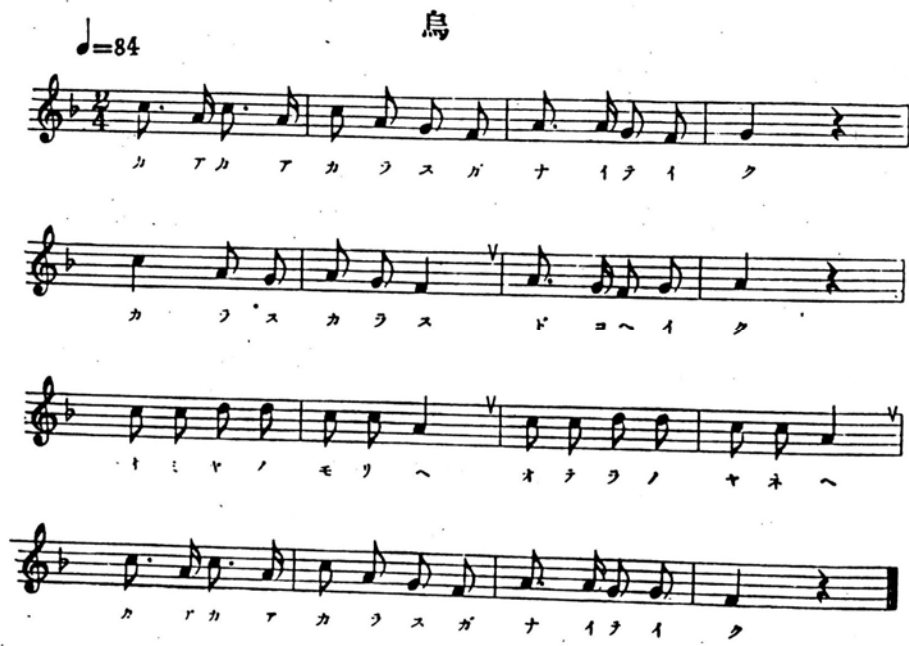
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<sup>54</sup> In the song list compiled by Taichung County Common School teachers in 1901 (*Taiwan Kyōikukai Zasshi* no.2, September 1901) and the list provided by the two teachers Miya and Okamoto published in 1902 (*Taiwan Kyōikukai Zasshi* no.6, August 1902), *Karasu* was the first or second song to be taught to Taiwanese first graders.



other consonants. Singing “karasu” allows Taiwanese children to practice the vowel and its combination with different onsonants. Singing the song *Karasu* was thus a language lesson in musical rendition.

Figure 3-11: Musical example: *Karasu* (“The Crow”).<sup>55</sup>



Japanese Text

Ka-a ka-a karasu ga naiteita  
 Karasu karasu doko e ita  
 Omiya no mori e, otera no yane e

Ka-a ka-a karasu ga naiteita

English translation

Ka, ka, the crow sings as it flies  
 Crow, crow, where are you going?  
 Maybe the crow is going to the forest  
 around the shrine, or the temple’s  
 rooftop.

Ka, ka, the crow sings as it flies.

<sup>55</sup> Image of score scanned and translation quoted from Berger, “Shōka and Dōyō: songs of an educational policy and a children’s song movement of Japan, 1910-1926,” 236.

For the Taiwanese students, experiencing Japanese culture included sonic exposure to a musical style distinctively identified as Japanese. For example, colonial teachers often taught their Taiwanese students to sing *Kazoe uta* (“Counting song”). A popular folksong and children’s song collected in the *Yūchi’en shōkashū* (“The Kindergarten Songbook”), the song is melodically distinctive from most contemporary *shōka* and textually versatile. The tune of *Kazoe uta* is based on the *miyako bushi* tetrachord that is also common in Japanese folk music.<sup>56</sup> The song thus has a distinctive musical feature reminiscent of Japanese folksong. The song texts, in addition to teaching the Taiwanese children to count in Japanese, also speak of Japanese values of harmonious relationships with family, the emperor, and school.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Inoue Takeshi and Kojima Yoshiko, *Nihon no kodomo no uta: meiji kara gendai made* [Children’s songs of Japan, from Meiji era to the present (1868-1963)], Liner notes. (Victor, [1963]), Audio LP. A brief summary of the tetrachord theory that explains the tonal structure of Japanese traditional music can be seen in Berger, “Shōka and Dōyō: songs of an educational policy and a children’s song movement of Japan, 1910-1926”, 32, 34.

<sup>57</sup> As a popular folksong, the song texts of *Kazoe uta* have many variations. In one folksong version, for example, the song text describes Japanese imageries and sentiments. See Ryūtarō Hattori, *Thirty-One Japanese Folk Songs with Piano Accompaniment* (Tokyo: Nippon Times, Ltd., 1954), 12. In a later *shōka* version such as the version in Common School Songbook in 1915, the texts were rewritten to a more elaborate description of the virtues.

Figure 3-12: Musical Example: *Kazoe uta* (“Counting song”).<sup>58</sup>

数えうた\*

四	三	二	一
たがいにむつびて、 世をわたれ、よをわたれ。	ちぐさに はなさけ、 あきの野辺、秋の野辺。	ちりても かおれや、 きみがため、きみがため。	はぐくみ そだてし、 おやのおん、おやのおん。
四つとや、世に頼もしきは、兄弟ぞ、 〱。	三つとや、みどりは一つの、幼稚園、 〱。	二つとや、二つとなきみぞ、山桜、 〱。	ひとつとや、人々一日も、忘るなよ、 〱。

数えうた

ひ と つ と や ー ー ひ と び と ひ と ひ も  
 わ す る な よ わ す る な よ  
 は ぐ く み そ だ て し お や の お  
 ん ー ー お や の お ん

1. One, people, don't forget, don't forget even one day.  
Gratitude to your parents who nurtured and raised you.
2. Two, there aren't two lives, mountain cherry blossoms, mountain cherry blossoms.  
Even you fall [die], be fragrant for you [His Majesty], for you [His Majesty].<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Image of score and text scanned from Horiuchi and Inoue, eds., *Nihon shōkashū* [*The Japanese Songbook*], 28. The first four verses out of the ten verses are translated. English translation by Yuri Fukazawa.

3. Three, three is one kindergarten, kindergarten.  
May flowers bloom variously in the autumn field, autumn field.
4. Four, those who are dependable in this world are siblings, siblings.  
Live your life, be close to each other.

As the Taiwanese students advanced in age and in their experience with *shōka*, they learned to sing songs with a wider variety of textual themes and more sophisticated lyrics. The majority of these songs were directly imported from Japan. As such, although they introduced Japanese images and sentiments to the Taiwanese singers, the songs nevertheless might not match what the Taiwanese could understand based on their experience. Colonial teachers noticed this discrepancy between what the Japanese song texts intended to convey and how much the Taiwanese students could relate the textual meanings to themselves when singing. Thus, the suggestion arose to create *shōka* with subject matters to which the Taiwanese students could better relate and understand. The experienced *shōka* teachers Miya and Okamoto pointed out that songs imported from Japan were not always suitable for Taiwan and that songs with local themes should be developed.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Two double meaning words are used in this verse. “Even if you fall” (*chiritotemo*) can also mean “even if you die”; “you” (*kimi*) can also mean “His Majesty”. I thank Yuri Fukazawa for pointing this out.

<sup>60</sup> Miya and Okamoto, “TKZ,” 34.

### Agenda 3: supplementing knowledge learning

The third agenda of *shōka* repertoire was to assist Taiwanese learning of the knowledge conveyed in other subjects of the Common School curriculum. *Kyōka tōgō*, "curriculum integration," was a prevailing pedagogical concept shared by Japanese teachers, and matching the *shōka* lesson schedule with the study of other subjects was often discussed by colonial educators. For example, two experienced *shōka* teachers, Miya and Okamoto, suggested that when the students were learning *shūshin* (ethics) and the topic was related to the Imperial Household, *Kimigayo* should be taught. Integrating *shōka* with other subjects, the two teachers argued, helped students to better understand and memorize the concepts as well as to emotionally relate to the subject.<sup>61</sup>

In 1905, the idea of curriculum integration with *shōka* was tellingly addressed in the song list prepared by Akinami Sei, an education official of Changhua County. Akinami Sei's *shōka* list was developed to integrate *shōka* with the contents of the new Common School textbook *Taiwan Kyōkayosho Kokumin Dokuhon* ("Taiwan Textbooks: Readers of Citizens"; hereafter *Readers of Citizens*), published from 1901 to 1903. Compiled by the colonial government, *Readers of Citizens* were *kokugo* textbooks of twelve volumes and covered a wide range of topics, ranging from moral issues to Japanese history to natural science and

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid: 25.

modern technology.<sup>62</sup> Learning *kokugo* through *Readers of Citizens*, the Taiwanese schoolchildren were expected to internalize what the Japanese empire wanted its Taiwanese colonial citizens to know and practice.

The *Readers of Citizens* subsequently became the framework for Common School teachers to select songs and develop *shōka* lessons. This is how Akinami Sei developed his song list: he selected *shōka* from various songbooks to match the lessons in *Readers of Citizens*.<sup>63</sup> To illustrate such coordination, one only need to juxtapose the titles of the lessons in *Readers of Citizens* for the fourth grade with the songs Akinami Sei chose for the students.

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<sup>62</sup> Cai, "Ri ben ju tai chu qi gong xue xiao 'guo yu' jiao ke shu fen xi [An Analysis of Japanese Language Textbooks in Common Schools of Early Japanese Colonization]," 254-55; 257-58.

<sup>63</sup> Akinami Sei, "Shōkaka kyōju saimoku [Details of *shōka* teaching]," *Taiwan kyōikukai zasshi* [Newsletter of Taiwan Education Society] 36 (1905): 22-24.

Table 3-1: Lessons in *Readers of Citizens*, volumes seven and eight for fourth grade, and the songs suggested by Akinami Sei.<sup>64</sup>

	Titles of lessons in <i>Readers of Citizens</i> , Fourth Grade (vols. 7 & 8)		Songs for the Forth Grade suggested by Akinami Sei (1905)	Possible reference to lessons
	Volume VII	Volume VIII		
1	Kigentsetsu (Empire Day)	Map of Japan	1st semester: <i>Kōtō</i> (Imperial Line) <i>Kyūjō</i> (Imperial Palace) <i>Taue</i> (rice planting) <i>Suijōki</i> (water vapor)  2nd semester: <i>Yūdachi</i> (sudden shower) <i>Nigimitama</i> <i>Wagakuni</i> (my country) <i>Fujisan</i> (Mountain Fuji)  3rd semester: <i>Ji wa kogane</i> (Time equals gold) <i>Umi no sekai</i> (The World of the Sea)  (Reference/Further suggested songs) <i>Jimmu Tennō</i> (Emperor Jimmu) <i>Kisha</i> (steam train) <i>Niji</i> (rainbow) <i>Nōfu</i> (farmer)	VII-1, 2
2	Imperial palace	Mountain Fuji		VII-1, 2
3	Spring	The patiently working Tasuke		VII-4, 6 VII-12
4	Paddy field	Merchant		
5	Story of a dog	Pig		
6	Planting rice seedling	Story of horse and pig		VII-16
7	Water buffalo and horse	Clock		VIII-9 VIII-1
8	Story of fly and water buffalo	A letter		VIII-2
9	Tea (i)	Taiwan Jinja (Shinto shrine of Taiwan)		VIII-7
10	Tea (ii)	Reaping rice		VIII-14
11	The good-hearted Agim	Rice		
12	Water vapor	Two farmers		
13	Steam train	Rain		
14	Eager to do well	Sea/Ocean		
15	Rowing dragon boat	Drinking water		[VII-1]
16	Sudden rain shower	Opium		VII-13 [VIII-13]
17	Doctor	Learning		VIII-
18	Sanitation	Hōkiichi <sup>65</sup>		10,11,12]

<sup>64</sup> The lesson titles are translated to English based on the title list provided in Cai, “*Ri ben ju tai chu qi gong xue xiao 'guo yu' jiao ke shu fen xi* [An Analysis of Japanese Language Textbooks in Common Schools of Early Japanese Colonization],” 256-57.

<sup>65</sup> The meaning of “Hōkiichi” is not clear; it could refer to a personal name.

*Shōka* were thus coordinated with *Readers of Citizens* through textual associations in song titles and lesson titles. For instance, early in the school year the fourth graders learned about rice fields and rice seedlings, and Akinami Sei chose the song *Taue* (“Rice planting”) to integrate what the students sang and what they studied. Teachers could also use the song *Nōfu* (“Farmer”) in addition to *Taue*. Later in the school year the students learned about Taiwan Jinja, the Taiwan Shinto Shrine, and according to Akinami Sei’s list they would sing the song *Nigimitama*, a *shōka* specifically created for the shrine and its commemorative activities.<sup>66</sup> Music and textual meanings were effectively coordinated in *shōka* and colonial education. It was not by accident that when students read lessons about water vapor and steam trains in *Readers of Citizens*, they sang the song *Suijōki* (“Water vapor”); when they learned about the clock in the lesson *Clock*, they sang *Ji wa kogane* (“Time is gold”).

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<sup>66</sup> Please see Chapter Five on the Taiwan Jinja, the commemoration, and the song *Nigimitama*.



Figure 3-13: Music Example: *Taue* ("Rice planting").<sup>67</sup>

田 植

♩ = 120

田  
植

一 二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十 十一 十二 十三 十四 十五 十六 十七 十八 十九 二十 二十一 二十二 二十三 二十四 二十五 二十六 二十七 二十八 二十九 三十 三十一 三十二 三十三 三十四 三十五 三十六 三十七 三十八 三十九 四十 四十一 四十二 四十三 四十四 四十五 四十六 四十七 四十八 四十九 五十 五十一 五十二 五十三 五十四 五十五 五十六 五十七 五十八 五十九 六十 六十一 六十二 六十三 六十四 六十五 六十六 六十七 六十八 六十九 七十 七十一 七十二 七十三 七十四 七十五 七十六 七十七 七十八 七十九 八十 八十一 八十二 八十三 八十四 八十五 八十六 八十七 八十八 八十九 九十 九十一 九十二 九十三 九十四 九十五 九十六 九十七 九十八 九十九 一百

一 二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十 十一 十二 十三 十四 十五 十六 十七 十八 十九 二十 二十一 二十二 二十三 二十四 二十五 二十六 二十七 二十八 二十九 三十 三十一 三十二 三十三 三十四 三十五 三十六 三十七 三十八 三十九 四十 四十一 四十二 四十三 四十四 四十五 四十六 四十七 四十八 四十九 五十 五十一 五十二 五十三 五十四 五十五 五十六 五十七 五十八 五十九 六十 六十一 六十二 六十三 六十四 六十五 六十六 六十七 六十八 六十九 七十 七十一 七十二 七十三 七十四 七十五 七十六 七十七 七十八 七十九 八十 八十一 八十二 八十三 八十四 八十五 八十六 八十七 八十八 八十九 九十 九十一 九十二 九十三 九十四 九十五 九十六 九十七 九十八 九十九 一百

一 二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十 十一 十二 十三 十四 十五 十六 十七 十八 十九 二十 二十一 二十二 二十三 二十四 二十五 二十六 二十七 二十八 二十九 三十 三十一 三十二 三十三 三十四 三十五 三十六 三十七 三十八 三十九 四十 四十一 四十二 四十三 四十四 四十五 四十六 四十七 四十八 四十九 五十 五十一 五十二 五十三 五十四 五十五 五十六 五十七 五十八 五十九 六十 六十一 六十二 六十三 六十四 六十五 六十六 六十七 六十八 六十九 七十 七十一 七十二 七十三 七十四 七十五 七十六 七十七 七十八 七十九 八十 八十一 八十二 八十三 八十四 八十五 八十六 八十七 八十八 八十九 九十 九十一 九十二 九十三 九十四 九十五 九十六 九十七 九十八 九十九 一百

一 二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十 十一 十二 十三 十四 十五 十六 十七 十八 十九 二十 二十一 二十二 二十三 二十四 二十五 二十六 二十七 二十八 二十九 三十 三十一 三十二 三十三 三十四 三十五 三十六 三十七 三十八 三十九 四十 四十一 四十二 四十三 四十四 四十五 四十六 四十七 四十八 四十九 五十 五十一 五十二 五十三 五十四 五十五 五十六 五十七 五十八 五十九 六十 六十一 六十二 六十三 六十四 六十五 六十六 六十七 六十八 六十九 七十 七十一 七十二 七十三 七十四 七十五 七十六 七十七 七十八 七十九 八十 八十一 八十二 八十三 八十四 八十五 八十六 八十七 八十八 八十九 九十 九十一 九十二 九十三 九十四 九十五 九十六 九十七 九十八 九十九 一百

一 二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十 十一 十二 十三 十四 十五 十六 十七 十八 十九 二十 二十一 二十二 二十三 二十四 二十五 二十六 二十七 二十八 二十九 三十 三十一 三十二 三十三 三十四 三十五 三十六 三十七 三十八 三十九 四十 四十一 四十二 四十三 四十四 四十五 四十六 四十七 四十八 四十九 五十 五十一 五十二 五十三 五十四 五十五 五十六 五十七 五十八 五十九 六十 六十一 六十二 六十三 六十四 六十五 六十六 六十七 六十八 六十九 七十 七十一 七十二 七十三 七十四 七十五 七十六 七十七 七十八 七十九 八十 八十一 八十二 八十三 八十四 八十五 八十六 八十七 八十八 八十九 九十 九十一 九十二 九十三 九十四 九十五 九十六 九十七 九十八 九十九 一百

1. The girl is wearing a straw hat and a red sash to tie up the kimono.  
All the young girls are wearing the same costume.  
When I hear the taue song, it sounds like this, "sora to."  
All the young girls come out.  
All the girls are in a straight line like the rice plants when they begin planting.
2. When the hands and feet move in planting the rice,  
All the girls sing together the taue song.  
This year is a good harvest – much rice.  
Even beside the road, rice is growing.

<sup>67</sup> Image of score scanned and translation quoted from Berger, "Shōka and Dōyō: songs of an educational policy and a children's song movement of Japan, 1910-1926", 288.

### The Repertoire: new *shōka* created for the colony

The colonial context itself inspired new *shōka* to be created to address the events, experience, and discourse generated by colonization. While Japanese *shōka* remained a convenient source of songs, the colonial condition of Taiwan demanded songs of its own. *Shōka* created in Taiwan or for Taiwan fall into two major categories of purpose: to discourse about the empire-colony relationship, and to describe Taiwan.

#### Discoursing the Empire-Colony Hierarchy: the *Rokushi Sensei*

One of the earliest *shōka* songs created in Taiwan commemorated *Rokushi Sensei*, namely the six Japanese teachers of *Shizangan gakudō*. On January 1st, 1896, six teachers had traveled from the suburbs to the city to visit other colonial bureaucrats for the New Year. They were killed by Taiwanese anti-Japanese insurgents. Several months after the incident, Izawa Shūji, as the Head of the Education Bureau, had a stele built to memorialize the teachers and mark the site for future memorial services. On February 1st in the following year, a memorial service was institutionalized to honor the six teachers; all colonial schools were ordered to observe the day.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Taiwan Kyōikukai, *Shizangan shi* [Records of Shizangan] (Taihoku (Taipei): Taiwan Kyōikukai, 1923), 27. The six teachers were killed on January 1st and the anniversary service conventionally

The development of the commemoration of the six Japanese teachers and the associated song was deliberate and strategic. Izawa Shūji grasped and manipulated the incident into lessons for both the colonial teachers and the Taiwanese students. Calling the sacrifice of the six teachers as “the Shizangan spirit,” which was described as the ultimate expression of patriotic service to the Japanese emperor, the six teachers were elevated to an exemplary model for the colonial educators of Taiwan.<sup>69</sup> The spirit also demanded that Taiwanese students be grateful for their colonial teachers, who launched modern education on the island, and continued to devote themselves to the Emperor through their service in educating the Taiwanese. In 1900, Takahashi Fumishi, the first music teacher at the Japanese Language Academy, composed two versions of the song to commemorate the six teachers. The short version was for the Taiwanese children to express their gratitude; the long version intended to encourage colonial teachers-in-training at the Japanese Language Academy to follow the exemplary six teachers’ devotion to colonial education.

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would have been on very same day. However, January 1st was already the New Year celebration and hence the memorial was settled on February 1st.

<sup>69</sup> Taiwan Kyōikukai, *Shizangan shi [Records of Shizangan]* (Taihoku (Taipei): Taiwan Kyōikukai, 1933), 1.

Figure 3-14: The short version of *Chō junnan rokushi no uta* ("Song to mourn the six teachers"). Melody by Takahashi Fumishi, texts by Kabe Iwao, 1900.<sup>70</sup>

(變口調) 弔 殉 難 六 氏 歌

弔 殉 難 六 氏 の 歌 (短篇)

加 部 巖 夫 作 歌  
高 橋 二 三 四 作 曲

一) や や や 兒 等、  
ま な べ こ ら、  
し た へ し た へ、  
せ ん せ い を。  
二) た へ 兒 等、  
す け ら、  
ね も へ ね も へ。  
先 生 を。

は げ め や よ。  
兒 供 ら よ。  
た ん だ ら へ や み し。  
ね も へ や よ、  
國 の た め。  
殉 難 六 氏 の、

四十五

<sup>70</sup> Image scanned from *Kokugo Gakkō Kōyūkai Zasshi* [Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association Newsletter] 5 (June 1900): 45. English translation of song texts by Yuri Fukazawa. Number notation is a popular sight-singing tool used in East Asia. The diatonic scale degrees, beginning with the tonic in whatever key, are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and are sung as do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si. Dots above numbers indicate notes in the higher octave. The key signature left to the song title denotes the diatonic scale as B-flat major, thus 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 corresponds to B-flat, C, D, E-flat, F, G, A, B-flat. But the actual key of the song is g minor. See appendix C for the rendition of the first eight measures into staff notation.

1. Listen, children, work hard.  
Study, children, children.  
Admire, admire the teachers who collapsed and ended.
2. Sing, children, and think.  
Move forward, children, for the country.  
Think, think. Of the six martyred teachers.

Figure 3-15: The long version of *Chō junnan rokushi no uta* ("Song to mourn the six teachers"). Melody by Takahashi Fumishi, texts by Kabe Iwao, 1900.<sup>71</sup>

吊 殉 難 六 氏 歌

イ(ト) 調

(一) 吊 殉 難 六 氏 歌 (長編)  
加 部 巖  
高 橋 三 三  
夫 作 曲  
夫 作 歌

ユケ ス ス メ、 ど ど た げ び  
け ん、 進  
息 ひ た ゆ た ん、 時 な ら ず、  
ユケ ス ス メ、 わ が 徒 よ、  
學 の 園 の、  
難 な ら で、 日 本 劍 の、 東 の 間 も、  
ユケ ス ス メ、 名 を 千 載 に、  
ま し。  
ま し。  
ユケ ス ス メ、 大 丈 夫 よ。  
學 の 道 を、 開  
げ し ど も、 學 の 道 を、 開  
生 き じ 離 ら じ、 わ が 徒 よ、  
ユケ ス ス メ、 名 を 千 載 に、  
ま し。

(二) ユケ ス ス メ、 ま す ら を が、 命 は 露  
ユケ ス ス メ、 山 の 石 著 き、 芝 山  
ど 消 ぬ れ ど、 山 の 石 著 き、 芝 山  
巖、 巖 と な れ る 眞 心 は、  
ユケ ス ス メ、 千 代 も 八 千 代 も、 朽  
ち せ め や。  
ユケ ス ス メ、 わ が ど も よ、 殉 難 六  
ユケ ス ス メ、 幸 魂、 我 等 が すゝむ、 新 道  
氏 の、 幸 魂、 我 等 が すゝむ、 新 道  
の、 み ち を 照 ら せ り 導 び け り、  
ユケ ス ス メ、 い こ ひ た ゆ た ん 時 な  
ら ず。

(三) ユケ ス ス メ、 ま す ら を が、 命 は 露  
ユケ ス ス メ、 山 の 石 著 き、 芝 山  
ど 消 ぬ れ ど、 山 の 石 著 き、 芝 山  
巖、 巖 と な れ る 眞 心 は、  
ユケ ス ス メ、 千 代 も 八 千 代 も、 朽  
ち せ め や。  
ユケ ス ス メ、 わ が ど も よ、 殉 難 六  
ユケ ス ス メ、 幸 魂、 我 等 が すゝむ、 新 道  
氏 の、 幸 魂、 我 等 が すゝむ、 新 道  
の、 み ち を 照 ら せ り 導 び け り、  
ユケ ス ス メ、 い こ ひ た ゆ た ん 時 な  
ら ず。

(四) ユケ ス ス メ、 ま す ら を が、 命 は 露  
ユケ ス ス メ、 山 の 石 著 き、 芝 山  
ど 消 ぬ れ ど、 山 の 石 著 き、 芝 山  
巖、 巖 と な れ る 眞 心 は、  
ユケ ス ス メ、 千 代 も 八 千 代 も、 朽  
ち せ め や。  
ユケ ス ス メ、 わ が ど も よ、 殉 難 六  
ユケ ス ス メ、 幸 魂、 我 等 が すゝむ、 新 道  
氏 の、 幸 魂、 我 等 が すゝむ、 新 道  
の、 み ち を 照 ら せ り 導 び け り、  
ユケ ス ス メ、 い こ ひ た ゆ た ん 時 な  
ら ず。

四十六

1. Go, move forward, great men.  
Even if the thorny trifoliate oranges grow thick, we will not live or return  
without paving the way of study, my friend.  
Go, move forward, we will be known for a long time.

<sup>71</sup> Image scanned from *Kokugo Gakkō Kōyūkai Zasshi* [Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association Newsletter] 5 (June 1900): 46-47. English translation of song texts by Yuri Fukazawa.

2. Go, move forward, my friend, not a whip in school but a Japanese sword does not have even a short time to take rest; might have been brave, “Go, move forward,” and might have moved forward.
3. Go, move forward, great men’s lives disappear easily, but the mountains name is clear, Shizangan; their sincerity that became a rock – go, move forward – will not decay for a long time.
4. Go, move forward, my friend, the six teachers’ spirit to protect and give happiness to people lights up the road that we are moving forward on and lead us – go, move forward – it is not the time to take a rest.

The *Shizangan* spirit, invented and empowered by Izawa, signified the hierarchical relationship between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. The discourse implied that the Taiwanese were ignorant and had caused the tragic death of the six teachers, who sacrificed themselves to bring enlightenment and modernization by educating the Taiwanese. Thus, the Taiwanese should always remain grateful and respectful to their Japanese teachers. Furthermore, the six teachers, representing the Japanese colonial effort in educating the Taiwanese, had demonstrated their loyalty to the Emperor by devoting their lives to civilizing the colony. Therefore, the Japanese teacher-Taiwanese student relationship encapsulated and underscored the intrinsic hierarchy between empire/Japanese/enlightenment and colony/Taiwanese/ignorance. Throughout the Japanese colonial period, singing to commemorate the six teachers not only reiterated the message that the Taiwanese should always be grateful to their Japanese teachers, it also inscribed onto the Taiwanese mind the modernization debt they owed to their colonizer-teachers.

### Creating Taiwan-themed songs

In addition to historical events, living in colonial Taiwan prompted Japanese educators to create songs with local themes. For example, Takahashi Fumishi composed the melody for the song *Funukui*, “Opium Addict”, in 1901. The Japanese colonial authority had identified opium smoking as the most serious social problem of Taiwanese society. They could not, however, regulate the practice until Gotō Shimpei designed an opium monopoly policy in 1897 for the Sōtokufu to effectively control the supply of the drug, reduce the addicts through issuing permits, and at the same time increase the income of the colonial government.<sup>72</sup> Many Taiwanese children witnessed or heard about opium smoking in their daily life, and thus the colonial authority thought it important to educate them about the evils of opium smoking to prevent them from taking up the habit. For this purpose, the textbook *Readers of Citizens* included lessons on the harms of opium, and the colonial educators created a song to further the purpose of the lesson.<sup>73</sup> Through education and *shōka*, the Japanese teachers hoped to change the children’s perception of the drug.

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<sup>72</sup> Gotō Shimpei was the Civil Administrator of the colonial government from 1898 to 1906. A Germany trained medical doctor, Gotō was the Director of the Health Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs before he took the Taiwan post.

<sup>73</sup> *Kokugo Gakkō Kōyūkai Zasshi* [Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association Newsletter] 8 (1901): 21.

Figure 3-16: *Funukui* (“Opium addict”), 1901. Melody by Takahashi Fumishi, text by Sugiyama Bunsato.<sup>74</sup>

煙 鬼

(2/4)

5	—	2	3	2	2		5	2	3	2		2	1	—	∩		
ア	ホ	ソ	ロ	セ	ノ	フ	メ	ク	イ	ヤ							
あ	は	れ	な	る	ふ	ぬ	く	い	や								
3	3	1	1		2	2	5		3	3	2	1		5	—	∩	
イ	ロ	ア	ナ	ザ	メ	チ	メ	ハ	ク	ギ	ミ						
か	ア	の	た	か	ら	な	け	む	サ	に	し						
3	3	1	1		2	2	5		3	3	2	1		2	—	∩	
ホ	ト	カ	ハ	ト	ニ	ヤ	セ	ン	ホ	ソ	リ						
い	ま	さ	ら	く	い	て	も	せ	ん	は	な						
3	3	5	5		1	1	3	3		2	2	3	2		1	—	
モ	ノ	イ	ア	コ	エ	サ	ヘ	カ	ス	カ	カ						
な	け	き	に	し	ゴ	め	り	カ	ツ	マ	カ						

一 ああ おそろしの いろあをさのて はねどかはとに ものいふてあさへ かすかなり	二 ああ あはれなる かすのたからを いまふらうくても なげまにしづめり	一 ふぬくいや めはくほみ やせほそり かすかなり	二 ふぬくいや けむりにし せんはなし つまもこも
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作歌 杉山 文悟  
 作曲 高橋二三四

1. Oh, the scary opium addict  
 His color is pale, and his eyes are sunken  
 He is skin and bones  
 Even his voice to say things is feeble
2. Oh, the miserable opium addict  
 He turns various treasures into smoke  
 It is too late to regret; there is no choice  
 Both his wife and children seem lost in grief

<sup>74</sup> Image of score and text scanned from *Kokugo Gakkō Kōyūkai Zasshi* [Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association Newsletter] 8 (1901): 22. English translation of song texts by Yuri Fukazawa.



Japanese educators did not only create *shōka* to combat social evils; they also sang about the island. For example, Takahashi wrote the melodies for two songs, in 1902 and 1910, about a journey through Taiwan, narrating the geographical features of various places of Taiwan.<sup>75</sup> The ninety verses of *Taiwan shūyū shōka* (“Taiwan round tour school song”) narrated a journey through Taiwan as if traveling by the cross-island railroad. After seeing all the major cities and scenery of the western part of Taiwan from north to south, the journey took the route from south to north along the Taiwanese east coast to finish the great circle. Although it is unclear whether colonial teachers taught their students to sing the song(s), the creation of the songs nonetheless created a political and aesthetic lesson about the island. The song texts begin by describing the geographical parameters of Taiwan, Japan’s new territory, which produced abundantly for the empire (verses 1-3). Next, the singers would learn about Taiwan city by city, beginning from Keelung, a busy port city of strategic and economic importance located at the far north point of the island (verses 4-5). As the journey went on, the singers would learn historical and geographical facts of the many locales described in the lyrics as well as knowledge of the island’s

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<sup>75</sup> The notation of the 1902 song has been lost. Liou, *Shokuminchi ka no Taiwan ni okeru gakkō shōka kyōiku no seiritsu to tenkai* [The establishment and development of school song education on the colony Taiwan], 74.

contemporary political, economic, and educational infrastructures established by the colonial government.

Figure 3-17: *Taiwan shūyū shōka* (“Taiwan round tour school song”), 1910. Melody by Takahashi Fumishi, text by Ui Hideru.<sup>76</sup>

臺灣周遊唱歌 高橋二三作曲  
(〜)調二拍子

臺灣周遊唱歌  
宇井英作歌

1. Let's explore the Taiwan island, the new territory of our Japan conquering East Asia with glory of the country shining in the world
2. One hundred *ri*<sup>77</sup> from north to south  
The circumference is over two hundred ninety *ri*  
That size including small islands  
Almost the same as the Kyushu island.

<sup>76</sup> Ui Hideru, *Taiwan shūyū shōka* [Taiwan Round Tour Song] (Taihoku (Taipei): Shinkōdō, 1910).

<sup>77</sup> “*Ri*” is an old Japanese unit; one “*ri*” is 3.927 kilometer. I thank Yuri Fukazawa for pointing this out.

3. Gold and silver in mountains and salt in the sea  
Tea manufacturing, sugar manufacturing, and fruits  
In paddies, rice produces a crop twice [a year]  
Really the empire's inexhaustibleness
4. At dawn at the Port of Keelung  
The view with the rising sun shinning all around  
The name of Formosa is not ordinary
5. At the strategic point at the farthest north gate, as it is the sole important  
port to travel to the mother country, ships come and go constantly all day

### **The site/performance occasions: holidays and ceremonies**

Much *shōka* learning and singing took place in the classroom, but the classroom was not the only place the Taiwanese students sang. School ceremonies to observe Japanese national holidays were necessary occasions at which the students were required to sing, but the venues were not confined to schools. For example, on the Meiji emperor's birthday of 1896, students of the Japanese Language Lab in Taichung were sent to the celebration hosted by the county government, and the older students of the six-month program sang *Kimigayo* to participate in the ceremony.<sup>78</sup>

*Shōka*, in fact, marked and served not only national holidays but also colonial education itself. This is most apparent in singing for the graduation ceremony, a symbol of the success and acceptance of *kokugo* education in Taiwan.

The first graduations took place in the months of March and April 1897 when

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<sup>78</sup> Xu Peixian, "Taiwan jin dai xue xiao di dan sheng - Riben shi dai chu deng jiao yu ti xi di cheng li (1895-1911) [The Birth of Modern Schools in Taiwan: the establishment of elementary education in the Japanese period], 1895-1911." (PhD dissertation, National Taiwan University, 2001), 51-52.

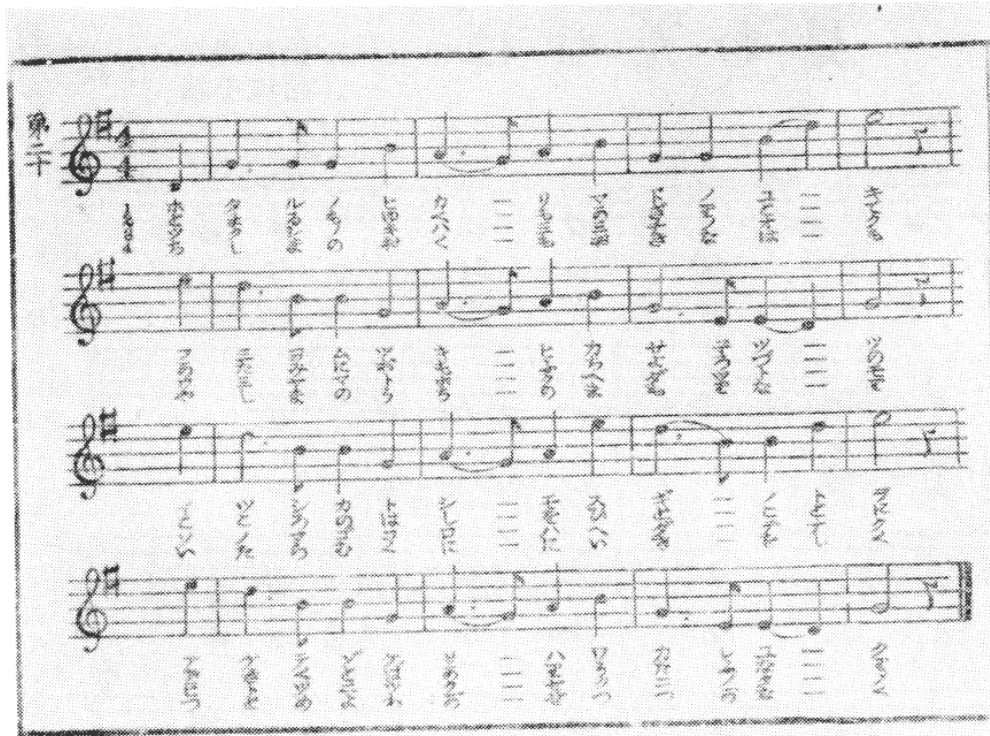
clusters of Taiwanese students completed their six months of *kokugo* training in various Japanese Language Labs. These were important events not only for students but also for colonial officials. When the Lab in the harbor city Keelung held its graduation ceremony on March 24th, 1897, Governor-General Nogi Manesuke<sup>79</sup> and the Chief of the Educational Bureau Izawa Shūji attended, and a number of local Taiwanese elites were also invited as guests. The ceremony began with singing the national anthem *Kimigayo*, and then proceeded to a series of speeches and awards. It ended with the singing of *Hotaru no hikari* (“Glow of fireflies”), a Japanese version of the Scottish farewell and blessing song Auld Lang Syne.<sup>80</sup> The Japanese lyrics set to the Western melody blessed the graduating students and urged them to serve the country and devote themselves to Japan after their departure.

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<sup>79</sup> Noki Manesuke was the third governor-general of Taiwan. His tenure was from October 1896 to February 1898.

<sup>80</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no. 161, March 26, 1897, p. 2.

Figure 3-18: Musical example: *Hotaru no hikari* (“Glow of fireflies”).<sup>81</sup>



1. (With) glow of fireflies, snow outside of the window  
Spending months reading books.  
Years have already passed by, and I open the pine door and part (with classmates) this morning.
2. As (today is) the last day for those staying as well as those leaving, we just sing, “Be safe,” expressing in one word many pieces of what each of us is thinking.
3. Even in the utmost ends of Tsukushi (Kyushu) or in Michinoki (a part of Tohoku), distantly separated by the ocean or mountains, give your sincerity to our county unseparately.
4. The inland of the Kurile Islands as well as Okinawa are under Japan’s protection. To countries that it does not reach, bravely do your duty safely.

<sup>81</sup> Image scanned from Horiuchi and Inoue, eds., *Nihon shōkashū* [The Japanese Songbook]. 16. English translation of the texts by Yuri Fukazawa.

Beginning in 1901, colonial school students took their singing of *shōka* to expanded educational sites and times. Some schools in Taipei would organize student trips to pay homage at the *Taiwan Jinja* (Taiwan Shinto Shrine), standing on a hilltop just outside the city center.<sup>82</sup> An essential part of the students' activities at the *Jinja* was to sing songs proper to the day and the setting.

Colonial schools in Taiwan were “agents of the empire.” To engage with the local communities where they were located, schools hosted many open-house activities to display their modern features and the achievements of teachers and students. One important activity and occasion in this engagement was the sport relays (*yūndōkai*) held by individual schools or sometimes jointly by several schools in the area. Sport relays often began with a choral singing of the Japanese national anthem *Kimigayo*. In between games, more songs were sung, generating a semi-festival aura and attracting many spectators, mostly Taiwanese from the nearby communities. Relays thus became the best advertisement for the school and the colonial state it represented. Schools often received new applications for enrollment after the semi-festival relay.<sup>83</sup> The sport relay demonstrated how fun and lively the school could be, and *shōka* was an essential part of this demonstration and presentation.

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<sup>82</sup> See Chapter Five.

<sup>83</sup> Xu, “Taiwan jin dai xue xiao di dan sheng - Riben shi dai chu deng jiao yu ti xi di cheng li (1895-1911) [The Birth of Modern Schools in Taiwan: the establishment of elementary education in the Japanese period], 1895-1911.”, 237-46.

#### IV. Musiking Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan: Negotiating *Shōka* and Education

The above discussions of the musiking objects and sites of early colonial music education have demonstrated the educational, political and ideological role of *shōka* envisioned by colonial educators. Nonetheless, implementing *shōka* was itself a dynamic process in which not only the Japanese but also the Taiwanese negotiated their agendas. The following discussion will present a history of Japanese attempts to implement *shōka* and Taiwanese responses to *shōka* in colonial education. Both parties musiked and negotiated around *shōka* to advance their agendas.

In 1895 to 1896, *shōka* was used in the first colonial classrooms at the *Shizangan gakudō*. The overall educational experience of teaching the Japanese language to the Taiwanese was considered successful, and encouraged the government to expand colonial educational programs and activities. In 1896, the Japanese Language Academy was launched to train future teachers, and it provided music lessons, including *shōka*. For this purpose, a professional music teacher, Takahashi Fumishi, was recruited from Japan to Taiwan in late 1896. In the ten years from 1896 to 1906, Takahashi was the only faculty member of music at the Japanese Language Academy, and single-handedly trained generations of

Japanese and Taiwanese prospective teachers the skills of singing, instrument playing, basic music theory, discourses of music education, and the repertoire of *shōka*.<sup>84</sup> These teachers then went on to teach *shōka* to Taiwanese students in schools set up all over the island. Indeed, it would be fair to claim that the music education carried out in the first decade of Japanese colonization almost entirely came from Takahashi Fumishi's solo operation.

In 1898, the colonial government was determined to launch Common School throughout the island. Thus, seventy-four Common Schools started in Taiwanese towns and villages;<sup>85</sup> all pursued a six-year curriculum with *shōka* as one of the eight subjects of study. This new phase of colonial education also gave Common School teachers the task of selecting and organizing *shōka* songs for their students, and so they had to rely on what they had learned when they were trainees at the Japanese Language Academy. It was a challenge for many teachers. Without further instructions and specific guidelines, they had to juggle musical and non-musical problems such as the students' ages, musical capabilities, vocal ranges, singing skills, Japanese language abilities, and so forth.

In 1901 and 1902, Common School teachers endeavored to tackle these problems by organizing a summer workshop and discussing their teaching

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<sup>84</sup> Sun Zhijun, "Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan shi fan xue xiao yin yue jiao yu zhi yang jiu [Music Education of Normal Schools in Taiwan under Japanese Rule]." (MA thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 1997), 78.

<sup>85</sup> Xu Peixian, *Zhi min di Taiwan di jin dai xue xiao [The Modern School in the Colony Taiwan]*. (Taipei: Yuan liu chu ban shi ye, 2005), 92.



experiences. In the Taichung County school districts, thirty-five Japanese teachers and fifty-eight Taiwanese teachers attended a summer workshop organized in 1901. The Japanese teachers received training in five subjects and Taiwanese teachers had lessons in eight subjects. The subjects for the two groups of teachers overlapped little, but both received training in *shōka*. Regarding *shōka*, an important outcome of the workshop was a song list. In other words, the teachers of the Taichung County Common Schools now had a repertoire to cover the six years of *shōka* lessons.<sup>86</sup> In 1902, two teachers with experience in teaching *shōka*, Miya Shitsuka and Okamoto Yōhachirō, shared with their Common School colleagues their own song list, lesson schedule, and notes on things to pay attention to in teaching *shōka*.<sup>87</sup>

Confronting colonial education was a new experience, and the Taiwanese had many reasons to refuse to send their children to the Common Schools. Many Taiwanese held onto the belief that education meant studying Chinese and Confucian Classics; many were therefore skeptical about the Japanese, and certainly reluctant to send their children to study Japanese in Japanese schools. Moreover, they found the “modern” lessons unacceptable. They particularly disliked *shōka* and *taisō* (gymnastics/physical education), the two subjects most foreign to Taiwanese educational experience. The Taiwanese often associated

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<sup>86</sup> *Taiwan kyōikukai zasshi* [Newsletter of Taiwan Education Society] 2 (1901): 76-77.

<sup>87</sup> *Taiwan Kyōikukai Zasshi* [Newsletter of Taiwan Education Society] 6 (1902): 24-37.

*shōka* with the singing of actors and actresses, the people and profession of the lowest social status in traditional Taiwanese society. And the presence of *taisō* caused rumors that the new schools were intended to prepare Taiwanese children to become soldiers.<sup>88</sup> In short, Taiwanese parents resisted the Common School out of inexperience with modern education and skepticism about their colonial rulers, and they used *shōka* and *taisō* as excuses. Their resistance also showed that the Taiwanese had their own ideals of education which were not easy to abandon.

In 1904, the Common School curriculum underwent its first reevaluation and revision. *Shōka*, along with several newly-added subjects such as handcraft, agriculture, and commerce, was made an optional subject, meaning that an individual school could determine whether to include *shōka* based on its own operating condition. However, *taisō* remained in the basic curriculum, and Classical Chinese (*kanbun*) was added as a new subject. The actual dynamics of revising the curriculum was not clear, but it was clear that the technical difficulty in teaching *shōka* required the educational authority to reconsider the subject.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Taiwan Kyōikukai, ed., *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi [Development of Taiwan Education]*, 238.

<sup>89</sup> Liou Lin-Yu (Ryū Ringyoku) suggests certain technical difficulties such as low enrollment rate, and thus low funding, a lack of equipment to facilitate teaching, as well as shortages of musical instruments, songbooks, and other supplementary materials might all have contributed to the change of *shōka*'s status in 1904. Liou Lin-Yu (Ryū Ringyoku), "Meijiki niokeru Taiwan no shōka kyōiku: "Taiwan Kyōikukai zasshi" no kiji bunsaki wo chūshinni (The shōka education of colonial Taiwanese in the Meiji period: As reflected in the periodical Taiwan's educational academy)." *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū (Journal of the Society for Research in Asiatic Music)* 62 (1997): 42.

Moreover, Taiwanese resistance to the new education in the presence of *shōka*, and their desire for Chinese literacy could have critically forced the colonial authority to restructure the Common School curriculum to better comply with Taiwanese preferences for education.

The colonial authority also had to take local preference into consideration, because the Taiwanese co-sponsored the Common Schools. To raise funds to open a school, local communities formed their own education committees in charge of collecting donations, calculating cost-sharing procedures, and convincing the community members to support and enroll their children in the Common School.<sup>90</sup> In supporting the Common School, the Taiwanese communities rarely encountered the problem of fund shortage. However, when the Taiwanese felt that the school did not meet their expectations or failed to address their needs, they refused to pay.<sup>91</sup> In other words, the local Taiwanese communities possessed a certain leverage to negotiate with the colonial government for a school curriculum better conforming to their vision.

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<sup>90</sup> Xu Peixian provides case studies of how the local Taiwanese communities sponsored the Common School launched by the colonial government. The studies have shown that the Taiwanese were actively engaged in sponsoring their local educational institutions. Case studies regarding how local communities collected fund to support the Common School is discussed in Xu, *Zhi min di Taiwan di jin dai xue xiao* [*The Modern School in the Colony Taiwan*], 61-88.

<sup>91</sup> Xu, "Taiwan jin dai xue xiao di dan sheng - Riben shi dai chu deng jiao yu ti xi di cheng li (1895-1911) [The Birth of Modern Schools in Taiwan: the establishment of elementary education in the Japanese period], 1895-1911", 163-64.

Despite the Taiwanese resistance toward *shōka* and the downgrading of its importance in the curriculum, Common School teachers in general supported *shōka*. A statistics showed that in 1904, 84 out of 153 Common Schools taught *shōka* as one of the required subjects. A year later in 1905, 103 out of 165 Common Schools opted to teach *shōka*.<sup>92</sup> Teachers often cited the importance of *shōka* in education, especially its function to help Taiwanese students pronounce Japanese correctly. And Taiwanese children liked *shōka*. Julean Arnold, the American Consul stationed in northern Taiwan, observed that Taiwanese children in the new schools seemed to enjoy *shōka* very much and demonstrated talent. With this observation, Arnold contemplated that *shōka* could become a useful tool to assist the Taiwanese in learning the Japanese language.<sup>93</sup> Colonial teachers thus continued teaching *shōka*.

Taiwanese teachers also played a role in accepting and promoting *shōka* in Common Schools and in Taiwanese society. Beginning in 1899, the colonial government began to train native Taiwanese to become Common School teachers. The Taiwanese teachers or teachers-in-training became aligned with modern style elementary education and subscribed to the values behind it. Thus

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>93</sup> Julean H. Arnold, *Education in Formosa* (Washington, DC: United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1908), 37.

they were willing to persuade their fellow Taiwanese to accept the modern Common School curriculum.

For instance, in 1902, Jian Yanghua, a Taiwanese student of the Normal School Department at the Language Academy, wrote an essay to explain the goals of the individual subjects in the Common School curriculum. Jian cited the six arts (*liu yi*) in Confucian learning, and related it to the Common School curriculum. Relating *shōka* to *yue*, music, one of the six arts, as the subject for cultivating emotions, Jian explained that the purpose of *shōka* was not to sing the vulgar songs heard in the marketplace. Children naturally would sing songs that they heard and found interesting; thus teaching *shōka*, a body of carefully selected songs, would give children something good to sing, and something good for their minds.<sup>94</sup>

In 1903, Chen Baoquan, another Taiwanese teacher-to-be, argued for the necessity of music in general education.<sup>95</sup> Chen began his essay with the function of music in purifying the spirit and cultivating morality, reiterating the functional view of music that Izawa Shūji had campaigned for Meiji Japan and that Takahashi Fumishi had taught to the Taiwanese students. Heavily citing

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<sup>94</sup> The essay appears in *Kokugo gakkō kōyūkai zasshi* [Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association Newsletter] 10 (August 1902): 42-43.

<sup>95</sup> Chen's essay appears in *Kokugo gakkō kōyūkai zasshi* [Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association Newsletter] 12 (June 1903): 47-48.

words and passages on music and morality from Confucian classics, Chen argued that ancient China had indeed valued music education in similar ways.<sup>96</sup>

Both the essays of Jian and Chen were written in Japanese and published in *Kokugo kakkō kōyūkai zasshi* (“Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association Newsletter”). Very few Taiwanese, other than the handful educated in the Academy, would seek access to the publication. Nonetheless, Jian and Chen’s writings probably reflected the views of those Taiwanese teachers who had received colonial education, and the essays could be seen as exercises of explaining *shōka* and Common School curriculum to skeptical Taiwanese parents.

The Taiwanese teachers’ embracing of *shōka* and its value could further be seen in the essay by Common School teacher Wei Qingde. In 1910, Wei’s essay on what education could do to improve Taiwanese society appeared in *Taiwan kyōikukai zasshi* (“Taiwan Education Society Newsletter”).<sup>97</sup> Wei condemned vulgar courting songs sung by the Taiwanese folk during work and leisure as the worst of Taiwanese culture and customs. The songs taught in schools, Wei posited, could potentially replace the vulgar Taiwanese songs to become the future music of the Taiwanese. However, Wei cautioned that the school songs

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<sup>96</sup> Liou Lin-Yu identifies the Confucian classics that Chen cited. Liou, *Shokuminchi ka no Taiwan ni okeru gakkō shōka kyōiku no seiritsu to tenkai* [The establishment and development of school song education on the colony Taiwan], 80-81.

<sup>97</sup> Wei’s essay, “Yu dui dang jin xue jie zhi ji wang [My hope in current education]”, was written in Chinese and appeared in the Chinese section of *Taiwan Kyōikukai Zasshi* [Taiwan Education Society Newsletter] 95 (February 1910): 1-2 (Chinese section page numbers).

were almost all sung in the Japanese language, and the students could barely understand the meaning of the lyrics they sang; they simply sang for the melody and rhythm. The Taiwanese who did not go to Common Schools would not understand the lyrics, and would not sing the new songs. Without saying it directly, Wei had called for the creation of *shōka* in the Taiwanese language. Such a call, needless to say, registered the fact that by the early 1910s, some Taiwanese teachers had gone beyond simply embracing the *shōka* taken from the Japanese songbooks; they had begun to ask how singing might influence their culture and life, and what kind of songs their children should sing.

## V. Conclusion

Since the very beginning of Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan, colonial education was established as a means of persuasion and governance. *Shōka*, a product of Japanese emulation of Western practices, was incorporated into colonial schools from the earliest stages of colonization. Colonial schools were the location where the political and cultural transformation systematically took place, and *shōka* was a musicking project that the Japanese launched to colonize Taiwan and Taiwanese people.

Reviewing *shōka* as sonic object – a repertoire of selected songs – demonstrates Japan's agenda: by making the Taiwanese colonized sing about the

empire, they were impelled to experience Japanese and colonial culture, and learn the practical knowledge needed to make Taiwan a profitable colony. Singing *shōka* during Japanese holidays and ceremonies created musical objects, sites, and processes for the Japanese and Taiwanese to negotiate their agendas. With lyrics that taught the students Japanese language, virtues, history, culture, and specific events in Taiwan, the songs engaged the Taiwanese physically, intellectually, and emotionally. Thus, as colonial education developed, the important function of *shōka* became more and more prominent.

Seeing *shōka* as a musically particularized site shows the highly politicized nature of *shōka*. Taiwanese students performed *shōka* on national holidays in ceremonies meant to indoctrinate the Taiwanese in colonial loyalty and identity. When sung during such events as graduation ceremonies and sport relays, *shōka* helped the performers and observers to connect to a community which would have to continually confront issues of identity and loyalty.

The musiking of *shōka* was itself a process of negotiation between the Japanese and Taiwanese. While colonial educators envisioned the positive function of *shōka* in education and put effort into actualizing the teaching, the Taiwanese were skeptical of colonial education and its teaching of music. *Shōka* thus became not only a contested object but also an excuse to resist Japanese control. Only when young Taiwanese who had studied in the colonial schools



became teachers and began to embrace the value of modern education did the resistance decline. By that time, however, the Taiwanese had appropriated *shōka* and began to use it to negotiate with their colonial authority on cultural matters.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### MUSIKING TAIWANESE TIME AND SOCIETY

National holidays and commemorative activities tell people who they are, by reminding them who they were and imagining who they will be. The memories can be told through historical events such as the beginning or ending of a war, or the founding of a republic. The future can be shaped when memories guide people to construct their identities. By creating and reconfiguring holidays and commemorative activities, a nation can reinvent its history – a collective memory that its subjects use to understand and construct who they were, are, and will be. Holiday celebrations and commemorative activities are often marked by music – singing or playing the national anthem, bands leading processions, ensembles marking rites of the ceremonies, and so forth. Thus, musical sounds are integral components of national memories and identities, and of their negotiations and manipulations.

When Japan colonized Taiwan, holidays and commemorations were created to transform a Chinese frontier land into a Japanese-governed territory.

Japan could not change what happened in the past of Taiwan nor re-tell Taiwanese history; Japan could, however, reshape Taiwan's present and future by manipulating holidays and commemorations to tell Taiwanese who they were and who they would be. In other words, colonial holidays were created to produce a new public memory and identity. This reshaping involved rearticulating the power structures of the society, and synchronizing the temporal rhythm of colony Taiwan with metropolis Japan. Thus, in the early colonial years, the Japanese colonial government put forth great effort to install colonial holidays and public rituals, in order to music times and activities that would reshape the calendrical and temporal rhythm of Taiwanese daily life. As the sonic component of colonial life, musical sounds and activities were not only symbols of political and social living, but also provided the sites and processes for both the Japanese colonizers and the Taiwanese colonized to engage with one another.

This chapter discusses two colonial holidays and celebrations that took place at the beginning and the end of the Japanese military annexation of Taiwan, in June and November, 1895, respectively. The two holidays, one created on the colony and one transplanted from Japan, announced Taiwan's new condition as a Japanese colony by forcing the Taiwanese to accept the new concept of time,

power, and social structure imposed by Japan. As the colonized, Taiwanese resisted, negotiated, and then accepted what they could not reject.

## I. Constructing Japanese Time and Society in Taiwan

One of the first technicalities in establishing colonial governance was to synchronize the times of metropolis Japan and the colony Taiwan.<sup>1</sup> To keep Taiwan in tune with Japan for administrative communications, Japan needed to impose its Gregorian calendar on the colony. To become integrated into the economic network of Japan and the world, the Taiwanese society was demanded to adopt the calendar used in Japan. Theoretically, Taiwan became synchronized with Japan on June 17th, 1895, when the colonial government pronounced the official beginning of colonial reign; in practice, the island was officially incorporated into one of Japan's time zones on January 1st, 1896.

The grounding of the new calendar and temporal rhythm, however, necessitated many propaganda efforts.<sup>2</sup> Bureaucratic sites and colonial schools were the earliest locations to adopt the new calendar; the general public in

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<sup>1</sup> Lü Shaoli, *Shui luo xiang qi: Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan she hui di sheng huo zuo xi (Whistle from the Sugarcane Factory: the transition of time cognition and rhythms of social life in Taiwan under the Japanese rule, 1895-1945)* (Taipei: Yuan liu chu ban gong si, 1998), 53.

<sup>2</sup> Lü Shaoli analyzes the establishment of a standardized time and social rhythm introduced by the Japanese colonial government and the many endeavors taken by the government to internalize the new rhythm into the Taiwanese daily life. *Ibid.*, 53-90.

Taiwan, however, continued to operate with their native and localized rhythms.<sup>3</sup> To make Taiwanese society operate in the new time system, the Japanese launched colonial holidays and commemorative rituals to calibrate and guide social time and lives. This process began as the annexation unfolded.

### **Japanese military annexation and Taiwanese anti-annexation struggle**

Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 led to the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki on April 17th, 1895, in which Qing China agreed to cede Taiwan to Japan. Taiwanese elites and Qing officials to Taiwan protested and petitioned to revert the agreement, but the Qing court failed to stem the tide. In despair, the leaders of Taiwan declared as an independent island-state "The Republic of Formosa" on May 25th, 1895,<sup>4</sup> and Tang Jingsong, the Taiwan Governor from the Qing court became the president of the new republic.<sup>5</sup> By

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 57-83.

<sup>4</sup> The Chinese term *Taiwan minzhuguo* has at least two different English translations. It was translated "Republic of Formosa" by American journalist James Wheeler Davidson. James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present: history, people, resources, and commercial prospects: tea, camphor, sugar, gold, coal, sulphur, economical plants, and other productions*, Reprint from 1903 ed. (Taipei & Oxford: Taipei: Southern Materials Center; Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 279. Hosea B. Morse, then working at the Custom and Tariff in Danshui, also calls it "Republic of Formosa." Hosea B. Morse, "A Short Lived Republic," *The New China Review* 1 (March 1919): 27. But Harry J. Lamley names this institution "the Taiwan Republic." Harry J. Lamley, "The 1895 Taiwan Republic: A Significant Episode in Modern Chinese History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 27 (1968).

<sup>5</sup> Scholars have different views on whether the date on which the Republic was declared was May 23rd, May 24th, or May 25th. Ng Yuzin has analyzed the reasons of the difference. Yuzin Chiaotong Ng, *Taiwan min zhu guo zhi yan jiu [Studies on the Taiwan Republic]*, Liao Weizhi trans.

declaring Taiwan an autonomous state and a republic, the founders of the republic wished to solicit international sympathy and directly negotiate aid and support from the European powers with active interests in East Asia. The plan sought to involve Western powers to intervene Japan's annexation of Taiwan.<sup>6</sup>

The declaration of the Republic of Formosa neither secured the European intervention the Taiwanese leaders had wished nor stabilized the collapsing social condition of Taipei. On May 29th, 1895, the Japanese Imperial Body Guard, under the command of Prince Kitashirakawa, landed on the northeast coast of Taiwan and began pushing inland. The Republic's armies were unable to stop the Japanese military force, which was more disciplined, larger in number, and armed with modern weaponry.<sup>7</sup> Soon the Imperial Body Guard took over the harbor city of Keelung on June 4th and set up the *Sōtokufu*, or Governor-General's Office, in the custom building of the port.<sup>8</sup> The news generated much anxiety in Taipei. On June 5th, the Republican president Tang Jingsong left Taipei in secret and many officials escaped. Taipei then fell into chaos when

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from *Taiwan Minshukoku nuo kenkyū*. (Taipei: Cai tuan fa ren xian dai xue shu yan jiu ji jin hui (Council on Formosan Studies), 1993), 172-73.

<sup>6</sup> Lamley, "The 1895 Taiwan Republic: A Significant Episode in Modern Chinese History," 741.

<sup>7</sup> Huang Xiuzheng, *Taiwan ge rang yu yi wei kang Ri yun dong* [*The Cession of Taiwan and the 1895 Anti-Japanese Resistance*] (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1992), 151-53.

<sup>8</sup> Chen Jinrong, ed., *Ri ben ju Tai chu qi zhong yao dang an* [*Archives from Early Japanese Colonial Taiwan*] (Taichung: Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui (Taiwan Historica), 1978), 71.

many Chinese soldiers turned into rebels, robbing, looting and burning the office buildings in the city.<sup>9</sup>

To save Taipei from the worsening anarchy, a group of merchant elites requested that the Japanese take over the city and reestablish social order.<sup>10</sup> On June 7th, the Japanese troops entered Taipei without resistance. A week later, the Governor-General's Office moved from Keelung to the city. When Governor-General Kabayama and his staff arrived in Taipei by train, Taipei residents welcomed them by raising Japanese flags, playing music, and offering auspicious scrolls.<sup>11</sup> On June 17th, 1895, the Governor-General's Office, the *Sōtokufu*, held a ceremony to announce the Japanese right to rule over Taiwan and the beginning of Japanese colonial reign.

Although the Japanese Imperial Body Guard only needed nine days to establish control of Taipei and establish the *Sōtokufu*, their advance to other parts of Taiwan was not so smooth. As the Japanese military operation pushed

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<sup>9</sup> Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, 306-307.

<sup>10</sup> That Taipei surrendered to the Japanese without resistance was a historical fact. However, the actual details of who visited the Japanese military camp to report Taipei's condition, or who guided the Japanese into the city, are told in different accounts. The conventional story has it that Gu Xianrong, a merchant from Lugang to Taipei, opened the city gate so the Japanese could enter without violent encounters between the citizens and the armies. Other sources indicate slightly different versions of the story. According to Davidson, a small group of foreigner delegates, including himself, went to the Japanese military camp to inform the Japanese of Taipei's condition. *Ibid.*, 306-307. According to Governor-General Kabayama's report to the Japanese prime minister, before the visit of the Western delegates, a Taiwanese merchant arrived at the camp and reported that Taipei was in chaos and the citizens requested the Japanese army to enter the city to pacify the crimes. Chen, ed., *Ri ben ju Tai chu qi zhong yao dang an [Archives from Early Japanese Colonial Taiwan]*, 71.

<sup>11</sup> Chen, ed., *Ri ben ju Tai chu qi zhong yao dang an [Archives from Early Japanese Colonial Taiwan]*, 79.

southward to establish control of more towns and villages, they encountered surprisingly strong resistance. Those in central Taiwan were particularly powerful; contrasting with the surrender of northern Taiwan in many ways. The Republic's defense force in Taipei was made up of former Qing troops stationed in Taiwan and recruits from the mainland; though their number was substantive, their military readiness was poor. The central Taiwanese resistance was based in regional militias and garrisons organized by local elites, lower-level officials, village leaders, and wealthy landlords.<sup>12</sup> These local forces were not always well-organized but they could mobilize quickly and were highly motivated to defend their homes.

In the months following the Japanese annexation, Taiwan was literally a war zone and a chaotic land. Outside Taipei, Taiwanese reactions to the arrival of the Japanese rulers varied greatly. Some towns and villages surrendered in advance and raised the Japanese sun flag in the hopes of saving lives and homes from slaughter and loss. Some places fought fiercely, temporarily stopping the Japanese from advancing, or even forcing the Japanese to withdraw. Some peace-making villagers turned into angry resistance fighters when the Japanese brutally

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<sup>12</sup> Taiwan had been dominated by immigration-settlement for two centuries. Exploitation of lands and securing resources were operated locally by the settlers rather than orchestrated by centralized governmental administration. Settlers organized militias for the purpose of self-defense and regional security; members of the militias were mostly local villagers volunteering to protect their land and properties. During the annexation struggle, these traditional militias quickly turned into resistant forces to fight the Japanese.



mistreated the surrendered civilians.<sup>13</sup> When they encountered strong insurgence, the Japanese forced their advance by burning out whole areas and slaughtering the inhabitants, civilians and combatants. Such Japanese tactics, though effective, fostered bitter resentment among the peaceful Taiwanese; many subsequently turned into anti-Japanese guerillas.<sup>14</sup> As a result, the Taiwanese resistance gave the Japanese military a bumpy road in annexing the whole island. By early September, the strong resistance in central Taiwan forced Prince Kitashirakawa to temporarily suspend the plan of advancing to the south to cope with the rising Japanese casualties and to solicit more troops from Japan. Until the supply of troops arrived and strategies were redesigned to encounter the remaining anti-Japanese resistances, the Imperial Body Guard was unable to implement the annexation.<sup>15</sup>

Though the Republic of Formosa in Taipei quickly dissolved, its remnant regrouped in Tainan, the old capital city in southern Taiwan. Now led by General Liu Yongfu (1837-1917), who had successfully defended Vietnam from

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<sup>13</sup> The most famous case of this was Jian Jinghua, a wealthy farmer and businessman in the Yunlin area of central Taiwan. Jian was fighting with the anti-Japanese militias in the area north to his hometown, and after the resistance lost, he sneaked back to his own village. Knowing that the Japanese were superiorly equipped and determined to win at any cost, Jian worried that resistance would not lead to Taiwanese victory but more casualties. He therefore decided to surrender to save his villagers. However, the Japanese soldiers, upon arrival at his surrendered village, raped the women and killed the villagers, and Jian avenged to retaliate. Huang, *Taiwan ge rang yu yi wei kang Ri yun dong* [The cession of Taiwan and the 1895 anti-Japanese Resistance], 229-30; Ng, *Taiwan min zhu guo zhi yan jiu* [Studies on the Taiwan Republic], 204.

<sup>14</sup> Huang, *Taiwan ge rang yu yi wei kang Ri yun dong* [The Cession of Taiwan and the 1895 Anti-Japanese Resistance], 216.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

French aggression in 1884, the remnant established Tainan as the new capital of the Taiwanese republic.<sup>16</sup> However, Republic leadership was ineffective in coordinating the militias in various parts of central-southern Taiwan to develop better resistance strategies against the Japanese advancement. To fund their defense, the Republic issued new bills and sold government bonds. General Liu even introduced a postal system and issued the Republic's own stamps to increase revenue.<sup>17</sup> Wealthy elites in the Tainan area were also asked to contribute money to pay expenses incurred by the defense force.

However, by early October, the defense force in Tainan had collapsed due to heavy casualties. General Liu hence considered a conditional surrender.<sup>18</sup> On October 19th, a Japanese brigade took over the harbor town in Tainan's vicinity, a development that shocked the city. Replicating what had happened in Taipei just months before, General Liu then secretly left Tainan and returned to the mainland.<sup>19</sup> Tainan, like Taipei, plunged into social chaos. To restore order in the city, missionaries Rev. Jas Johnston, Rev. Thomas Barclay and more than a dozen

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<sup>16</sup> The republic in Tainan bore the same name, *Taiwan minzhuguo*, as its predecessor in Taipei. For continuity and consistency, it is referred to by the same title "Republic of Formosa." To be precise, however, the republic in Tainan used "Taiwan Republic" in its postmark. See Wu Micha, *Taiwan jin dai shi yan jiu [Study of Modern History of Taiwan]* (Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 1990), 39, n.2.

<sup>17</sup> Huang, *Taiwan ge rang yu yi wei kang Ri yun dong [The cession of Taiwan and the 1895 anti-Japanese Resistance]*, 200-202.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>19</sup> The short-lived Republic of Formosa, established on May 25th, 1895, dissolved on October 19th and lasted one hundred and forty-eight days. Ng, *Taiwan min zhu guo zhi yan jiu [Studies on the Taiwan Republic]*, 180.

of Tainan elites visited the Japanese military camp and requested their assistance in stabilizing the conditions.<sup>20</sup> The headquarters of the Japanese military expedition moved into Tainan on October 22nd. Using Tainan as a base, the Japanese quickly took control of other regions. Then the Governor-General made a trip to Tainan, celebrating the Japanese Emperor's birthday on November 3rd. On November 17th, five months after the beginning of colonial reign in Taipei, Governor-General Kabayama proclaimed that the anti-Japanese rebels had been fully suppressed, and the mission of annexation completed.

### **Japanese actions to politically control Taiwan**

Following the annexation and the proclamation, the Japanese established administrative infrastructures and local governments to consolidate its colonial control. Preparation had begun several months earlier. In August 1895, the *Sōtokufu* designed a pyramid of administrative units. In this system, the main island of Taiwan was divided into three large blocks: Taipei County, and the

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<sup>20</sup> Huang, *Taiwan ge rang yu yi wei kang Ri yun dong* [The cession of Taiwan and the 1895 anti-Japanese Resistance], 246. Davidson has a slightly different version of how Tainan solicited Japanese assistance. According to Davidson, the two missionaries who met with the Japanese were Ferguson and Barclay of the English Presbyterian Mission. They carried a letter in which a number of the elites in Tainan requested the Japanese to reinforce the city's order and assured the Japanese no opposition would occur upon their entry. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, 364.

Civil Affairs Divisions of Central and South Taiwan.<sup>21</sup> Taipei County covered four Prefectures; the Civil Affairs Division covered four Administrative Offices each.<sup>22</sup>

Table 4-1: Colonial Administrative System of Taiwan, August 1895 – February 1896.<sup>23</sup>

Central	Regional	Local
Taiwan <i>Sōtokufu</i>	Taipei County (North Taiwan); County headquarters: Taipei city	Keelung Prefecture
		Danshui Prefecture
		Hsinchu Prefecture
		Yilan Prefecture
	Taiwan Civil Affair Division (Central Taiwan); Division headquarters: Changhua city	Miaoli Administrative Office
		Lugang Administrative Office
		Yunlin Administrative Office
		Pulishe Administrative Office
	Tainan Civil Affair Division (South Taiwan); Division headquarters: Tainan city	Chiayi Administrative Office
		Anping Administrative Office
		Fengshan Administrative Office

<sup>21</sup> In addition to the County and Civil Affair Divisions, the offshore Pascadore (Penghu Islands) were a stand-alone Department and administratively parallel to the County/Division.

<sup>22</sup> The Civil Affairs Division of south Taiwan soon added the fifth Administrative Office covering the region of the Taiwanese southeast coastal area.

<sup>23</sup> Table made after Hsueh-chi Hsu, ed., *Taiwan li shi ci dian (Dictionary of Taiwan history)*, 2 vols. (Taipei: Xing zheng yuan wen hua jian she wei yuan hui (Council for Cultural Affairs, Taiwan), 2004), A079.

		Hengchun Administrative Office
	Penghu (The Pascadore) Department	

In this administrative structure, the *Sōtokufu* was the central and supreme body of policymaking; the local administrations were agents charged to actualize the policies formulated and to work with the local Taiwanese. The local administrations were also responsible for organizing colonial holidays and mobilizing the Taiwanese to participate in celebrative activities. Since the colonial administrations operated on the standard time of the Gregorian calendar, the Taiwanese were forced to work with a new “public time,” even if they continued to live their lives according to the lunar calendar. In short, in its beginning, colonial Taiwan operated as a society with two calendars, which were joined and contrasted by newly-installed holidays.<sup>24</sup>

To show how colonial holidays entered Taiwanese life with music, the following discussion will focus on the two colonial holidays celebrated in Taiwan – the inauguration of Japanese rule (*Shisei kinenhi*), and the Japanese

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<sup>24</sup> An example demonstrating the dual calendar rhythm of colonial Taiwan is the journal by Zhang Lijun, dated 1906-1937 and published in 2000. Lijun Zhang, *Shui zhu ju zhu ren ri ji (Diary of Chang Li-jun, 1906-1937: the life of a township administrative official)*, ed. Xueji Xu and Qiufen Hong, 10 vols. (Taipei: Zhong yang yan jiu yuan jin dai shi yan jiu suo (Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica), 2000). Zhang Lijun was a Taiwanese community leader and a local township administrative official. His journal entries were dated in both the Gregorian and lunar calendars. As a governmental clerk he operated on the “new” calendar; as a Taiwanese he lived on the “old” calendar. Even today, Taiwan continues to be a dual-calendar society, celebrating and observing major holidays of both calendars.

emperor's birthday (*Tenchōsetsu*). The inauguration was initially a holiday celebrated only by the *Sōtokufu*. Nonetheless, by the end of the first decade of colonial rule, local governments and colonial schools had joined the celebration. The Japanese emperor's birthday was celebrated by both the Japanese local administrations and their controlled Taiwanese communities since its first occurrence in 1895. To make these holidays known by more Taiwanese and to mobilize their participation, the *Sōtokufu* incorporated Taiwanese performances to inform the Taiwanese of the celebration. Rendering the new ritual and time with the celebrative soundscape was a result of musicking negotiation. When the Taiwanese performed their own conventional celebrative music, they nevertheless celebrated the new polity and the new ideology central to the Japanese empire; when the Japanese colonial administrators observed the Taiwanese acceptance of Japanese rule, they had to hear the sounds exotic to their experience and preference.

## II. *Shisei Kinenhi*: Celebrating the Inauguration of Japanese Rule

On June 12th, 1895, the *Sōtokufu* began preparation to celebrate the inauguration of Japanese administration in Taiwan on June 17th.<sup>25</sup> First, it

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<sup>25</sup> Chen, ed., *Ri ben ju Tai chu qi zhong yao dang an* [Archives from Early Japanese Colonial Taiwan], 9.

ordered the governor of Taipei County to prime the site of the military parade.<sup>26</sup> Then it notified the brigades quartered in other parts of northern Taiwan to send off-duty officers to Taipei to observe the celebration. In addition, the *Sōtokufu* requested the Japanese battleship *Matsushima*, stationed in Keelung, to dispatch its military band to Taipei.<sup>27</sup>

On June 17th, 1895, the celebration started with military parades at three o'clock in the afternoon. The parades began at the gathering site near the city's north gate. The parades marched through the residential and business areas to the west gate. After the military parades, the inauguration ceremony began at four o'clock at the plaza in front of the office building that now housed the *Sōtokufu*. The ceremony began with the navy's military band playing the Japanese national anthem *Kimigayo*. Then both Governor-General Kabayama and prince Kitashirakawa gave speeches; and a banquet followed. Amidst food and drinks, the participants enjoyed music played by the navy band as entertainment.<sup>28</sup> This music, some argue, was the first band concert ever heard on the island.<sup>29</sup> The audience for this musical performance included Japanese as well as Taiwanese spectators. In addition to Governor-General Kabayama and

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 10-11. The military parades would take place at the location of a former bureaucratic building burnt down during the chaos following the collapse of the Republic of Formosa. The Taipei County Governor protested that the short notice did not allow enough time to hire local laborers to complete the required work.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 15-16.

<sup>29</sup> Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, 312.

the chief commander of the military operation Prince Kitashirakawa, also present were a number of high-ranking Japanese officials and officers, twenty-four Western residents of Taipei, who were mostly consuls and diplomats, and eighty-three Taiwanese elites, among whom thirty-nine had literati titles and thirty-eight were affluent merchants, wealthy landlords, and doctors.<sup>30</sup> As the *Sōtokufu* banqueted, residents of Taipei staged several outdoor Taiwanese theatrical performances and parades to welcome Japanese rule.<sup>31</sup>

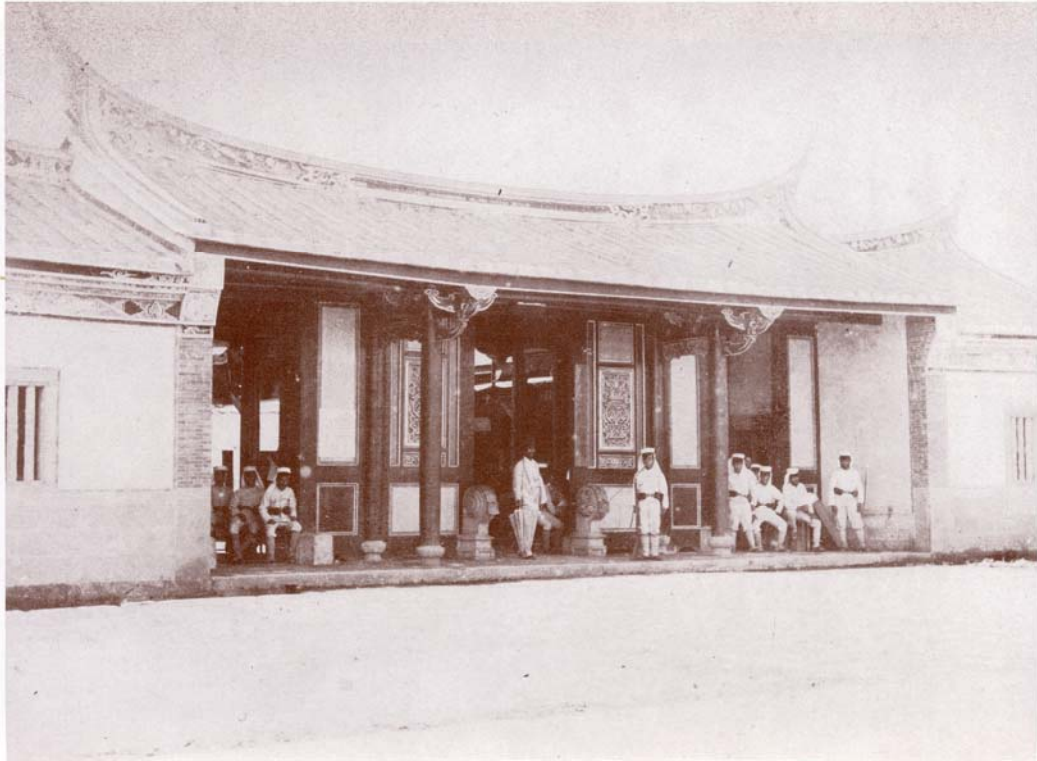
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<sup>30</sup> Wu Wenxing Wu, *Ri ju shi qi Taiwan she hui ling dao jie ceng zhi yang jiu* [Study of the Taiwanese Social Strata of Elites and Leaders in the Japanese Colonial Period] (Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Co, 1992), 48-49.

<sup>31</sup> Huang, *Taiwan ge rang yu yi wei kang Ri yun dong* [The Cession of Taiwan and the 1895 Anti-Japanese Resistance], 172. Huang does not cite the source of this information. However, it is plausible to assume that the surrendered Taipei residents would use conventional celebrative musical and theatrical performances to gesture peace, cooperation, and hope for a good future.



Figure 4-1: Taiwan *Sōtokufu* (Governor-General's Office).<sup>32</sup>



As a whole, the package of parades, speeches, music, and performances delivered a message of Japan's power and legal possession of the island. The military parade through the city was a display of victory and military prowess. The band music was a sonic representation of the empire, modern and powerful. The Taiwanese's staging of theatrical performances suggested surrender and peace-making. These were realistic gestures as resistance became impossible and the Taiwanese future was controlled by the Japanese.

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<sup>32</sup> Image scanned from *She ying Taiwan: 1887-1945 nian di Taiwan (The face of Taiwan, 1887-1945)*, 7th ed. (Taipei: Xiong shi tu shu, 1989), 116.

The colonial inauguration, *Shisei Kinenhi*, was the first official holiday created on the colony. Since its creation in 1895, it was celebrated annually with ceremonies and banquets. From 1899 onward the celebration assumed a standardized format of three activities: a celebrative ceremony at the *Sōtokufu* in the morning, followed by a memorial service for the Japanese soldiers who died in the annexation warfare, and an evening banquet. The celebratory ceremony was a simple ritual, in which high-rank Japanese military officers and civil official dressed in formal attire gathered together to celebrate the colonial reign and salute the Governor-General.<sup>33</sup>

The memorial service was held inside the *Tansumi kan* (“Danshui Hall”), a multi-purpose auditorium used by the Japanese for meetings, gatherings, entertainments, and other public activities.<sup>34</sup> The rite was open to all who put on proper attire to show respect to the deceased soldiers. The Governor-General came to the service and assumed the role of the ceremonial master, and recited a condolence essay.<sup>35</sup>

The third part of the celebration package was the evening banquet at the *Sōtokufu* building. The participants wore tuxedos, military suites, or other appropriate formal attire. A grand and formal party, the banquet was the apex of

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<sup>33</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 338, June 20, 1899, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> The *Tansumi kan* (*Danshui guan* in Mandarin Chinese) was originally the library-school *Dengying shuyuan*. The colonial government converted the facility into an event center.

<sup>35</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 334, June 14, 1899, p. 2; no. 338, June 20, 1899, p. 2.

the *Shisei kinenhi* celebration. During the party, the crowd joined the Governor-General to call *banzai* (“long live ten thousand years”) to salute the Japanese emperor after the band played the anthem *Kimigayo*.<sup>36</sup> In the party, the formally-dressed participants talked, laughed, and frolicked accompanied by band music. Outside the *Sōtokufu*, which was decorated with ball-shaped lamps and flowers, fireworks were released to mark the festive site and enhance the festivity.<sup>37</sup>

Starting around 1900, the *Shisei kinenhi* celebration expanded into the local regions, and the holiday as a musicking site and process reached deeper into Taiwanese society. In 1900, the Taipei County government hosted its own ceremony, and in 1901, several governmental institutions in the Taipei area held their own *Shisei kinenhi* ceremonies.<sup>38</sup> In 1902, two more local governments, Keelung and Hsinchu, hosted regional ceremonies to celebrate *Shisei Kinenhi*. The Keelung government gathered Japanese bureaucrats and Taiwanese community leaders to celebrate and hold banquets together.<sup>39</sup> In Hsinchu, governmental clerks, school principals, and Taiwanese local leaders from the villages and boroughs participated in the celebrative ceremony.<sup>40</sup>

Colonial schools also played an important role in institutionalizing *Shisei kinenhi* as a holiday celebrated island-wide. For example, in 1902 around two

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<sup>36</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 334, June 14, 1899, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 338, June 20, 1899, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 937, June 19, 1901, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1236, June 15, 1902, p. 2; no. 1237, June 17, 1902, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1239, June 20, 1902, p. 3.

hundred of Hsin-Chu's common school students gathered on the morning of June 17th, 1902 to celebrate *Shisei kinenhi*. As a supplementary event of the celebration, the school held a ceremony of awarding students enrollment certificates. The added event probably made the holiday of *Shisei kinenhi* more meaningful and memorable to the school's Taiwanese students and their parents, who were possibly invited to witness the ceremony. The certificate-awarding ceremony was ritually simple and musically effective. The participants sang *Kimigayo* to begin the ceremony. After a speech by the school principal and the awarding of the certificates, they sang *Kimigayo* again to end the ceremony.<sup>41</sup>

Initially a national and colonial celebration, *Shisei kinenhi* also became religious after the *Taiwan Jinja* was completed in 1901. Starting in 1902, the *Shisei kinenhi* celebration began with a Shinto ritual performed in the early morning. At five o'clock, the first ritual drumming was performed to set the stage. At seven o'clock, the second drumming struck and the priests performed the rite of purification. At the third ritual drumming at eight o'clock, the Shinto priests along with the Governor-General and his attendant staff lined up in the plaza in front of the worship hall, ready to perform the ceremony to pray for the peace of the island.<sup>42</sup> Performed as a series of offerings and worships to the tutelary spirits, the major ritual sections of gate opening, presenting offerings, retracting

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<sup>41</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1239, June 20, 1902, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1236, June 15, 1902, p. 2.

offerings, and gate closing were punctuated by the performances of *gagaku*, Japanese court music, which included the pieces of *mansairaku*, *sandai'en no kyū*, *bairo*, and *keitoku*.<sup>43</sup>

Beginning in 1904, the tenth year of colonial reign, the *Sōtokufu* began a greater effort to reach the Taiwanese people. In early June 1904, however, the progressing Russo-Japanese war prompted discussions as to whether the celebration should be scaled down by temporarily eliminating the evening banquet. In the end, the *Sōtokufu* decided to celebrate with additional events, arguing that *Shisei kinenhi* was a very important holiday for the colonial government.<sup>44</sup> To mark the tenth anniversary of colonial Taiwan,<sup>45</sup> the *Sōtokufu* added a reception in the afternoon for the Taiwanese elites, where they would learn the meaning of celebrating *Shisei kinenhi*.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, the entertainment program of the evening banquet was expanded to include several uncommon

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<sup>43</sup> Details of the ceremony were recorded in *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1236, June 15, 1902, p. 2. A summary of the rite appears in *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1237, June 17, 1902, p. 5. The names of the *gagaku* pieces performed in the ritual are listed in *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1837, June 16, 1904, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1828, June 4, 1904, p. 2; *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1829, June 5, 1904, p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> It is not very clear whether the *Sōtokufu* considered 1904 or 1905 the tenth anniversary of colonial Taiwan. Newspaper reports of the inauguration celebrations in both years used the phrase *shisei jūnen*, “ten years of reign.” The 1904 *Shisei kinenhi* was the tenth celebration from the first one in 1895; *Shisei kinenhi* of 1905 marked the tenth anniversary of the colonial reign inauguration when counting June 17th, 1896, as the first anniversary. Newspapers in June 1905 contained more commentaries and editorials on *shisei jūnen* than the year before.

<sup>46</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1836, June 15, 1904, p. 3.

performances. The phonograph, specially imported from Tokyo, was played as a special feature to impress the guests.<sup>47</sup>

The *Sōtokufu* also incorporated performances of popular Taiwanese theatre to further broadcast the *Shisei kinenhi* celebration. In 1906, the *Sōtokufu* banquet included Taiwanese operatic performances by Taiwanese geishas.<sup>48</sup> Staged on a raised outdoor platform, the performance could be seen from outside the Governor's mansion. It was reported that a big crowd of Taiwanese commoners gathered and watched the operatic performance from outside the mansion's wall.<sup>49</sup>

### III. *Tenchōsetsu*: the Japanese Emperor's Birthday

When Governor-General Kabayama traveled to Tainan on October 24th, 1895, to finalize Japanese control of southern Taiwan, he took a boat trip from Keelung to Tainan, a voyage announced by the loud sounds of a military band. In fact, among the one hundred and eight staff members that accompanied the Governor-General, forty-five were military band personnel.<sup>50</sup> The Governor-General planned to celebrate the victory of annexation with a celebration of the emperor's birthday, *Tenchōsetsu*. The Meiji emperor's birthday was November

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<sup>47</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1838, June 17, 1904, p. 5; no. 1839, June 19, 1904, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Kanbun Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 2437, June 16th, 1906, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> *Kanbun Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 2439, June 19th, 1906, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Chen, ed., *Ri ben ju Tai chu qi zhong yao dang an [Archives from Early Japanese Colonial Taiwan]*, 204.

3rd, just days away from the taking of Tainan on October 22nd. Thus, celebrations of the annexation and the emperor's birthday could be held in a single event. Therefore the day and its celebrative events not only glorified the Meiji emperor but also transformed the day into an ultimate symbol of the Japanese empire in Taiwan.

The Governor-General's actions developed smoothly. He arrived at Tainan on October 26th, and on the next day, he issued a post to inform the residents of Tainan of Japan's legal control of Taiwan.<sup>51</sup> On November 1st, the governor posted another announcement, which informed the Taiwanese of the upcoming holiday of *Tenchōsetsu* on November 3rd. Demanding submission from the Taiwanese, he ordered every household to raise a Japanese flag to mark the celebration.<sup>52</sup> On the day of *Tenchōsetsu*, the Governor-General hosted a ceremony of over six hundred participants, including Japanese officials and officers, British and Dutch consuls, Westerners residing in the city, and Taiwanese elites of the area. The celebration took place in the largest mansion of the city and began at 3 o'clock in the afternoon with the Governor-General's speech and the military band playing national the anthem *Kimigayo*.<sup>53</sup> The band also played a song written by Governor Kabayama that praised Prince

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 210.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 211.

Kitashirakawa and his adventure in suppressing Taiwanese anti-annexation resistance.<sup>54</sup> Then the reception banquet followed, during which several musical performances entertained the guests. Multiple forms of music and entertainment were performed simultaneously. In the main hall, the military band continued to play loud and bright brassy sounds; in the west wing Japanese soldiers enjoyed traditional Japanese performances; and in the east wing, the guests watched Taiwanese theatrical performances.<sup>55</sup> Outside the mansion and throughout Tainan, many operatic performances were held to celebrate the occasion.<sup>56</sup>

Tainan was not the only Taiwanese city celebrating the Meiji emperor's birthday on November 3rd, 1895. All major Taiwanese cities and towns did the same. By that time, most resistance had been suppressed and local administrative infrastructures were established. And the *Sōtokufu* had dispersed funds to the local governments to pay for the local celebration and festivities.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 211. The song text, written by Kabayama, summarized the fights that the Prince had encountered in Taiwan since landing in Taiwan in late May.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 221. The description comes from the appendix to Governor Kabayama's journal of Tainan trip.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 211.

<sup>57</sup> Except that two administrative offices, Hengchun in south Taiwan and Pulishe in central inland Taiwan, did not hold on-site celebrations. The opening of the Hengchun administrative office was delayed by travel difficulty, and the officers of Pulishe office were away training.



## The preparation

Deliberately, the local Japanese administrators wanted to use the *Tenchōsetsu* celebration to familiarize the Taiwanese with the Japanese emperor and the Japanese empire.<sup>58</sup> Thus, the officials invited large numbers of guests and participants. For example, the Keelung Prefecture sent out over six hundred invitations to the Japanese officers of military units stationed nearby, and to Taiwanese elites, community leaders, literati, religious personnel, and senior citizens of the villages in the Prefecture.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, the Miaoli Administrative Office gathered local Taiwanese social leaders a week before the holiday to explain to them the reason for celebrating *Tenchōsetsu*.<sup>60</sup>

To create a celebrative atmosphere around the towns and to render the day special, Taiwanese merchants were ordered to close their shops and businesses for the day and households were advised or even required to raise a Japanese flag at their doors or on the rooftops. Some administrative offices paid extra attention to ensure the Taiwanese displayed the flag correctly. For example, the Anping Administrative Office provided the flags and gave training lessons to

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<sup>58</sup> For instance, chief administrators of the Hsinchu Prefecture and Miaoli Administrative Office stated that the celebration provided the best opportunity for the Taiwanese to learn about the empire's grand rituals, and observing the holiday would benefit the administration. Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui (Taiwan Historica), ed., *Taiwan zong du fu dang an fan yi ji lu* [Translated Archives of the Taiwan Governor's Office], vol. 1 (Nantou: Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui (Taiwan Historica), 1992), 9, 11.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, 11.

Taiwanese community leaders. They would, in return, teach the commoners and residents in their neighborhood how to make and display the flag. The effort paid off. The Anping Office gauged that the Taiwanese seemed to have learned about *Tenchōsetsu*. On the holiday, seventy to eighty percent of the households in the area raised Japanese flags; those who did not raise a flag were mostly the uneducated and the poor.<sup>61</sup>

The administration buildings where the ceremonies took place were decorated with green arches and two large Japanese flags at the main entrance. To accentuate the theme of “Japan,” ball-shape lanterns, smaller flags, and draping cloth in red and white were often used to decorate the interior of the administrative building and the nearby streets. Larger cities such as Taipei, which received donations from Japanese and Taiwanese merchants, put on more elaborated decorations;<sup>62</sup> smaller towns would at least beautify their town halls.

The *Tenchōsetsu* celebrations had two constituent events: a *yōhai* (“worshipping from afar”) ceremony to show respect to the Japanese emperor, and a festivity of banquet and entertainment. To house the *yōhai* ceremony, the Japanese officials used objects such as banners, drapes, tables or chairs to make an *ōza*, which symbolically represented the throne. A few local governments

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 41-42.

managed to use a picture of the Japanese emperor in their ceremonies.<sup>63</sup> To demonstrate their acceptance of Japanese rule and cooperation, some cities put additional ceremonies in the local and prominent sites. For example, citizens in Danshui set up an *ōza* in the Longshan Temple, and invited Japanese officials to join the festivities after the governmental celebration. Though the Taiwanese thus demonstrated their efforts and gestures of welcoming the Japanese reign, members of the Japanese military police were sent to the Longshan Temple to guard the *ōza* set up there.<sup>64</sup>

### **The ceremony: the ritual and the music**

The *yōhai* ceremonies of *Tenchōsetsu* across the island shared a similar format, comprising ritualistic gestures of worshiping and bowing to the *ōza* representation of the Japanese emperor. Participants gathered at the administrative buildings and entered the ceremonial site in prescribed order and as pre-arranged groups. The ceremony would begin with speeches given by the leading officials of the Prefectures or the Administrative Offices. In some cases, a member of the Taiwanese elites also gave a congratulatory speech. Then the

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<sup>63</sup> The Penghu Department, Yilan Prefecture and Yunlin Administrative Office reported to have the emperor's picture in their ceremonies. The emperor's portrait used in Yunlin Administrative Office was from the private collection of a staff member. Yilan Prefecture and Penghu Department did not report the acquisition of the portrait. Danshui Prefecture claimed to acquire a photo from the Japanese consul in Hong Kong.

<sup>64</sup> Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui (Taiwan Historica), ed., *Taiwan zong du fu dang an fan yi ji lu* [Translated Archives of the Taiwan Governor's Office], 15, 18-19.

Japanese performed *yōhai*, and the selectively invited Taiwanese elites and community leaders would enter the ceremonial site to pay homage to the Japanese emperor.

In addition to the bowing and speeches, the Japanese national anthem *Kimigayo* was either sung or played on an instrument. In Keelung Prefecture, for example, an accordion accompanied the participants' singing of *Kimigayo*.<sup>65</sup> In the Danshui Prefecture, about sixty Taiwanese children sang *Kimigayo* at the ceremony, a source of pride for the prefecture government. They had successfully taught the children to sing *Kimigayo* in just five months or less.<sup>66</sup>

Taiwanese children's singing of the anthem *Kimigayo* was, however, not an uncommon practice. In Yilan, Taiwanese students in the school opened by the Prefecture government sang the anthem at the ceremony.<sup>67</sup> In Lugang, local teachers gathered about thirty students to teach them to sing the anthem. In the *Tenchōsetsu* ceremony, these students sang the anthem three times with coordinated movements and clear voices, and the Japanese officials appraised

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 35. At this stage, the Bureau of Education of the colonial government was still experimenting on educating the Taiwanese with the Japanese language. The schools mentioned in these reports were likely the language schools set up by the Japanese local administration, or the Chinese private classrooms run by Taiwanese schoolmasters.

that the Taiwanese students' rendition was nearly as good as the singing of Japanese children.<sup>68</sup>

In the Chiayi Administrative Office of central-southern Taiwan, some Japanese soldiers sang *Kimigayo* during the ceremony and performed military songs with coordinated movements to conclude the ceremony.<sup>69</sup> The Miaoli Administrative Office had a different musical sound. After the ritual proper had completed, about a dozen local citizens entered the site to perform local music for about thirty minutes to conclude the ceremony.<sup>70</sup>

### **The festivity and its musical sounds**

After the *yōhai* ceremony, most local administrations hosted receptions or entertainment parties. The party could begin right after the *yōhai* ceremony, or a few hours later. The festivities were filled with eating, drinking, and performances of music, theatre, and dance. Both Japanese and Taiwanese genres were performed, and they attested to regional and local differences. For example, in several celebrations in northern Taiwan, the Japanese genres would include, for example, the narrative ballad-drama *jōruri* to *shamisen* accompaniment, the comic interludes *kyōgen* from noh drama, and *sumō* wrestling. The Taiwanese

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 13, 26. From the context of the prose, the Taiwanese children mentioned in the report were likely the pupils of *shufang*, private Chinese academies, rather than students enrolled in a Japanese school supervised or sponsored by the colonial government.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 11.

genres included young Taiwanese geishas' performances of singing and instrument playing. In central Taiwan, local Taiwanese elites launched operatic performances at the ceremonial site; in two locations the Japanese enjoyed Satsuma Biwa, sword dance (*kembu*), music and dance episodes of noh drama (*nōgaku-mai*), military songs, narrative shamisen music *jōruri*, and humorous storytelling *rakugo*.

Figure 4-2: A Taiwanese parade in the celebration of the Japanese emperor's birthday, *Tenchōtsetsu*, in November 1895.<sup>71</sup>



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<sup>71</sup> Image scanned from *She ying Taiwan: 1887-1945 nian di Taiwan (The face of Taiwan, 1887-1945)*, 48. The note accompanying this picture states that the image shows a program celebrating November 3, 1895. However, no further information of the resource or provenance is given.

In offshore Penghu Pascadore, the Department Chief had a reception in which the Japanese sailors hit a big drum, sang and danced to folksongs, and created puzzle games for further entertainment. Some Japanese workers performed the popular *shamisen* narrative of *jōruri* and the storytelling *rakugo*. At the doorway of the Department Office, local performers executed several episodes of Taiwanese theatre and opera. The Japanese witnessing the Taiwanese show did not understand what was sung but appreciated the graceful costumes and clothing, and found the music enjoyable.<sup>72</sup>

In areas such as Yilan and Miaoli where the Aborigines had a significant population, they were also invited to participate and perform. In Yilan Prefecture, the party included not only operatic performances sponsored by the Taiwanese community leaders but also the Aborigines' offering of a large deer as salutation.<sup>73</sup> In Miaoli, a group of sixteen Aborigines came to the celebration. They paid homage in the *yōhai* ceremony by performing in the Japanese way, and in the party they danced in a round circle, and appeared to have enjoyed the event that prescribed for them a new Japanese identity.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Taiwans heng wen xian wei yuan hui (Taiwan Historica), ed., *Taiwan zong du fu dang an fan yi ji lu* [Translated Archives of the Taiwan Governor's Office], 52.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

### **Subsequent occurrences: expanding the *Tenchōsetsu* celebration**

Since the first *Tenchōsetsu* celebration in 1895, the Japanese emperor's birthday was dutifully observed and celebrated every year. In the process, the celebration expanded in several aspects: first, the celebration extended to more remote locations, indicating the further consolidation of Japanese political control; second, schooling and the celebration became integrated with each other; and third, the celebration was localized into a social occasion for Japanese administrators and their Taiwanese subjects to build rapport.

As the *Tenchōsetsu* celebration reached smaller towns and villages, more and more Taiwanese learned about the holiday and its political meanings. The 1895 celebration was limited to the major cities and towns where the Japanese colonial government had taken control. As the colonial administration geographically expanded, the *Tenchōsetsu* celebration entered the life of more Taiwanese town people and villagers. For example, for the *Tenchōsetsu* of 1896, the Taipei celebration included Xindian, a village in the hilly outskirts.<sup>75</sup> Dajia, a mid-size town in central Taiwan, joined the celebrative topography of the area.<sup>76</sup>

The Japanese coordinated the Institutionalization of the *Tenchōsetsu* holiday into Taiwanese life with the launching of colonial schools. In autumn 1896, fourteen Japanese Language Labs opened in Taiwanese cities and towns to

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<sup>75</sup> *Taiwan Shimpō*, no.54, November 6, 1896, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> *Taiwan Shimpō*, no.55, November 7, 1896, p. 3.



provide Japanese language training to Taiwanese young adults and a prototype of elementary education for children. Beginning in 1898 when the Common Schools started to provide elementary education, Common School students became the designated participants of the holiday ceremony, and the schools often became the sites where the local rituals took place. For instance, in the Qingshui township in central Taiwan, the celebration in 1900 took place at the local Common School, and a small student sports relay supplemented the festivity and marked the holiday.<sup>77</sup>

As the *Tenchōsetsu* celebration spread to more Taiwanese locations, it localized the holiday, and brought local Japanese officials and Taiwanese subjects together on this day, at designated sites, to mark the celebration with local or available musical sounds.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

By the first decade of colonization, Japanese holidays – the *Tenchōsetsu* and *Shisei kinenhi*, for example – became enmeshed into colonial Taiwanese life, and their sounds, performance venues, and activities reminded both the Japanese and Taiwanese who they were and had to become. In observing *Tenchōsetsu*, Taiwanese demonstrated their loyalty to the Japanese emperor. In observing

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<sup>77</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no.762, November 13, 1900, p. 4.

*Shisei kinenhi*, the Japanese reiterated the colonial polity through imperial Shinto rituals and governmental ceremonies. When *Shisei kinenhi* was intended to be celebrated like *Tenchōsetsu*, the Taiwanese sounds were used to mark the day on the calendar. Listening to Taiwanese sounds during the festivities, Japanese officials learned not only who their subjects were, but also how they could be made to become more cooperative. When they musiked, they negotiated with one another flexibly and dynamically.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### MUSIKING COLONIAL RITUAL AND RITUAL SPACE:

#### THE TAIWAN JINJA MATSURI

Since 1901, the *Taiwan Jinja* (Taiwan Shinto Shrine) overlooked the capital city of Taipei, projecting the colonizer-colonized relationship between Japan and Taiwan. The ritual edifice affirmed Taiwan's new status as a Japanese colony by honoring Shinto deities and divinities (*kami*) as guardians of the land with biennial *matsuri* ("festival"), which featured religio-political ceremonies and entertainment activities. The juxtaposition of Japanese and Taiwanese sounds during the *matsuri* sonically embodied Japanese colonialism and the Taiwanese response to it.

The Taiwan Jinja honored the spirit of Prince Kitashirakawa, who died in the military expedition to annex Taiwan, and housed three important Shinto deities of land tutelage. The architectural design of the shrine was totally Japanese, an unmistakable visual and architectural representation of the empire on the colony. As a ritual and political site, the Taiwan Jinja enjoyed the most

elaborated forms of Taiwanese musical performances when it became a site of *matsuri*, a Shinto shrine festival, where Japanese ritual music and Taiwanese festive sounds generated a unique soundscape.

To explore the unique soundscape of the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri and how it musicked colonial reality, this chapter presents a brief introduction to Shintoism and *jinja* as a religio-political site; the historical developments that led to the building of the Taiwan Jinja in 1901; its ritual and festival program; the Japanese authority's manipulation of ritual and musical expressions to engage Taiwanese locals; and the Taiwanese response to the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri.

## I. Shinto and *Jinja* in Meiji Japan

Shinto, meaning “ways of the *kami*”, is an ancient Japanese belief system. *Kami*, usually translated as spirits, gods, or deities, refers to “an extremely wide range of spirit-beings together with a host of mysterious and supernatural forces and ‘essence.’”<sup>1</sup> The picture of the *kami* thus resembles a pantheon of polytheism, containing a wide spectrum of divinities, from natural objects such as trees, landscape such as waterfalls, anthropomorphic gods and goddesses such as the sun goddess Amateratsu, to actual ancestral and historical figures such as the Meiji emperor.

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<sup>1</sup> C. Scott Littleton, *Shinto: Origins, Rituals, Festivals, Spirits, Sacred Places* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 25.

*Jinja*, literally meaning “place of the *kami*”, are where divine beings reside, and do not need to be marked by any man-made edifices. However, since the fifth century *jinja* began to be associated with specific architectural structures, and as a result a tendency emerged to identify *kami* with the place where a shrine and its distinctive sacred gateway (*torii*) were erected.<sup>2</sup> A shrine’s affairs are usually managed and overseen by a *gūji*, or chief priest, and a number of assistant priests.<sup>3</sup> In short, *jinja* is a site where the Japanese conduct their Shinto beliefs and express their sentiments toward the world by revering the *kami*.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, when Japan aspired to become a colonial power, Shinto and *jinja* acquired highly nationalistic and imperialistic meanings. Transforming itself from a feudal society to a modern nation-state, Meiji Japan revived the emperor not only to become the central subject of Japanese identity and loyalty but also the anchor point of Japanese nationalism. Meiji Japan launched a series of state involvements in Shinto affairs, reforming historical imperial rituals, creating new ceremonies, and redefining Shinto as a non-religion in the constitution.<sup>4</sup> By stressing an unbroken imperial line from the mythical ancestral origin of sun-goddess Amateratsu to the first

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<sup>2</sup> Stuart D.B. Picken, *Essentials of Shinto: an analytical guide to principal teachings* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 128.

<sup>3</sup> Littleton, *Shinto: Origins, Rituals, Festivals, Spirits, Sacred Places*, 74.

<sup>4</sup> Helen Hardacre provides a concise introduction to the historical development of State Shinto in the Meiji era. Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State, 1868-1988* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 27-40.

mythical-historical emperor Jimmu down to the present, Meiji Japan made the historically tight relationship between the imperial house and Shintoism inseparable. In 1890, the Rescript of Education was issued. As schoolchildren learned, memorized, and recited this document in their school activities, Shintoism was culminated in public awareness as the foundation of the Japanese nation and national memories.<sup>5</sup>

Concurrent with educational efforts, the nation-building project of Meiji Japan also involved manipulating visual and physical representations to mark nationalistic sentiments and meta-narratives. Shinto shrines were thus transformed into religious and architectural representations of Japanese national history. Their aura of antiquity and association with historical events and sacred sites rendered them unmistakable signs and landscapes. In addition to reviving the mythical deities, more effort was poured into elevating historical emperors and ruling aristocrats who had contributed to the survival and revival of the imperial household throughout history. They were exalted as national heroes and honored in newly-built shrines. By the late 1880s, numerous new and old

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<sup>5</sup> Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 139.

national heroes and shrines were scattered throughout Japan, creating a religio-political topography retelling Japanese history.<sup>6</sup>

The revival and reconfiguration of Shinto in Meiji Japan also downplayed the folk religious elements of traditional Shinto to highlight Shinto as a national belief, *kokka shinto* (“State Shinto”), in which the Japanese imperial household, nation, state, and empire were enmeshed into Shinto/State religious and ritual practices.<sup>7</sup> It was in this context of nation, state and empire building, with a readjusted religion of State Shintoism, that Japan took Taiwan as its first foreign colony. The grand Shinto shrine built in Taiwan was thus a joint product of State Shinto and colonization, one that architecturally shaped colonial discourse in Taiwan.

## II. Building the Taiwan Jinja: the Historical Development

Taiwan Jinja, a Shinto shrine of the highest rank and the first of its kind in Taiwan, was built to honor a new Japanese hero, Kitashirakawa no Miya, Yoshihisa Shinnō (hereafter Prince Kitashirakawa). In May 1895, he led the Imperial Army to push the Japanese military operation from Taiwan’s northern tip down to the southern part through major cities and towns along the western

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<sup>6</sup> T. Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 87-90.

<sup>7</sup> Picken, *Essentials of Shinto: an analytical guide to principal teachings*, 37-38.

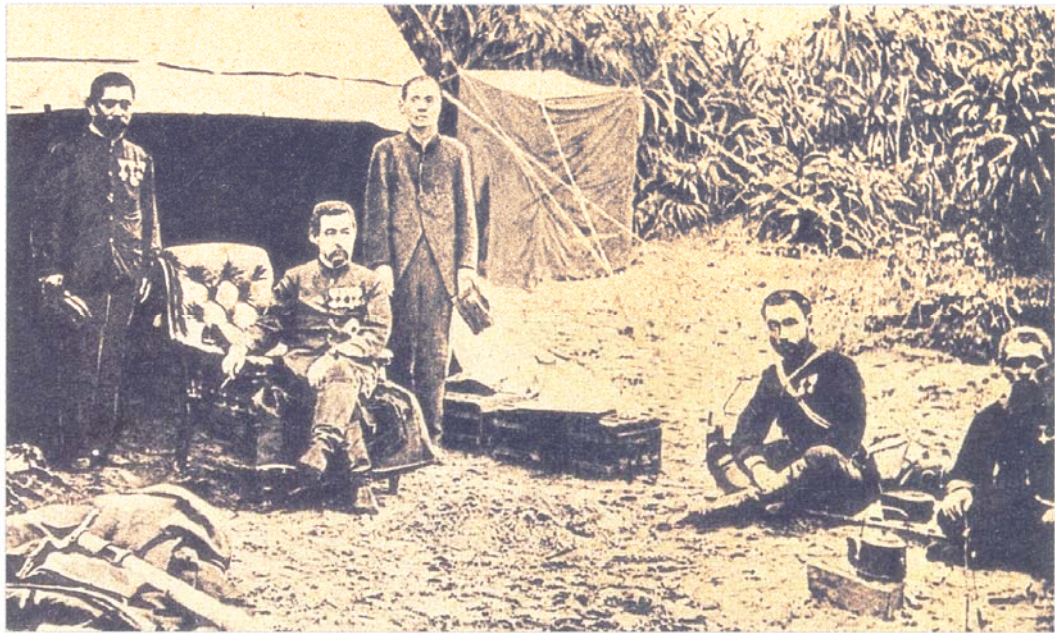
plains of the island. Near the end of the expedition, he unfortunately contracted a tropical disease and died on October 28th in Tainan. His remains were secretly transported back to Japan. The Imperial Household then announced the news of his death and buried him with a state funeral. The first sign of commemorating Prince Kitashirakawa in Taiwan appeared several days after his death. On November 3rd, Governor-General Kabayama celebrated the completion of annexation and the Meiji emperor's birthday in Tainan. During the celebration, he composed and presented a poem titled "Shinnō banzai" ("Long Live His Royal Highness") that praised the prince's heroism and commemorated his sacrifice.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Suga Kōji, *Nihon tōchika no kaigai jinja: Chōsen jingū Taiwan jinja to saijin [Overseas Jinja under Japanese Rule: Korean Shinto Palace and Taiwan Shinto Shrine and the Kami Worship]* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 2004), 243.



Figure 5-1: Prince Kitashirakawa (second left) at a camp site.<sup>9</sup>



The demise of Prince Kitashirakawa during the annexation effort generated Japanese sentiments toward the prince. He was considered a contemporary version of *Yamato Takeru-no-mikoto*, the legendary prince who had dedicated himself to his country through military action and territorial expansion.<sup>10</sup> By November 1895, Japanese newspapers were already publishing opinions calling for the installation of the spirit of the Prince as a “guardian divinity” of Japan’s southern territory.<sup>11</sup> Then, Onchi Wadachi, the manager of the Kitashirakawa household, wrote to Governor-General Kabayama expressing

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<sup>9</sup> Image scanned from *Jian zheng--Taiwan zong du fu, 1895-1945 (Witness--the colonial Taiwan, 1895-1945), 1895-1945, 2 vols., vol. 1* (Taipei: Li hong chu ban she, 1996), 88.

<sup>10</sup> See *Kojien* for a concise explanation, or Wikipedia <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yamato\\_Takeru](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yamato_Takeru)> for a quick reference in the English language.

<sup>11</sup> Suga, *Nihon tōchika no kaigai jinja : Chōsen jingū Taiwan jinja to saijin [Overseas Jinja under Japanese Rule: Korean Shinto Palace and Taiwan Shinto Shrine and the Kami Worship]*, 244.

the household's wish to properly commemorate the Prince in Taiwan by building a jinja in his name.<sup>12</sup> In January 1896, the parliament discussed issues posed by building a commemorative jinja in Taiwan: what rank should the new colonial jinja be, and what deities in addition to Prince Kitashirakawa should be enshrined? What ritual program would it feature to address its character?<sup>13</sup>

In September 1896, a committee led by Governor-General Nogi was set up to investigate a suitable site for constructing a large new jinja in the colony.<sup>14</sup> The jinja was originally planned to commemorate Prince Kitashirakawa, and within the Sōtokufu the project was often called "Kitashirakawa jinja".<sup>15</sup> Locations in Taiwan where the Prince had set his eventful footprints became potential sites: Keelung, where the Prince claimed his first victory; Tainan, where the Prince died accomplishing his heroic task; or Taipei, where the Sōtokufu was located. The jinja was finally built in Taipei, on a hill at the northern side of the city,<sup>16</sup> and the decision was promptly announced in Taiwan. The *Taiwan Daily News*

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<sup>12</sup> Wen Guoliang, ed., *Taiwan zong du fu gong wen lei zuan. Zong jiao shi liao hui bian : Mingzhi er shi ba nian shi yue zhi Mingzhi san shi wu nian si yue* [Internal Communication of Taiwan Governor-General's Office: Documents on Religious Matters, October 1895 - April 1902] (Nantou, 1999), 517-21.

<sup>13</sup> Suga, *Nihon tōchika no kaigai jinja: Chōsen jingū Taiwan jinja to saijin* [Overseas Jinja under Japanese Rule: Korean Shinto Palace and Taiwan Shinto Shrine and the Kami Worship], 244-46; Taiwan Jinja Shamushō, *Taiwan Jinja shi* [Records of the Taiwan Jinja], 7th ed. (Taihoku (Taipei): Taiwan Jinja Shamushō, 1932), 51.

<sup>14</sup> Cai Jintang (Sai Kindō), *Nihon teikoku-shugika Taiwan no shūkyō seisaku* [Religious Policy of Taiwan under Japanese Imperialism] (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 1994), 22.

<sup>15</sup> Suga, *Nihon tōchika no kaigai jinja: Chōsen jingū Taiwan jinja to saijin* [Overseas Jinja under Japanese Rule: Korean Shinto Palace and Taiwan Shinto Shrine and the Kami Worship], 249.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 250, Cai (Sai), *Nihon teikoku-shugika Taiwan no shūkyō seisaku* [Religious Policy of Taiwan under Japanese Imperialism], 22.

(*Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*), for example, reported that the Sōtokufu was to turn the Yuanshan Park into a Shinto shrine worshipping Prince Kitashirakawa as the guardian of Japan's southern territory.<sup>17</sup>

The construction of the shrine began in February 1899 while the discussion of which deities and how many thrones to be installed in the new jinja continued – the divine beings to be enshrined determined the purpose and rank of the jinja. In mid-1900, the fourth Governor-General Kodama submitted several proposals to persuade Tokyo to give the newly constructed Taiwan Jinja the highest rank of a *kampeisha taisha* (“governmental great shrine”), which would be directed by professional Shinto priests. Kodama eloquently argued that the Taiwan Jinja should enshrine Prince Kitashirakawa as the tutelary spirit of the colony, and the three Shinto deities of the great lords and guardians of the country (“*kaitaku sanshin*”), Okuni-tama-no-mikodo, Onamuji-no-mikodo, and Sakunihikona-no-mikodo,<sup>18</sup> as the tutelary gods of newly acquired territories. In doing so, Kodama declared, the jinja would assist with the governing of the new territory, and help transform the people there. Given such political significance,

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<sup>17</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 118, September 22, 1898, p.3.

<sup>18</sup> The Romanization of the names of the three *kami* is taken from Picken, *Essentials of Shinto: an analytical guide to principal teachings*, 40.

Kodama also persuaded the government in Tokyo to pay for the construction and administration of the Taiwan Jinja.<sup>19</sup>

Kodama's proposals defined the character and operation of the Taiwan Jinja. First, it was of the highest rank of the government great shrines, and thus it became an integral part of the colonial administration. Great national shrines were operated by government-appointed priests and financially supported by the government. The priests and the financial support would ensure that the Taiwan Jinja could properly operate by performing the required imperial rituals. Second, the two thrones, one of the historical personality of Prince Kitashirakawa and one of the three divine beings, consolidated the image of the Taiwan Jinja as a supreme tutelary shrine (*sōchinju*) sent over by the empire to oversee the newly-added southern territories. The symbol and the discourse pointed to the Japanese ambition of future colonial expansion toward "the south", the land of Southeast Asia and the Pacific. The Taiwan Jinja was simultaneously a demarcation of the new frontier line as well as a manifestation of Japanese imperial expansion. The colony of Taiwan was the first result of that ambition.

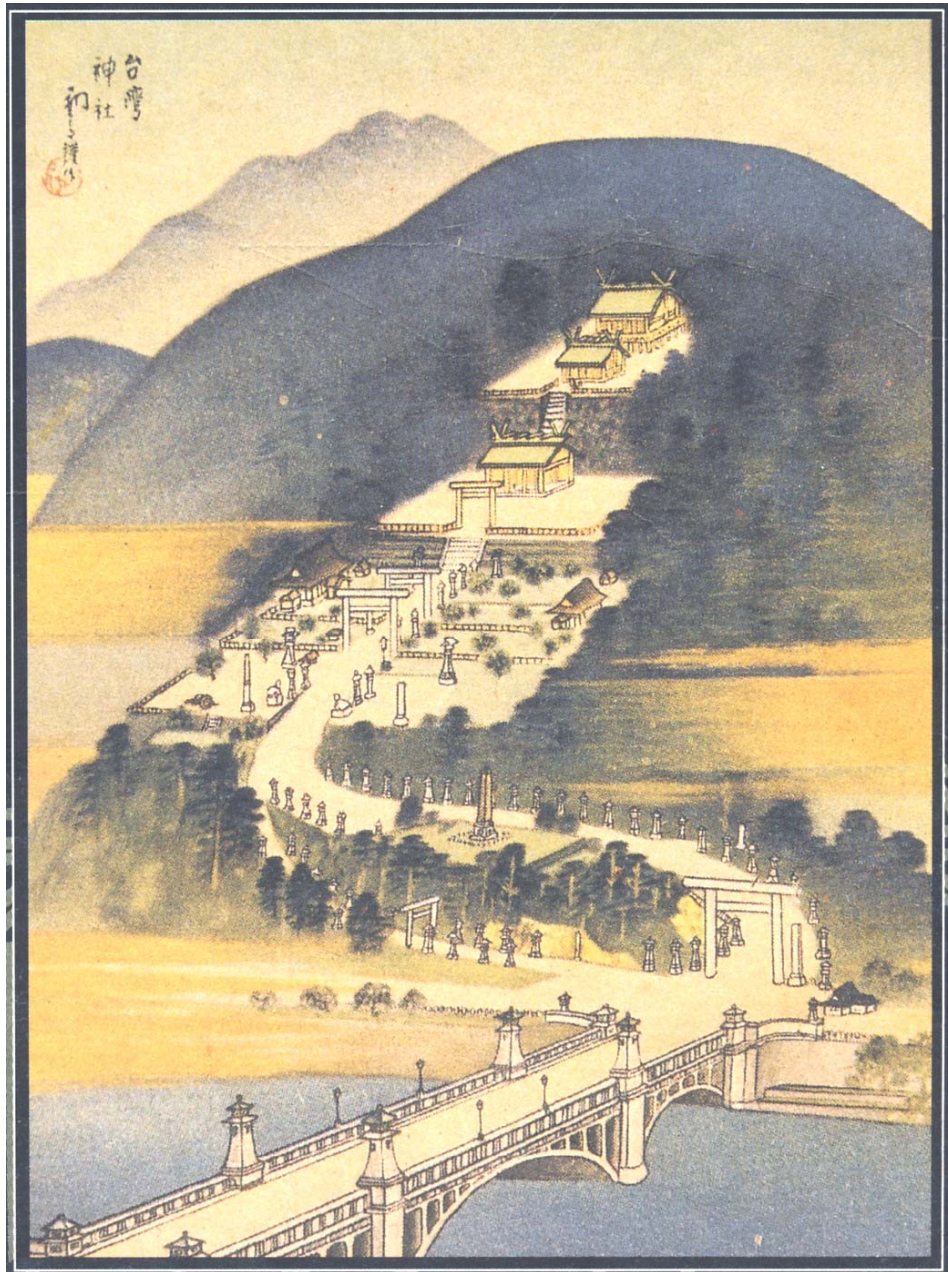
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<sup>19</sup> Taiwan Jinja Shamushō, *Taiwan Jinja shi* [Records of the Taiwan Jinja], 52-54; Cai, *Nihon teikoku-shugika Taiwan no shūkyō seisaku* [Religious Policy of Taiwan under Japanese Imperialism], 22-23. Kodama's proposals to Tokyo can be found in Wen, ed., *Taiwan zong du fu gong wen lei zuan. Zong jiao shi liao hui bian: Mingzhi er shi ba nian shi yue zhi Mingzhi san shi wu nian si yue* [Internal Communication of Taiwan Governor-General's Office: Documents on Religious Matters, October 1895 - April 1902]. 523-26.

With the Taiwan Jinja built, imperial Japan not only included Taiwan among the jinja topography but also attempted to use Shinto ritual and the shrine for governance, education, and cultural transformation. Visually, the presence of the Taiwan Jinja modified the topography of the Taipei suburb where it stood. The new landscape projected an image of the empire of Japan and its colonization of Taiwan. Indeed, before the new imposing Sōtokufu mansion was built in 1919, the Taiwan Jinja was one of the most visible grand symbols of the Japanese empire on the colony. In addition to its visual and architectural symbolism, the Taiwan Jinja also expedited empire-colony discourses through Japanese and Taiwanese musical sounds.

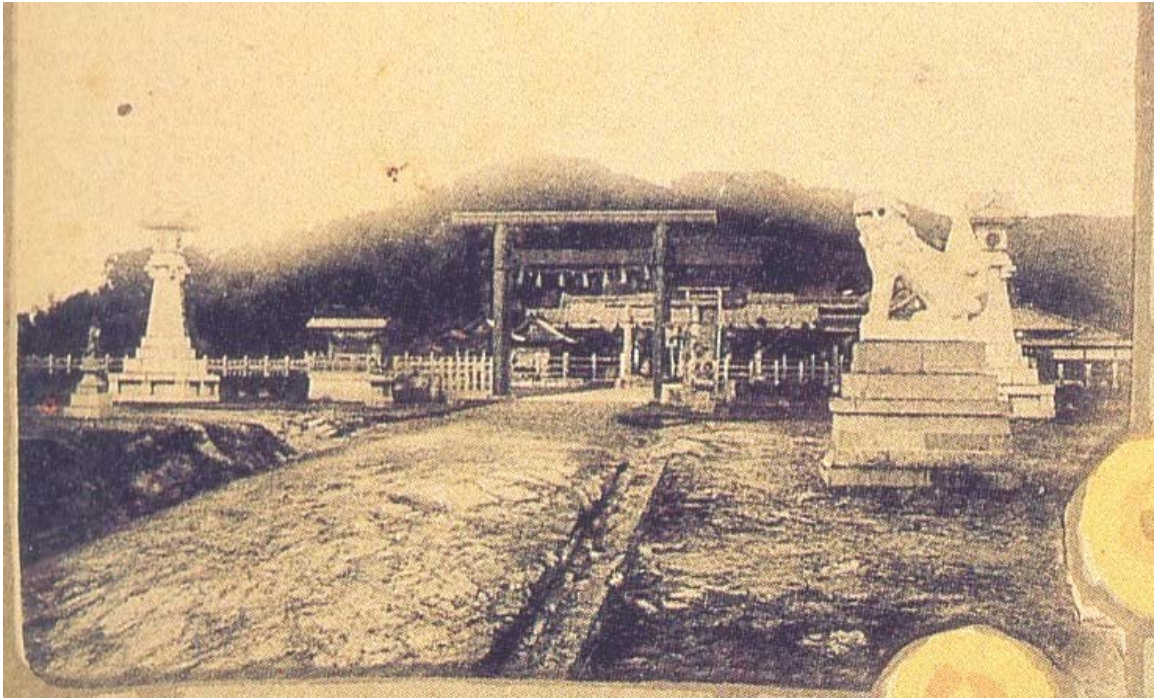


Figure 5-2: The Taiwan Jinja in a bird's-eye view painting, which shows the architecture and its surrounding environment.<sup>20</sup>



<sup>20</sup> Image scanned from the cover of *Jian zheng--Taiwan zong du fu, 1895-1945* (*Witness--the colonial Taiwan, 1895-1945*), 1895-1945, vol.1. The note accompanying the picture indicates the image was painted by Yoshida Hatsusaburō. According to Li Qinxian, Yoshida and his studio produced several bird's-eye view paintings of famous Taiwanese scenery around 1935. Li Qinxian, *Taiwan de gu di tu: Ri zhi shi qi* [*Historical Maps of Taiwan: the Japanese colonial period*] (Taipei county: Yuan zu wen hua shi ye, 2002), 13.

Figure 5-3: The Taiwan Jinja, ca. 1905.<sup>21</sup>



### III. The Taiwan Jinja Matsuri: the Programs

The most important activity of a jinja is the matsuri, a package of rituals and festivities that occur in and around a jinja during a specific time. Describing a matsuri in Yuzawa, Michael Ashkenazi remarks that the main ritual activity of a shrine is the public festival during which religious ceremonies and public festivities are performed.<sup>22</sup> The ceremonies are performed by trained priests affiliated with the celebrating shrine. The festivities, often called *yokyō*, refer to

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<sup>21</sup> Image scanned from *Jian zheng--Taiwan zong du fu, 1895-1945 (Witness--the colonial Taiwan, 1895-1945), 1895-1945, 2 vols., vol. 2* (Taipei: Li hong chu ban she, 1996), 19. The image appears in a postcard issued to celebrate the tenth anniversary of colonization.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Ashkenazi, *Matsuri: Festivals of a Japanese Town* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 4.

leisure and entertainment performed and enjoyed by both professionals and the laymen. As the case of Yuzawa illustrates, the matsuri was a two-day event. The first day featured rites of purification to receive the *kami* in the morning and some forms of entertainment in the evening, and the second day was supposed to be the main festival day when the entertainment activities climaxed.<sup>23</sup>

The Taiwan Jinja Matsuri contained the basic elements and format of a typical matsuri. In 1901, the official date of the grand commemoration (*taisai*, or *omatsuri*) was set on October 28, the day Prince Kitashirakawa died in Taiwan in 1895. Like other matsuri, it was scheduled as a two-day event. October 27 was designated as the day of enshrinement, when the spirits of the honored deities were welcomed and enthroned in the shrine (*chinzasai*). On October 28 came the grand commemoration (*taisai*), in which the ritual was performed in the morning followed by a series of entertainments throughout the day.

On the mornings of both days, Shinto priests appointed by Tokyo would conduct the solemn Shinto ritual, a process observed by a ritual community composed of Sōtokufu high bureaucrats and a handful of carefully selected laypersons from the Japanese and Taiwanese communities. The Shinto ritual began with the priests performing purification in the early morning. Then drums

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 1-3. In the neighborhood matsuri that Ashkenazi observed, the second day, festival day was rather quiet. This was because the second day fell on a work day and present-day Japanese would go to work rather than staying for the festival.



were struck to gather all the ritual observers at the *torii* gate, from where they proceeded toward the jinja building. Before they could enter the building, however, they had to perform a series of purification rites. Once they gathered inside the worship hall, the central part of the ritual began. The liturgy consisted of a series of patterned movements performed by the different ranks of Shinto priests and the offering envoy. Their movements could be divided into four major sections – gate opening, presenting offerings, retracting offerings, and gate closing. Each was marked by musical performances of *gagaku*, Japanese court music.<sup>24</sup> For the enshrinement liturgy on October 27, the four corresponding *gagaku* music pieces performed were: *Katen no kyū* for gate opening; *Karyōbin no kyū* for presenting offerings; *Raryō'ō* for retracting offerings; and *Shin raryō'ō* for gate closing. For the grand commemoration liturgy on October 28, the four pieces of music performed for the four sections of ritual activities were *Mansairaku*, *Goshōraku no kyū*, *Sandai'en no kyū*, and *Keitoku*.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The ritual procedures were extensively reported in entries of *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō*, no. 1042, October 22, 1901, pp. 2-3; *Kanbun Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō*, no. 2549, October 27, 1906, p.2.

<sup>25</sup> Information on the *gagaku* pieces performed to the liturgies was reported in *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō*, no. 1648, October 27, 1903, p. 5; no. 1649, October 28, 1903, p.8. I follow the romanization of the Chinese-Japanese titles listed in Robert Garfias, *Music of a Thousand Autumns: the Tōgaku Style of Japanese Court Music* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 303-314.

Table 5-1: Taiwan Jinja Matsuri liturgy and corresponding *gagaku* music pieces

liturgy – <i>gagaku</i> pieces	October 27, Enshrinement ( <i>chinzasai</i> )	October 28, Grand Commemoration ( <i>taisai</i> )
gate opening	<i>Katen no kyū</i> ("The Palace of Congratulations", denouement) <sup>26</sup>	<i>Mansairaku</i> ("Congratulatory Music for Ten Thousand Years") <sup>27</sup>
presenting offerings	<i>Karyōbin no kyū</i> ("The Kalavina" or "The Bird", denouement) <sup>28</sup>	<i>Goshōraku no kyū</i> ("The Five Constant Music", denouement) <sup>29</sup>
retracting offerings	<i>Raryō'ō</i> ("The King of Lanling") <sup>30</sup>	<i>Sandai'en no kyū</i> ("[Music of Heaven Longevity]", denouement) <sup>31</sup>
gate closings	<i>Shin raryō'ō</i> ("New King of Lanling")	<i>Keitoku</i> ("Celebrating virtue" or "Rooster's virtue") <sup>32</sup>

After the ritual performance in the morning, the *jinja* was open for public worship in the afternoon. First came organized groups from the colonial institutions of schools and armies, and then individuals from the general public

<sup>26</sup> I follow the English translation of the title in Laurence E.R. Picken, ed., *Music from the Tang Court*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 20.

<sup>27</sup> I use the English translation of the title in Eta Harich-Schneider, *The Rhythmical Patterns in Gagaku and Bugaku* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), 57.

<sup>28</sup> I follow the English translation of the title in Picken ed., *Music from the Tang Court*, vol. 3, 30. *Karyōbin* is the Japanese reading of the Chinese transliteration of Sanskrit "Kalavinka", the name of a special bird in India.

<sup>29</sup> My English translation of the title. Eta Harich-Schneider translates the title as "The Five Times Repeated Music"). Harich-Schneider, *The Rhythmical Patterns in Gagaku and Bugaku*, 57.

<sup>30</sup> I follow the English translation of the title in Picken ed., *Music from the Tang Court*, vol. 5, 1.

<sup>31</sup> The meaning of the title, *Sandai'en*, is not clear. However, the original newspaper essay explains that this piece is also named *Tenjūroku*, whose three Chinese-Japanese characters literally mean sky/heaven, life/longevity, and music.

<sup>32</sup> This *gagaku* piece renders two different Chinese-Japanese titles with the same Japanese readings. My English translation of the titles.

followed. During the two days of matsuri, the festivities took place in the nearby Yuanshan Park and in many designated spots in the city of Taipei. To mark the matsuri space, streets were decorated with Japanese flags and Japanese-style lanterns, and fireworks were released to enhance the atmosphere of the festival. Public entertainment was offered in many forms at many locations, transforming the city into a festival ground.

### **Alternating large and small matsuri**

Once the Taiwan Jinja celebrated the grand opening in 1901, the Sōtokufu began to plan subsequent matsuri so that its religio-political function could be continued. The annual performance of the shrine's rituals and festivities reminded the Taiwanese people of their relationship with the Japanese *kami*, and reinforced the colonial discourses that Taiwan Jinja prompted. In early October 1902, the Taipei County governor gathered the Japanese and Taiwanese community leaders of the city to discuss the approaching anniversary.<sup>33</sup> By mid-October, however, general consensus moved towards holding a small matsuri, since little preparation had been done. Contrasting opinions were also voiced. A newspaper critic, for example, argued that the government should mark the first

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<sup>33</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1332, October 8, 1902, p. 3; no. 1334, October 10, 1902, p. 3.

anniversary of the Taiwan Jinja with a large matsuri, one that would set an example for the subsequent celebrations.<sup>34</sup>

Exercising their administrative authority, the Sōtokufu opted to have a quiet and small commemoration at the jinja in 1902.<sup>35</sup> On October 27, the day of enshrinement, the jinja hosted a vigil service rather than a formal ceremony; the general public, however, was encouraged to visit the shrine to pay homage. Hundreds of Taiwanese and Japanese students from all levels of colonial schools in the Taipei area came; they lined up to enter the shrine, bowed to the thrones of the spirits, and sang to show their respect.<sup>36</sup> On October 28, the day of grand commemoration, the priests performed a formal ceremony at the shrine. A handful of Sōtokufu bureaucrats and a small number of chosen Japanese and Taiwanese laypersons observed the ceremony. After the grand ceremony the jinja was open in the afternoon for public visitation and worship.

In 1903, the large-format matsuri returned, and thus established a pattern of alternating between the small and large format for the event. The small-scale version would take place during even-numbered years; the large matsuri with a full schedule of ceremonies and festivities would be celebrated during odd-

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<sup>34</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1338, October 15, 1902, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> The details of the Sōtokufu decision on making the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri a biennial event is beyond the current scope of this chapter, but more research on the subject matter would shed light on the reason why the Sōtokufu was not able to press for a large matsuri in 1902.

<sup>36</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1345, October 24, 1902, p. 3; no. 1348, October 28, 1902, p. 2.

numbered years.<sup>37</sup> One of the practical concerns that led to the alternating schedule was possibly financial. A large-scale matsuri was a costly event for not only the Sōtokufu, who had to mobilize people to participate in the matsuri, but also for the communities who had to contribute human and material resources. Even if the Sōtokufu had the support of Tokyo and the administrative power to mount the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri, the financial concern was critical.<sup>38</sup>

#### IV. Musiking Inside and Outside the Taiwan Jinja

The Taiwan Jinja Matsuri generated a distinctive soundscape in the colony of Taiwan. Whether it was performed as ritual or entertainment, music was an indispensable component of the event. In fact, all of the musical works performed during the matsuri were carefully screened and coordinated performances. *Gagaku*, the Japanese court music, was performed to underscore the long history of the imperial household; its distinctive melodies and timbre sonically represented the empire. Commemorative songs sung during the matsuri made specific historical and political statements. *Nigimitama*, a *shōka* song specially composed to commemorate Prince Kitashirakawa in the Taiwan Jinja, was

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<sup>37</sup> The information on how to proceed with the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri after its installation in 1901 appears in newspaper entries of *Taiwan nichichi shimpō* in October 1902 and August 1903.

<sup>38</sup> The costly nature of sponsoring the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri could be seen in the discussions and negotiations between the Sōtokufu and the Japanese communities in Taipei for the 1903 matsuri. Tension built up between the colonial government and the Japanese communities over cost-sharing schedule and financial burden. The numerous newspaper reports in the month of October 1903 pointed to the critical issue of finance.

intended as a lesson for the Taiwanese. Students from all levels of colonial schools learned the song, and sang it when they visited the jinja to pay their annual homage.

### **Ritual music of the empire: the ancient and the modern**

An analysis of the music performed in the 1901 grand opening of the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri will suffice in order to trace the ways the Japanese and Taiwanese manipulated specific genres and compositions of music to negotiate their agendas. On October 27, 1901, the ritual of enshrinement began at six o'clock in the morning when the imperial envoy and priests prepared to escort the thrones of the Prince and the *kami* to the jinja. The procession began at seven o'clock and followed a pre-designated route, one that started from inner-city Taipei and ended at the shrine in the suburbs.<sup>39</sup> The procession was an imperial march closely escorted by military guards. A little later, around seven o'clock, the widowed Princess Kitashirakawa left her lodging for the shrine in a procession via another route. Meanwhile, the attendants of the enshrinement ceremony, including honorary guests from Japan, high-ranking bureaucrats of

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<sup>39</sup> The routes are announced, for example, in *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1044, October 24, 1901, p. 3.

the Sōtokufu, and selected local elites, gathered outside the *torii* gateway of the jinja to wait for the arrival of the thrones and the Princess.<sup>40</sup>

When Princess Kitashirakawa arrived at the shrine, the military band stationed there played to welcome her. The Princess then waited for the arrival of the thrones at the second *torii*.<sup>41</sup> When the imperial envoy approached the first *torii*, the first drum call was sounded to signal the arrival of the divinity.<sup>42</sup> As the imperial envoy carrying the thrones entered the *torii*, the military band played the national anthem *Kimigayo*.<sup>43</sup> At eight o'clock, shrine officials struck the second drum call. Then the high priest guided the procession of musicians, thrones, and offerings towards the worship hall. After the priests performed purification rites on the ritual community, the Princess and the attendants entered the worship hall and took their assigned seats.<sup>44</sup> The liturgy of enshrinement then proceeded with enthroning, offerings, and worshipping. It was a ceremony punctuated by the performance of designated pieces of *gagaku*

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<sup>40</sup> It is plausible to assume that military band music escorted the processions of the imperial envoy and Princess Kitashirakawa. An imperial march would not be without music or coordinated sounds to support the spectators. According to the reports in *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1048, October 28, 1901, p.1, sounds of trumpets, possibly of a military band, marked the beginning of the procession and at specific points of the march. However, current available data do not provide a definite answer regarding the role of military band in the imperial processions.

<sup>41</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no.1047, October 27, 1901, p. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Taiwan Jinja Shamushō, *Taiwan Jinja shi [Records of the Taiwan Jinja]*, 59.

<sup>43</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no.1049, October 30, 1901, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Taiwan Jinja Shamushō, *Taiwan Jinja shi [Records of the Taiwan Jinja]*, 59-60.

music, which marked the ritual stages of gate opening, presenting offerings, retracting offerings, and gate closing.

Preparations for the ritual music performance began as early as a year before the actual ceremony. In 1900, the Sōtokufu developed and presented a budget to the government in Tokyo for the purchase of the required musical instruments. The Sōtokufu planned to acquire a large drum, a small drum, five *shō* (mouth organ), eight *hichiriki* (nine-hole oboes), and additional fifty pieces of musical instruments.<sup>45</sup> And to ensure that the ritual music was properly performed, the Sōtokufu requested the hiring of Shinto priests with *gagaku* training. The colonial authority was keenly aware of the fact that the priests and staff hired for the jinja had to independently manage not only the ritual but also the music. Taipei was too far away from Tokyo, and no temporary musicians or priests could be asked to perform at the new jinja.<sup>46</sup> Despite such long-term planning, the Sōtokufu still requested the help of six court musicians from Japan

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<sup>45</sup> Wen, ed., *Taiwan zong du fu gong wen lei zuan. Zong jiao shi liao hui bian: Mingzhi er shi ba nian shi yue zhi Mingzhi san shi wu nian si yue* [Internal Communication of Taiwan Governor-General's Office: Documents on Religious Matters, October 1895 - April 1902]. 482. The document does not specify the contents of the fifty pieces of musical instruments. The date of this budget proposal was not clearly indicated. However, based on a correspondence from the Sōtokufu to the Kitashirakawa Household dated November 5, 1900, the itemized budget was possibly submitted to Tokyo in late 1900. The Sōtokufu anticipated hearing from Tokyo about the proposed budget in spring 1901. Ibid., 513-514.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 592.



for the grand matsuri of 1901. The musicians traveled to Taipei only for this unique performance.<sup>47</sup>

The ritual sounds of 1901 projected both the ancient and the modern faces of imperial Japan as they had been constructed in the Meiji Restoration. In his eloquent analysis, T. Fujitani shows how Kyoto and Tokyo, the ancient and the modern capitals of the empire, were made to embody the past and the present of the empire.<sup>48</sup> The two-faceted nature of the empire was sonically projected by the rituals and ceremonies of the Taiwan Jinja, a projection that the enshrinement ritual in 1901 vividly illustrated.<sup>49</sup> The brassy sound of the military band underscored the present and the modern: military band music accompanied the procession of the thrones, welcomed the widowed princess, and played the Japanese national anthem. The *gagaku* music which accompanied the Shinto ritual performances underscored the ancient and the historical. Played slowly, the floating melodic lines of the *hichiriki* and the tone clusters of *shō* evoked the timeless aura of antiquity and solemnity.

*Gagaku*, which was historically performed only in the Japanese court, sounded quite exotic to most ritual attendants at the Taiwan Jinja. They would

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 597.

<sup>48</sup> Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*, 83-90.

<sup>49</sup> One can also argue that the visual representations of the ancient and the modern of the empire on the colony were realized in the Taiwan Jinja and the new Sōtokufu mansion built in 1919. The contrasting architectural styles of the Jinja and the Sōtokufu evoked precisely the two images of the empire.

not have known the distinctive sounds of the *hichiriki*, a short double-reed oboe that carried the melody line against the slow-moving and sustaining tone clusters of the *shō* mouth organ; nor would they have understood the cyclic rhythmic patterns marked by the drums.<sup>50</sup> The sound and the performance fascinated the participants and elicited curiosity. A journalist reported that both Japanese and Taiwanese had asked about the music, and the news agency was proud to explain that Japan imported the music from Tang China (618-947 CE) and had managed to preserve it outside its original home.<sup>51</sup>

The modern sound of the military band in 1901 might not have been repeated in the matsuri in the subsequent years. The princess and imperial envoy only came to Taiwan to observe the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri once. Without the presence of the royal members, the use of military band music was not critical.<sup>52</sup> This does not mean, however, that there was no modern sound in the subsequent celebrations. Instead of military band music, *shōka*, school songs created for and sung by Taiwanese students, provided the modern echoes. *Nigimitama* was

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<sup>50</sup> A standard *gagaku* ensemble includes several drums in different sizes, string instruments of *wagon*, *koto*, and *biwa*, and wind instruments of *hichiriki*, *fue*, *ryūteki* and *shō*. William P. Malm, *Traditional Japanese music and musical instruments* (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 2000), 102-111. Whether the *gagaku* music performance at the Taiwan Jinja utilized the same orchestration as the court ensemble, however, remains to be answered by further research. From the colonial government's budget proposal to Tokyo, it was clear that *hichiriki*, *shō*, one large drum and one small drum were specified musical instruments.

<sup>51</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1648, October 27, 1903, p. 5.

<sup>52</sup> It is possible that the military band used in the grand opening in 1901 was specially sent over to Taiwan for this event. See *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no.1046, October 26, 1901, p. 4.

specially commissioned for the grand opening of the Taiwan Jinja. It was a song that the Sōtokufu officially circulated to all colonial schools and commanded students to learn and sing at the jinja. The song immediately became a standard item in the colonial *shōka* repertoire: students would sing the song as they made their annual homage visit to the jinja.

The song *Nigimitama* (“Spirit with Gentle Virtue”) eulogized Prince Kitashirakawa for bringing civilization to Taiwan, and prayed the spirit to continue blessing the Taiwanese. The song text employed literary and poetic metaphors to praise the braveness and sacrifice of the prince. The classical-style lyrics were opaque for most Taiwanese students; they could only understand the song after many lessons and explanations.<sup>53</sup> Musically, the tune of *Nigimitama* was both historical and modern. Composed by Shiba Fujitsune, the head of the *Gagaku* Department of the Imperial Household, its melody corresponds to the poetic structure of the text. It features four melodic phrases of equal length. Using the *tōgaku* pentatonic scale of *ryō* on G (main tones I/G, II/A, III/B, V/D, VI/E, a Japanese version of the Chinese *gong* mode on G),<sup>54</sup> the melody of

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<sup>53</sup> An entry in *Taiwan Kyoikukai Zasshi* [*Taiwan Education Society Newsletter*] 3 (December 1903), 77-79, solicited explanations of the textual meaning of the song *Nigimitama*. The identity of the person posting the question is unknown. However, such a request demonstrates that the song *Nigimitama* posed certain difficulty for the Taiwanese students to understand, and possibly some teachers also felt the challenge of explaining the song texts to their students.

<sup>54</sup> See Garfias, *Music of a Thousand Autumns: the Tōgaku Style of Japanese Court Music*, 58-62, for the adoption of Chinese music theory to Japanese *gagaku* mode-key system and the resulting variation therein.

*Nigimitama* echoed *gagaku* melodies and their imperial associations. The simple rhythm of the song, however, was a modern expression. A large group of students could easily sing to project the grand empire of Japan and their feeling of awe towards it.

Figure 5-4: Musical example: *Nigimitama* (“Spirit with Gentle Virtue”).<sup>55</sup>



1. With the great mind as his intension, he developed, nurtured, and uniformed people in Taiwan and moisturized them with dew of progress.

<sup>55</sup> Image scanned from Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Kōgakkō shōkashū* (Taihoku (Taipei): Taiwan Sōtokufu, 1915), 76. English translation by Yuri Fukazawa.

2. Hoping to bloom flowers of civilization, with the body of the Imperial family, he lived with soldiers and went through fields and untraveled mountains.
3. With his hair combed by winds of swords and his body showered by rain of arrows, attacked by fever-causing mist and poisonous fog, the bright star [the General] hid its light.
4. If we look up, there are tall shrine columns; if we look, there is a pure mirror; blessing and prospering these people, the spirit with gentle virtue is enshrined.

### **Festive music of the colony**

During the two days of the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri, the city of Taipei was turned into a festive ground of many kinds of entertainment musics. To generate a grand matsuri, the Sōtokufu mobilized both the Japanese and Taiwanese communities in the city to mount many kinds of entertainments and performances. In 1901, the largest Japanese community in Taipei put on a parade of two hundred and sixty adults and children, all dressed in new clothing specially-made for the event.<sup>56</sup> Japanese sumo wrestling, fencing, and artery also took place in the Yuanshan Park near the jinja. Japanese geishas danced on stages set up inside the park and in several Japanese residential areas in the city.<sup>57</sup> Little is recorded about the music that accompanied the dances; presumably, it

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<sup>56</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no.1039, October 17, 1901, p.2.

<sup>57</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no.1047, October 27, 1901, p.4.

featured music played on *shamisen*, the long necked three-string pluck instrument which is the instrument *par excellence* of traditional Japan.<sup>58</sup>

The Taiwanese participants of the matsuri offered several types of performances, all of which were standard shows of traditional Taiwanese festivals. The Taiwanese lion dance and dragon boat racing featured festive sounds of gongs, drums, and cymbals. Several locations in the city staged operatic performances. The Dadaocheng community offered an ensemble performing music aboard a small steamer sailing along the river at the foot of the hill where the jinja was located.<sup>59</sup> As the steamer sailed back and forth between two bridges, the onboard Taiwanese geishas and accompanying musicians played more than a dozen songs, all of which were carefully chosen to meet the Sōtokufu's commands. The performance featured singing and the sounds of the plucked instruments *pipa* and *sanxian*, the two-string bowed instrument *huqin*, the vertical end-blown flute *xiao*, and clappers and small drums.<sup>60</sup>

The songs the Taiwanese geishas performed were probably selected from the two major musical styles practiced by Taipei geishas –*nanguan* music and

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<sup>58</sup> *Shamisen* music is central to Japanese geisha's dances. The geisha's dances are likely from *kabuki* dance numbers, and *shamisen* is the foundation of *kabuki* music. A popular music-dance-theatre, *kabuki* is the artistic source of geisha's training. Liza Carihfield Dalby, *Geisha* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 251-55. Malm, *Traditional Japanese music and musical instruments*, 213.

<sup>59</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no.1047, October 27, 1901, p. 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no.1039, October 17, 1901, p. 2; no.1040, October 19, 1901, p. 3.

*beiqu*, Peking Opera arias and songs.<sup>61</sup> *Nanguan*, an instrumental and vocal ensemble, had been brought to Taiwan by immigrant-settlers from the Quanzhou and Amoy (Xiamen) areas of southern Fujian. Since the eighteenth century, *nanguan* music had been performed and enjoyed by the Taiwanese literati, and was subsequently considered an art of high social status.<sup>62</sup> The basic instrumentation of a *nanguan* ensemble contains five instruments. These include the *pipa*, a four-stringed plucked lute which plays the basic melody; the three-string plucked instrument *sanxian* which doubles the *pipa*'s melody an octave below; the vertical end-blown flute *dongxiao* that adds ornaments to the melody; the two-string bowed fiddle *erxian* which adds another layer of ornamentation; and the wooden clappers which punctuate the rhythm. The clappers are played by the singer. The music, with its sparse texture and slow tempo, often strikes its listeners as graceful and classical. When performed during the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri, it provided a sonic presence of the elite Taiwanese under Japanese colonial rule.

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<sup>61</sup> In early twentieth century Taiwan, there were several different terms referring to Peking Opera music, or the northern style music closely related to the Peking Opera. However, the term *jingju* ("Peking Opera") or *jingdiao* ("Peking tune") was not used in Taiwan until a much later time. Chiu Kun-Liang then summarized the musical fashion of Taiwanese geishas as *nanguan* and *beiqu* (*jinju*). Chiu, *Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi ju zhi yan jiu: jiu ju yu xin jiu* [Study of Theatres of Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period: old and new theatres] (Taipei: Zili wanbao chubanbu, 1992), 108. I hereby use the two terms for the discussion.

<sup>62</sup> Ying-fen Wang, "Tune Identity and Compositional Process in Zhongbei Songs: a semiotic analysis of *nanguan* vocal music." (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1992), 5.

In addition to *nanguan* music, the Taiwanese geishas could perform *beiqu*. A body of songs selected from the Peking Opera or stylistically closely related genres, *beiqu* was the new musical fashion of Taipei's entertainment quarter around the beginning of the twentieth century. The popularity of *beiqu* ascended as the first part of the twentieth century unfolded. Performed during the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri, *beiqu* marked the presence of a popular and fashionable Taiwanese musical trend.

Figure 5-5: Young Taiwanese geishas with their musical instruments.<sup>63</sup>

The instruments the young Taiwanese geishas are holding are: Front row left to right: *sanxian* (long-necked three-string plucked lute), *pipa* (pear-shaped four-string plucked lute), *erxian* or *huqin* (two-string bowed fiddle), *pipa*. Back row left to right: *yueqin* or *qinqin* (moon-shaped two-, three- or four-string plucked lute), *dongxiao* (vertical end-blown flute), and *pipa*.

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<sup>63</sup> Image scanned *She ying Taiwan: 1887-1945 nian di Taiwan (The face of Taiwan, 1887-1945)*, 7th ed. (Taipei: Xiong shi tu shu, 1989), 23.





Menjia, another large Taiwanese community in old town Taipei, offered two days of operatic performances by all-female casts. Sixteen actresses or geisha-actresses performed on a temporary stage. There they performed full operas or operatic excerpts, three in the daytime and two in the evenings.<sup>64</sup> The theatrical excerpts were most likely taken from the *beiguan* opera repertoire. A widely popular operatic genre and musical style of Taiwan, *beiguan* opera performances were standard entertainment in Taiwanese temple festivals and celebrations. *Beiguan* (“northern pipe”) opera were sung in a Mandarin-like

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<sup>64</sup> *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō*, no.1039, October 17, 1901, p. 2; no.1040, October 19, 1901, p. 3. The newspaper entries provide the titles of the five operas.

language not intelligible to most Taiwanese.<sup>65</sup> It was nonetheless practiced and performed by a number of elite amateur music clubs and professional troupes. In the nineteenth century, *beiguan* opera and music had become a highly-regarded art and evolved into a uniquely Taiwanese cultural form. Performed in the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri, it juxtaposed Taiwanese ritual entertainment with Japanese matsuri entertainment, underscoring the Japanese and Taiwanese musicking in the matsuri.

The sounds of a *beiguan* opera are distinctively Taiwanese. In addition to the singer/actors, the opera features instrumental music played by four classes of musical instruments. These are: (1) “leather instruments,” which include drums, clappers and woodblocks for rhythm keeping, (2) “brass instruments” of gongs and cymbals, (3) “strings,” which include bowed instruments of coconut fiddle or *jinghu* to lead the main melody, and plucked strings to add harmonies and textures, and (4) “blowing instruments,” the large and small double reed *suona*, and the horizontal flute.<sup>66</sup> The sound produced by the singers and the instrumental ensemble along with the lavish costumes of the performances

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<sup>65</sup> The term *beiguan* has many levels of meaning, and different authors often write about *beiguan* with different definitions. Here I use the second definition provided by Ping-hui Li. In this definition, which Li considers as more widely accepted, *beiguan* is music sung in a Mandarin-like dialect and contains four major types of music, two aria styles and two instrumental types. Ling-hui Li, “The dynamics of a musical tradition: contextual adaptations in the music of Taiwanese Beiguan wind and percussion ensemble” (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1991), 16.

<sup>66</sup> Wen Qiuju, “Beiguan yin yue,” in *Taiwan yin yue yue lan [Music of Taiwan: a Reader]*, ed. Chen Yuxiu (Taipei: Yushanshe, 1997), 64-66. Lü Yuxiu, *Taiwan yin yue shi [Music History of Taiwan]* (Taipei: Wunan publication, 2003), 432-33.

sonically and visually added to the festive aura of the *matsuri* and entertained the participants. The sounds and sights, however, also catalyzed the negotiations between the Japanese and Taiwanese, elite and commoners.

## V. Musiking Jinja and Musiking Colonization

Visually, the Taiwan Jinja represented the empire and its colonial relation with Taiwan, and musically, the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri embodied and enacted that representation. Being the only grand Shinto shrine outside of Japan and housing Prince Kitashirakawa and the tutelary *kami*, the Taiwan Jinja was important to the colonial government as the ultimate political and religious symbol of colonization. The ritual space and the festival of the Taiwan Jinja became the site and activity to educate and socialize the Taiwanese about the colonial reality.

Contemporary newspapers included views that the Taiwan Jinja helped educate the Taiwanese. A writer of *Taiwan nichichi shimpō* [*Taiwan Daily News*], for example, commented that the celebration should not be an event for Japanese only; both the Japanese expatriates and the Taiwanese, he argued, should embrace the event as their own. To make the Taiwanese more receptive to the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri, the commentator suggested that the Japanese nationals in

Taiwan should also attend Taiwanese temple festivals to show respect. Such an act would motivate the Taiwanese to engage more in the Jinja celebration.<sup>67</sup>

To make the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri a grand event, the Sōtokufu had solicited participation and donations from the local populace, especially those who lived in Taipei. Two months prior to the matsuri in 1901, the Taipei County governor gathered Taiwanese community leaders to inform them of the upcoming event, and that their involvement was demanded by the colonial government.<sup>68</sup> The Taipei County governor was especially meticulous about overseeing the Taiwanese performances. For instance, he demanded sample performances of the lion dances, which the Japanese had not known, to ensure they were appropriate.<sup>69</sup> Several weeks later, the governor expressed concerns over the music to be performed by the Taiwanese geishas. He demanded that the songs should focus on virtuous themes such as loyalty, propriety, and commitment, and should avoid songs about love affairs and romantic longing. And to ensure the demand was met, the governor requested the organizational committee of the Dadaocheng district to report personal details of the

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<sup>67</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1599, August 28, 1903, p. 2; no. 1600, August 29, 1903, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no.1002, September 3, 1901, p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no.1009, September 11, 1901, p. 3. Interestingly, according to Stuart D.B. Picken, *shishi-mai* (lion dance) is a dance commonly performed in shrine festival and the dance possibly has Chinese origins. Stuart D.B Picken, *Essentials of Shinto: an analytical guide to principal teachings*, 178.

performing geishas: their age, teachers, locations of performances, and repertoire.<sup>70</sup>

The meticulousness of the colonial government illustrated that the Japanese did not trust the judgment and taste of the Taiwanese community leaders. Besides their lack of understanding of Taiwanese society and culture, the colonial officials looked down on the Taiwanese as the colonized and subordinated. Another instance that revealed their superiority and control over the Taiwanese were the demands they made in 1903. To make more Taiwanese celebrate the matsuri, the Taipei county governor summoned the Taiwanese headmen from the sub-district quarters, boroughs and villages (*gaishō*), and ordered them to deliver instructions about the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri to the members of their communities. The governor stressed that the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri was for all residents in Taipei and not just limited to the districts near the Jinja; thus all the Taiwanese households within Taipei County were expected to participate in the festive activities of the matsuri. They should all raise a Japanese flag in front of the house and light lanterns under their roofs. In addition, each quarter and village should stage an opera or some kind of performance to express respect. All businesses should close for the day for

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<sup>70</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1028, October 4, 1901, p. 4.

celebration and commemoration.<sup>71</sup> The governor did not specify what penalty would be imposed on the Taiwanese households or villagers who did not perform as ordered. The Taiwanese, however, probably followed the order as they had accepted the reality of being the colonized and learned how to live in colonial conditions.

Practical Taiwanese knew the importance of gesturing cooperation. Thus they contributed festivities and entertainment activities to the matsuri. Such contributions were, however, not without political and social calculation. The Taiwanese wanted to advance their agendas of social stability and economic well-being. The Taiwanese community leaders were well aware of the fact that the colonial government was now the authority exercising power and influence upon Taiwanese daily life. Cooperating with the Japanese would assure certain welfare for themselves as well as for their fellow Taiwanese. Taiwanese merchants in Taipei were particularly willing to establish ties with the Japanese authority.<sup>72</sup> Their cooperation with the Japanese, in part demonstrated by their sponsoring of musical ensembles and operatic performances to the Taiwan Jinja

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<sup>71</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1633, October 8, 1903, p. 3.

<sup>72</sup> In the chaotic and violent aftermath of the 1895 annexation, the merchant-elites of Taipei were among the first Taiwanese community leaders who attempted to mediate between the Japanese and the Taiwanese to reestablish social order. Wu Wenxing provides documentation and interpretation of that effort. Wu Wenxing, *Ri ju shi qi Taiwan she hui ling dao jie ceng zhi yang jiu* [Study of the Taiwanese Social Strata of Elites and Leaders in the Japanese Colonial Period] (Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Co., 1992), 48-60.

Matsuri, was thus not only a peacemaking gesture but also an effort to develop the colony's social and economic stability.

## VI. Conclusion: Musiking Colonial Reality

The Taiwan Jinja Matsuri was created by the Japanese colonization of Taiwan, and the rituals and festivities embodied the empire-colony relationship. Built to symbolize the empire on the colony, the Jinja served to educate the Taiwanese of the colonial reality through visual and musical expressions and activities in ritualized sites. This education reached all levels of Taiwanese society because the Sōtokufu mobilized both the Japanese expatriates and the Taiwanese communities to participate and contribute to the matsuri. As a result, the ritual space and the soundscape of the Taiwan Jinja Matsuri juxtaposed not only Japanese and Taiwanese acts and musics, but also their agendas. If *gagaku*, *shamisen*, and *shōka* sounded out the Japanese empire in the colony, the Taiwanese geishas' *nanguan* instrumental ensemble and *beiguan* operatic performances voiced out the Taiwanese colonized and localized desires.

## CHAPTER SIX

### MUSIKING ELITE AND RELIGIOUS TAIWANESE: CONFUCIAN CEREMONIAL MUSIC AFTER JAPANESE COLONIZATION

After the Japanese annexation of Taiwan in 1895, the Taiwanese elites attempted to continue the ceremonial music and dance performed to honor Confucius, despite the change of polity. Performing the Confucian ceremonial music and dance was a form of subtle defiance to Japanese colonization as well as an understated desire to maintain and assert their identity. Colonization brought unexpected changes to the sites, sounds, and patronage networks pertinent to performing the ritual. Consequently, the Taiwanese elites were forced to compromise or adjust the venues of the ceremony and the music to be performed. And they had to negotiate with the colonial authority to ensure their right to continue performing the ritual, one of ultimate cultural significance to them as Taiwanese, Confucian, and elite.

The Japanese colonial authority allowed the Taiwanese elites to continue performing the Confucian temple ceremony as a strategy to ease tension and



build rapport with the elites, whose status as social and cultural leaders demanded that the colonial authority seek their cooperation and support. However, due to the change of polity and the demanding nature of performing the Confucian ceremonies, the social foundation supporting the ritual performances was gradually dismantled, both intentionally and unintentionally, by colonization. As a result, just a decade into annexation, some Confucian temples managed to continue the tradition while many were forced to abandon it.

Conducting Confucian ceremonial music and dance in colonial Taiwan was thus a laborious musiking process. To illustrate the negotiations between the Taiwanese elites and the Japanese colonial authority, the following discussion will first provide a short history of Confucian temples in Taiwan, with a focus on the two largest temples in two Taiwanese political-cultural centers, Taipei and Tainan. Second, the discussion will provide an overview of Confucian ritual music and dance. Third, the chapter will discuss the formation of the Taiwanese Confucian ceremonial tradition in Qing Taiwan, and the transformation of the tradition brought by colonization. Fourth, the discussion will highlight the musiking negotiations between the Taiwanese elites and the Japanese authority on performing Confucian ceremonial music and dance.

## I. Confucian Temples in Taiwan: a Historical Development

In traditional China, Confucian temples were state institutions that symbolized the rightful and legitimate governance of a dynasty. Through building the temple and performing the proper ritual to honor Confucius, a regime proclaimed its legitimacy by demonstrating its embrace of Confucian values and ideology. When the Zheng kingdom (1661-1683) took Taiwan from Dutch rule in 1661, the Zheng regime began its reign as an anti-Qing and Ming royalist political entity by setting up a Ming-style government and building a Confucian temple-school compound. Upon its completion in 1666, a spring ceremony was held to honor Confucius.<sup>1</sup>

When the Qing government defeated the Zheng kingdom and took Taiwan into its jurisdiction in 1683, Taiwan became a prefecture (*fu*) of the Fujian province (*sheng*), with its prefectural capital in Tainan. The Qing administration immediately opened two county-level Confucian temple-schools in 1683 and 1684. In 1685, two Qing mandarins, the Taiwan governor and the Fujian-Taiwan supervisor, rebuilt the earlier prefectural Confucian temple-school to replace the one erected by the Zheng regime.<sup>2</sup> For almost two centuries, until 1879, the

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<sup>1</sup> Lian Heng, *Taiwan tong shi [History of Taiwan]*, Reprint ed., Taiwan wen xian shi liao cong kan Di 1 ji [Collection of Taiwan historical documents, series 1], vols. 19-20 (Taipei: Da tong shu ju, 1984[19]), 39.

<sup>2</sup> Huang Wentao, *Zhongguo li dai ji Dongnan Ya ge guo si Kong yi li kao [Rituals Honoring Confucius in China and Southeast Asia]*, Jiayi wen xian (Jiayi, Taiwan: Jiayi xian wen xian wei yuan hui [Jiayi historical documents committee], 1965), 108.

prefectural Confucian temple-school located in Tainan continued to operate as the highest-ranked educational institution of Qing Taiwan, and its temple remained the largest and most prestigious on the island.

In two centuries of Qing rule of Taiwan from 1683 to 1895, the population of Chinese immigrant-settlers grew rapidly, and settlements spread from the area around Tainan to the north. The Qing administration responded to Taiwan's demographic development by setting up new counties to extend administrative control. To assist in frontier governance, Qing administrators built more Confucian temple-schools. Qing bureaucrats and officials supervising the Taiwanese administration often stressed the importance of establishing schools to promote Confucianist learning as the means to civilize and govern the frontier island.<sup>3</sup> Thus, as Taiwan developed, several smaller county-level Confucian temple-schools were also built. The chronology of establishing Confucian temple-schools in Taiwan roughly corresponded to the pattern of land exploitation and population growth, which historically and geographically expanded from the south to the north of the island. The latest Confucian temple built by the Qing administration in Taiwan was the prefectural Taipei Confucian

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<sup>3</sup> The discourse is illustrated in writings of Qing literati-officials to Taiwan about the Confucian temple-school in Tainan. Wang Bichang, *Chong xiu Taiwan xian zhi [Revised Taiwan County Gazette]*, ed. Taiwan shi liao ji cheng bian ji wei yuan hui bian ji [Committee of Taiwan Historical Documents], vol. 10-11, Taiwan shi liao ji cheng: Qing dai Taiwan fang zhi hui kan [Collection of Taiwan Historical Data: compilation of Qing Taiwan Gazettes] (Taipei: Wen hua jian she wei yuan hui (Council of Cultural Affairs, Taiwan), 1745[2005]), 218-227.

temple and its school in 1879, after Taiwan was elevated to a province in 1875 and Taipei became the new capital of the island.

## II. Confucian Ceremonial Music and Dance

The most important activity in a Confucian temple was the performance of spring and autumn ceremonies to honor the great teacher and philosopher. *Jikong yuewu*, the songs and dances performed in the temples during ceremonies honoring Confucius embodied the Confucian idea of *yayue*, proper music or civilized music. In classic Confucian theory, music happens as people make sounds when moved by external stimuli. When the sounds are patterned and performed with dance, they become music (*yue*, or *yuewu*), the abstract means to express and communicate human feelings. Communicative in nature, music thus deeply effects peoples' minds and is a powerful tool of governance and self-cultivation. Proper music, *yayue*, produced by people of benevolence, thus should be promoted for a person to excel and a society to achieve harmony.<sup>4</sup> By the same token, when improper music or vulgar music prevails, it indicates the disruption of social order and the failure of governance.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Joseph S. C. Lam, "Musical Confucianism: The Case of 'Jikong yuewu'." in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius* ed. Thomas A. Wilson (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 145.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

Confucian classics offered prescriptive theories about what makes proper music. For music to sound properly, instruments should be constructed from the eight categories of materials – metal, stone, silk, bamboo, gourd, earth, leather, and wood. Tuning must be accurately pursued so the primordial pitch, *huangzhong*, corresponds to and harmonizes with the cosmic forces of heaven and earth. Proper music, realized in the ultimate format of state sacrificial music, should have proper texts composed by appropriate authorities and set to tunes and dances. The tunes should be in the mode-keys chosen according to the season, the purpose, and the subject to be honored; dance movements are to be choreographed to enhance the semantic understanding.<sup>6</sup> All *Yayue* – and especially the normative practices of state sacrificial music – sonically, visually, and intellectually embodied the Confucian ideals of socialization and governance, the core of Chinese culture and identity.

Among the genres considered *yayue*, the proper performance of Confucian ceremonial music and dance was the most elaborate in presentation. The performance demanded the particularized site of the Confucian temple, specific ritual utensils, food and wine offerings, animal sacrifices, musical instruments and songs, and specific procedures of the rites. The ritual of the Confucian ceremony began several days prior to the ceremony day with the preparation of

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 146-147.

ritual utensils and the items of offering, and it climaxed in the sacrificial offering (*ji*) presented inside the temple. The structure of the ceremonial presentation, composed of six stages, was standardized in 1393.<sup>7</sup> Music was performed for all the six stages, and dance was performed during the three rounds of making offerings. The ritual staff and celebrants, often the leading officials and literati, performed the offerings but did not sing or dance. The music and dance were performed by musician-dancers (*yuewusheng*), who were often the young Confucian students from local schools. The ceremonial music and dance was thus, as Lam comments, a presentation performed for the ritual celebrants and the audience who observed the actions.<sup>8</sup>

The ritual music and dance performed in Taiwanese Confucian temples during the Qing period followed the Qing practice. The six stages of rites – welcoming of deities, three rounds of offering, retrieving the offering, and sending off the deities – were accompanied by corresponding songs, with texts composed by the Qing emperor Qianlong in 1745.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 139-40.

Table 6-1: The six stages of the sacrificial offering of the Confucian ceremony.<sup>9</sup>

rite	music/song title	dance
(1) <i>yingshen</i> (welcoming the deities)	<i>Zhaoping</i>	(dancers holding up the dance instrument <i>yu</i> but do not dance)
(2) <i>chuxian</i> (First offering) (reciting a prayer honoring Confucius)	<i>Xuanping</i>	dancers dance and move following the rhythm
(3) <i>yaxian</i> (Second offering)	<i>Zhiping</i>	dancers dance and move following the rhythm
(4) <i>zhongxian</i> (Final offering) (acceptance of the consecrated wine and meat)	<i>Xuping</i>	dancers dance and move following the rhythm  dancers bow and leave the hall
(5) <i>chezhuan</i> (retrieving the offerings)	<i>Yiping</i>	(no dance)
(6) <i>songshen</i> (bidding farewell to the deified); <i>wangliao</i> (burning the sacrificial articles)	<i>Deping</i>	(no dance)

The six songs used in the six ceremonial stages were each composed of eight verses. The same texts were used in the spring and autumn ceremonies, but were set to melodies in different mode-keys corresponding to each season. The

<sup>9</sup> Chart compiled based on information and references from Ibid., 138-139; *Taiwan shimpō* no.315, September 26, 1897, p. 4; *Huang chao ji qi yue wu lu* ([ca. 1871]).

following notation shows the first song, *Zhaoping*, used in the rite of welcoming the deities (*yingshen*) in the autumn ceremony:

Figure 6-1: Music Example: the first song, *Zhaoping*, in Qing Confucian ceremonial music.<sup>10</sup>

1. Da zai Kong zi 2. Xian jue xian zhi  
 3. Yu tian di can 4. Wan shi zhi shi  
 5. Xiang zheng lin fu 6. Yun da jin si  
 7. Ri yue ji jie 8. Qian kun qing yi

*Zhaoping*, for the rite *yingshen* (“welcoming the deities”)

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. Da zai Kong zi     | Great is Confucius!                                    |
| 2. Zian jue xian zhi  | He perceives and knows in advance.                     |
| 3. Yu tian di can     | Between Heaven and Earth,                              |
| 4. Wan shi zhi shi    | He is the teacher of all generations.                  |
| 5. Xiang zheng lin fu | This propitious sacrifice is marked by blessed silk,   |
| 6. Yun da jin si      | And its music played by instruments of metal and silk. |
| 7. Ri yue ji jie      | Now that the Sun and Moon are unveiled to us,          |
| 8. Qian kun qing yi   | The universe is clear and peaceful.                    |

<sup>10</sup> Based on the transcription in Fu-yen Chen, “Confucian Ceremonial Music in Taiwan with Comparative References to its Sources” (PhD dissertation, Wesleyan University, 1976), 202-205. Text and translation quoted from Joseph S. C. Lam, “The yin and yang of Chinese music historiography: The case of Confucian ceremonial music.” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 27 (1995): 37.



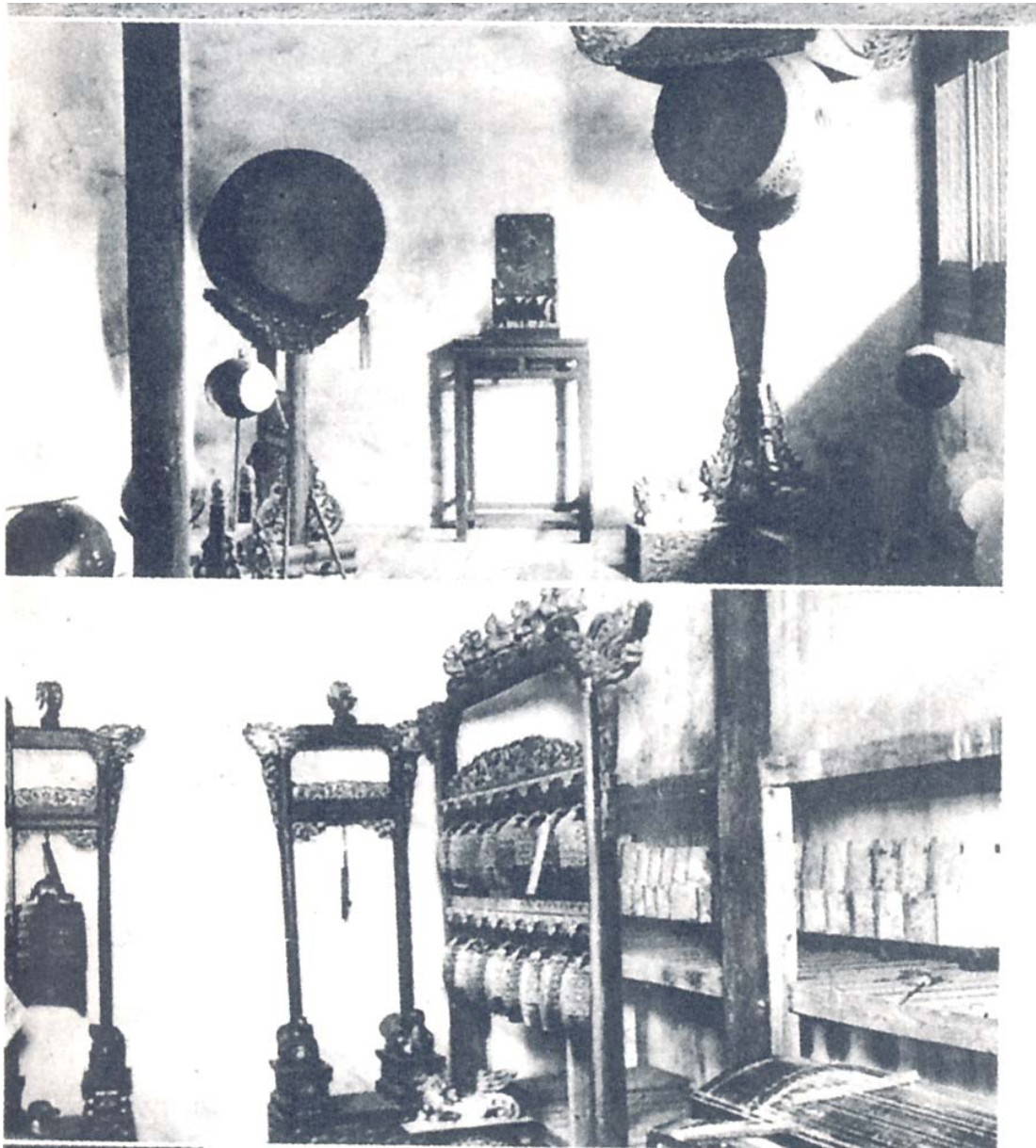
Accordingly, to create the proper Confucian ceremonial sound, the ensemble was composed of musical instruments made from the eight categories of materials. Instruments of fixed tuning may require two sets, one for the spring ceremony and one for the autumn, as the proper pitch should accord to the season. Qing practices prescribed the following musical instruments and dance paraphernalia:<sup>11</sup>

- (1) Metal: bell (*bozhong*), in *jiazhong* pitch for spring ceremony  
bell (*bozhong*), in *nanlü* pitch for autumn ceremony  
bell set (*bianzhong*) (16 bells)
  - (2) Stone: chime (*teqing*), in *jiazhong* pitch for spring ceremony  
chime (*teqing*), in *nanlü* pitch for autumn ceremony  
chime set (*bianqing*) (16 chimes)
  - (3) Silk: zither – seven strings, no bridge (*qin*)  
zither – twenty-five strings, with bridge (*se*)
  - (4) Bamboo: panpipes (*paixiao*)  
vertical end-blown bamboo flute (*xiao*)  
transverse side-blown flute (*di*)  
partially stopped side-blown flute (*chi*)
  - (5) Gourd: mouth organ (*sheng*)
  - (6) Earth: ocarina (*xun*)
  - (7) Leather: barrel shaped drum (*gu*), struck with stick  
smaller drum struck with hands (*bofu*)
  - (8) Wood: square wooden open tub, struck with mallet (*zhu*)  
wooden idiophone in the shape of a crouching tiger (*yu*)
- Dance instruments: silk banner (*hui*) to signal the start or stop of music  
tasseled banner (*jie*) to signal and regulate the dance  
instruments that dancers hold in right hands (*yu*)  
instruments that dancers hold in left hands (*yue*)

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<sup>11</sup> Information based on Chen, “Confucian Ceremonial Music in Taiwan with Comparative References to its Sources”, 143-172; *Taiwan shimpō* no.315, September 26, 1897, p. 4.

Figure 6-2: Drums (upper frame) and bell-set (lower frame) used and stored in Tainan Confucian Temple, ca. 1931.<sup>12</sup>



<sup>12</sup> Image scanned from Chaoqing Xu and Meiya Lan, eds., *Taiwan jing dian xie zhen: xie hou san shi nian dai Formosa* [Classic photographs of Taiwan: meeting the 1930s Formosa], 2 vols., vol. 2 (Taipei, 1997), 489. The original publication of the pictorial guide, *Taiwan shōkai saishin shashinshū* (A Guide to Formosa), dated 1931.

### **III. Formation of Confucian Ceremonial Tradition in Qing Taiwan**

Proper performance of the Confucian ceremony required the coordination of many factors. Prior to the ceremonial day, offerings of food, wine, silk, and animal sacrifice needed to be prepared by following specific procedures. Ritual utensils of various shapes and sizes containing offerings were arranged for the presentation as prescribed in the ritual manual or treatise. Young Confucian students had to learn to play the musical instruments and rehearsed to dance the choreography so that they could properly present the ceremony to the officiants and audience. In sum, the Confucian ceremony was itself a body of specialized knowledge that demanded study and experience to understand and to perform. Knowledgeable agents, be they ritual masters or literati officials, were thus crucial in executing a proper performance of the ceremony. In addition, maintaining the musical instruments and preparing offerings involved costly logistics and thus the ceremonies were often in need of financial support from both the government and the local communities.

The highly specialized nature of the Confucian ceremony rendered the tradition difficult to maintain. In Taiwan, the older Confucian temples, such as the oldest Tainan temple, managed to slowly consolidate the practice into a localized tradition in the nineteenth century, while younger Confucian temples, such as the Taipei temple, had just begun to learn the knowledge of performing

the ceremony. After Japan colonized Taiwan, such differences became an important factor influencing the continuation of the Confucian ceremony. Thus, to examine how the tradition of Taiwanese Confucian ceremony operated after Japanese colonization, it is necessary to understand the formation of the tradition as it was reflected in the two representative Confucian temples, Tainan and Taipei, during the course of Qing rule.

### **Tainan Confucian Temple vs. Taipei Confucian Temple**

As the old capital city of Taiwan, Tainan possessed the glory of having the first Confucian temple built on the island in 1665 by the Zheng regime.

Theoretically, the Tainan Confucian temple had performed the first Confucian ceremony in Taiwan when the Zheng regime held the spring ceremony upon the completion of construction. However, information concerning this very first Confucian temple and its ritual music and dance performance is sketchy. In the context of exile, how the Zheng regime managed to perform the ceremony with the necessary rites, music, and dance is a question that remains difficult to answer.

When the Qing regime rebuilt the Tainan Confucian temple in 1685, the temple had only a simple structure consisting of the Great Hall and the *mingluntang* school. For its first expansion in the 1710s, mandarin Chen Bin

added more structural units, completed the landscaping, and consolidated an income to subsidize the expenditures of the temple. In 1715, Chen Bin also acquired the ritual objects and musical instruments that the temple needed for its ceremonies and ritual performances.<sup>13</sup> Thus, it is safe to assume that prior to the 1710s, the temple could only have performed the ceremony honoring Confucius in a simplified rendition, possibly with limited or even no music or dance performed during the rites.

After another three decades, in 1749, a group of local Taiwanese scholars and gentry generated funds through private donations and proposed to the government that the temple-school be renovated.<sup>14</sup> In 1751, two Qing officials donated funds to purchase newly crafted ritual utensils and musical instruments.<sup>15</sup> This second stage of renovation completed the standard architectural structure for a prefectural Confucian temple-school; it also completed the inventory of specified ritual objects needed by the Tainan temple.

After the 1751 renovation, the Tainan Confucian temple endured many subsequent renovations to maintain the temple architecture, as well as its ritual utensils and musical instruments. In the long history of the Tainan Temple, it also developed a close bond with the local communities of gentries and elites,

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<sup>13</sup> Wang, *Chong xiu Taiwan xian zhi* [Revised Taiwan County Gazette], 309.

<sup>14</sup> The names of the donors and the amount of monetary contribution are listed in the comments written by Yang Kaiping, the Imperial Patrol Envoy to Taiwan. *Ibid.*, 225, 227.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 309.

who subsequently became the primary patrons of temple maintenance and ritual performance. In 1835, Liu Hong'ou, a mandarin examining Taiwan's military and education affairs, visited the Tainan Confucian temple and was disappointed by the decay of ritual objects. Mandarin Liu summoned the local elites to discuss the matter of repairing, replacing, and maintaining the instruments for proper ritual performance. Cai Zhinan, a titled literati with expertise in music, proposed the creation of a *yueju*, or "music office," to oversee the vicissitudes of performing Confucian temple ceremonies. The proposal was accepted, and several local officials and elites donated a substantial amount of funds to start the *yueju*. In the next year, these elites used the starting fund to purchase farming land and rent out the property to support the operation of the *yueju*.<sup>16</sup> To assure smooth operation and fair use of income, the *yueju* was supervised by elected board members. From the creation of the *yueju* in 1835, the Tainan Confucian temple consolidated a local institution to continuously patronize its operation. In so doing, the Confucian ceremony of the Tainan temple became a localized tradition, studied, taught, and maintained by the local literati, who themselves were also Confucian scholars committed to perpetuating the tradition. The *yueju* continued to exist and operate until it was restructured

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<sup>16</sup> Yamada Takashi, *Tainan Senbyōkō [History of Tainan Confucian Temple]* (Tainan: Satō kappansha, 1918), 242-243.

into a music group *yichengshe* in 1918, which continues to perform Confucian ritual music of the Tainan Temple today.

In contrast to the Tainan Confucian Temple, the Taipei Confucian Temple had a very short history. Almost two centuries after the Tainan Temple was established, the Taipei Temple began its construction in 1879. Building a new Confucian temple in Taipei reflected the changes in Qing administration of Taiwan in the second half of the nineteenth century. European and American powers in East Asia and China expressed economic and military interest in Taiwan beginning in the 1850s. In 1858, the Qing court was forced to sign the Tianjin Treaty with America, Britain, France, and Russia, which demanded that China open ten new ports, including two in Taiwan, for international trade. This treaty illustrated the rising economic potential of Taiwan.

In 1874, Japan attacked the aboriginal tribes on the south shore of Taiwan because in 1871 tribe members had murdered Okinawa (Ryūkyū) mariners floating to the area after a typhoon. The event was eventually diplomatically resolved, and the Qing administrators became aware of Taiwan's importance in defensive concerns.<sup>17</sup> In 1875, the Qing government reconfigured the administrative system of Taiwan and established a new prefecture with the

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<sup>17</sup> This 1874 Japanese military operation was an unsuccessful attempt to colonize Taiwan. But Japan hence claimed Ryūkyū (Okinawa) into its jurisdiction. See Leonard Gordon, "Japan's Abortive Colonial Venture in Taiwan, 1874," *The Journal of Modern History* 37 (June 1965, 1965).

prefectural capital in Taipei. Later, Taiwan was elevated to the status of a province in 1885.

As a new prefectural capital, Taipei needed a new city center and administrative buildings. Taipei also needed a prefectural Confucian temple-school. In 1879, Qing officials in Taipei proposed a Confucian temple in the city, and by 1881 the main architectural structures had been expeditiously completed. However, the construction of the temple could not guarantee the appropriate performance of Confucian ceremonial music and dance. When Fujian-Taiwan Supervisor Shao Youlian visited the autumn ceremony at the Taipei Temple in 1891, he noticed that the rites and music were not properly performed. Disappointed but hopeful, mandarin Shao commanded the Taipei Temple to purchase a complete set of ritual utensils and musical instruments. In addition, mandarin Shao instructed them to hire two ritual masters from Fujian, one specializing in liturgy and another in music, to train the two hundred newly-recruited students to perform the Confucian ceremony. Three years later, when the next Taiwan Governor Tang Jingsong visited the spring ceremony in Taipei in 1894, the ritual dance and music were well-performed with the desired solemnity and grandeur.<sup>18</sup> Only a year later, Taiwan became a colony of Japan.

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<sup>18</sup> Huang Wentao, *Zhongguo li dai ji Dongnan Ya ge guo si Kong yi li kao [Rituals honoring Confucius in China and Southeast Asia]*, Jiayi wen xian (Jiayi, Taiwan: Jiayi xian wen xian wei yuan hui [Jiayi historical documents committee], 1965), 110.



## Patronizing Confucian Ceremonial Music: the Qing Officials and the local Taiwanese Elites

The above description of the construction of the two Taiwanese Confucian temples and the Qing mandarin's attempt to install the proper ritual performance in the newly built Taipei temple epitomized the historical experience of performing Confucian temple ceremonies in Taiwan. As a state-controlled cultural institution, Confucian temples could only be built with governmental approval. Thus, in Qing Taiwan, officials assigned to administrative positions in Taiwan were the driving force behind proposals for building new Confucian temples as well as their renovation and expansion. This included the replacement of old, decayed ritual utensils and musical instruments, essential objects for the proper performance of Confucian ceremonies.

The constructions of the two largest Taiwanese Confucian temples in Tainan and Taipei illustrated the role of Qing officials in promoting Confucian temples on the Taiwan frontier. The first substantial renovation-expansion of the Tainan temple in the 1710s, initiated by mandarin Chen Bin, demonstrated *par excellence* the role of governmental officials as the major patrons of the Taiwanese Confucian temples. Achieving officialdom through studying Confucian classics and passing state exams, these bureaucrats were knowledgeable agents who

understood the technicalities of conducting a proper Confucian ritual. As powerful patrons, they used their status, power and connections to help Taiwanese Confucian temples improve their ritual performance. Examples of such benevolent officials were found at both the Tainan and Taipei temples. Mandarin Liu Hong'ou gathered local Tainan elites together and motivated them to found *yueju* to solve the problem of intermittent and inadequate ritual performance. In Taipei, mandarin Shao helped recruit ritual and music masters to train musician-dancers to give proper ritual performances. These two examples demonstrated the role of the Qing officials as the knowledgeable agents and benevolent sponsors of the local Taiwanese Confucian ceremonies.

However, despite the importance of Qing officials to Taiwanese Confucian temples, the bureaucratic patronage was not persistent and lacked continuity. Qing officials stationed in Taiwan were itinerant. From the beginning of Qing jurisdiction of Taiwan, the bureaucratic system had applied special caution and exceptional regulation in assigning administrators to the frontier, peripheral, and multiracial island. Officials to Taiwan were selected only from among the Fujian Province bureaucrats who had accumulated administrative experience in equivalent positions.<sup>19</sup> To motivate the Fujian Province officials to take positions

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<sup>19</sup> Tang Xiyong, *Taiwan jian sheng hou zhi wen guan ren yong wen ti* [Issues concerning the assignment of civil officials to Taiwan Province, 1887-1895] (Taipei: Institute of Three People's Principle, Academia Sinica, 1988b), 5.

in Taiwan as well as to prevent accumulation of personal power, officials would only serve one three-year term in Taiwan, and the Qing court guaranteed subsequent promotion to higher mainland positions.<sup>20</sup> As a result, high Qing officials in Taiwan rarely stayed long, and this itinerant nature interrupted the continuity of bureaucratic patronage for the Confucian temples. A benevolent official might help recruit masters to teach liturgy and music by setting aside budgeted funds or donations; but the project might not continue when the official finished his tenure and left Taiwan. The next official could have a different administrative priority and might not continue to sponsor the temple. And so despite the many renovations initiated by Qing officials, Taiwanese Confucian temples repeatedly encountered the condition of broken musical instruments and incomplete ritual performances.

In contrast to the itinerant governmental officials, the local elites could support the temples beyond the tenure limit and frequent change of the bureaucrats. The local literati and elites were themselves Confucian scholars and sometimes took jobs as lower-level governmental officials.<sup>21</sup> In a broader sense, the local Taiwanese elites and the Qing officials were from the same group of

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<sup>20</sup> Tang Xiyong, *Qing dai Taiwan wen guan di ren yong fang fa ji qi xiang guan wen ti* [The assignment of civil officials to Taiwan in Qing dynasty and its administrative issues] (Taipei: Institute of Three People's Principle, Academia Sinica, 1988a), 19.

<sup>21</sup> In the Qing bureaucratic system, positions above certain ranks were assigned from the central government. Local governmental positions were often lower ranked positions that could be held by local literati who passed a certain level of exams and thus obtained the qualifications for officialdom.

Confucianists, sharing common values and worldviews. Thus, local elites often played a substantial role in patronizing the Confucian temples. For example, the local Tainan elites contributed to the second renovation of the Tainan temple in 1749. This renovation, built on the foundation set by mandarin Chen Bin three decades before, brought the Tainan temple to the desired architectural and ritual completeness. A century later, the Tainan elites formed a more substantial and sustainable patronage for their temple. The creation of a *yueju* in 1835 and its continuing operation illustrated the importance of the local elite community in sponsoring the Confucian temple and ceremony. Instead of relying on the good will of individual, itinerant officials, the *yueju* could now generate its own knowledgeable agents to oversee the continuation of Confucian ritual music and dance by the next generations of young local elites.<sup>22</sup> In other words, in the Tainan Confucian temple, the state ritual of the Confucian ceremony had become a localized tradition practiced and transmitted by the community.

By the time of Japanese colonization of Taiwan, the oldest Tainan Confucian temple had developed sustainable sponsorship from the local elite community, while the youngest Taipei Confucian temple was still dependent

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<sup>22</sup> Another example of local community developing sustainable sponsorship of the Confucian temple is the Changhua Confucian temple. A county level temple-school (*xianxue*), the Changhua Confucian temple was first erected in 1726, and went through many renovations and reconstructions. In 1811, the temple began to train students to perform ritual music and dance in the biannual ceremonies. In 1871, a *yueju*, music office, was created for selecting qualifying students to receive training in ritual music and dance.

upon Qing officials to be its knowledgeable agents and benevolent patrons. The very different temple-community relationship in Tainan and Taipei proved to be a crucial factor in continuing the tradition of Confucian ceremonial music when colonization occurred.

#### **IV. Transformation of the Taiwanese Confucian Ceremonial Tradition after Japanese Annexation**

Japanese annexation of Taiwan in 1895 greatly affected the Confucian temples, creating many difficulties and challenges for the performance of the ceremony. First, in the early colonial period Taiwanese temples and public buildings of many kinds were occupied by the Japanese to temporarily house troops, hospitals, schools, or administrative offices. Confucian temples were not immune from such disturbances. Occupied temples were suspended from performing their usual function. For example, the Taipei Confucian Temple were occupied for several years following 1895 to house Japanese troops and later served as a military hospital. When the Taiwanese resumed performance of the Confucian ceremony in October 1896, they were forced to relocate to the Longshan Temple, a famous large Buddhist temple in Taipei's Mengjia area.<sup>23</sup> However, a Buddhist temple is very different from a Confucian temple and the

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<sup>23</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.37, October 15, 1896, p. 3.

Taipei community was completely deprived of the proper facility and context required to properly conduct the ceremony. In Tainan, the Great Hall of the Confucian temple was used by the Japanese Language Lab as a classroom starting in November 1896.<sup>24</sup> In 1898 when the Common Schools were started, the Tainan First Common School took over and continued to use the temple facility until 1917. The Common School spared the Great Hall but used most of the other architectural units as classrooms.<sup>25</sup> Although the Tainan community was able to perform the ceremony in the desired facility of the Great Hall, they had to negotiate the ritual day with the school schedule which could not be easily altered.

Second, when a temple was occupied by Japanese troops, ritual utensils, musical instruments, and even the temple architecture were often damaged or destroyed by the soldiers. This was particularly true during the months of annexation warfare when the Japanese colonizers were condescending to and distrustful of the Taiwanese. While a small portion of the ritual utensils could be quickly replicated or substituted with similar items, damaged musical instruments found no quick replacements. Repairing or replacing the instruments was costly and time-consuming, as most items had to be crafted in

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<sup>24</sup> Xu Peixian, *Zhi min di Taiwan di jin dai xue xiao* [*The Modern School in the Colony Taiwan*]. (Taipei: Yuan liu chu ban shi ye, 2005), 36.

<sup>25</sup> Yamada, *Tainan Senbyōkō* [*History of Tainan Confucian Temple*], 23-25.

China and imported to Taiwan. And damaged musical instruments meant muted ritual music.

Damaged musical instruments constituted a common problem shared by Taiwanese Confucian temples across the island, and the local elites who intended to bring back the ceremony had to find their own solutions. For example, the organizational committee of the Taipei Confucian Temple ceremony tried to mobilize the community to search for substitute ritual utensils and musical instruments from private collections, and offered to purchase usable items at market price.<sup>26</sup> Despite such efforts, the number of objects recovered was limited. Thus the 1897 ceremony was forced to proceed with damaged musical instruments, rendering the ritual music to be undesirably thin, if not silent.<sup>27</sup> In Changhua, annexation warfare caused much damage to the Confucian Temple's architecture and many objects. The elites of the Changhua area decided to prioritize the acquisition of musical instruments, and used the winter income of the temple's tenant farm for this purpose. Several instruments, such as the drums and wooden blocks, were commissioned from local craftsmen, while other pieces of instruments had to be ordered from China.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.301, September 9, 1897, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.301, September 9, 1897, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.331, October 15, 1897, p. 1. Changhua Confucian Temple established a *yueju*, music office, in 1871, to oversee temple affairs. It is plausible the Changhua *yueju*, like its Tainan counterpart, had set up a designated income to financially support the cost of temple maintenance and ritual performance.

Third, upon annexation, the change of polity deprived Confucian temples of their patronage from Qing officials, and diminished the function and role of the temples in Taiwanese society. The Qing officials had been recalled back to the mainland upon the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The few Qing officials who remained in Taiwan were involved in the anti-Japanese struggles of the Republic of Formosa and eventually left Taiwan. The departure of the Qing officials meant the complete withdrawal of the Qing state from Taiwanese life. The function of the Confucian temple as the political and cultural institution embodying the state suddenly ceased to exist. With state sponsorship withdrawn, the temples depended entirely on the local elites, who were now the sole patrons.

In addition, the social chaos caused by annexation in 1895 and the final date of changing to Japanese citizenship in 1897 prompted much of the upper class gentry to move to China instead of remaining. After two waves of exoduses, Taiwanese society witnessed a drastic decrease in the upper class.<sup>29</sup> Among those who stayed in Taiwan, many opted to withdraw from their usual engagement in public affairs as a form of resistance to Japanese rule.<sup>30</sup> The reconfiguration of the elite network led to reduced sponsorship of the Confucian temple ceremonies. In sum, colonization cut off the source of knowledge and patronage of the Qing

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<sup>29</sup> Wu Wenxing, *Ri ju shi qi Taiwan she hui ling dao jie ceng zhi yang jiu* [Study of the Taiwanese Social Strata of Elites and Leaders in the Japanese Colonial Period] (Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Co, 1992), 24-28.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-33.



officials and reduced elite sponsorship, leaving the responsibilities of conducting the Confucian ceremony solely to local communities. The local communities had to take up the work of training musician-dancers and financing the expenditures that the Confucian ceremony required.

Despite these factors and hardships, many Taiwanese elites chose to continue performing the Confucian ceremony since it expressed their identity and values through honoring Confucius, the ultimate symbol of Chinese culture. Several years into the Japanese colonial period, however, the two largest Taiwanese Confucian temples in Taipei and Tainan demonstrated contrasting approaches to carrying on the tradition.

The Taipei Confucian temple ceremony was quickly resumed in 1896 and was a large event for a few years, yet it quickly fell off in following years. In the 1899 autumn ceremony, the Taipei ceremony was still held in the Longshan Temple because of the Japanese occupation of the Confucian temple. The three offerings of the ceremonial presentation were accordingly performed by several elites, but the proper ritual music and dance were eliminated. Instead, *guchue* (“drumming and blowing”) music in the so-called *suyue* (“folk, vulgar music”) category was employed in the ceremony.<sup>31</sup> This highly creative and yet

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<sup>31</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no.427, October 3, 1899, p. 3.

inauthentic Confucian ceremony was probably a result of the many technical difficulties faced by the organizers.

The lack of musical instruments had been a major obstacle hindering the full rendition of the ritual performance of the Taipei temple. Moreover, as Taiwan's newest Confucian temple, the Taipei Confucian Temple had not had the time to ground the ceremony as a tradition practiced by the associated elite community. Nor had it established viable means to financially support the temple operation and ritual performance. And so although the Taipei temple seemed able to replicate its well-performed 1894 ceremony in 1896 and 1897 minus the music, the vacuum of temple patronage created by the sudden departure of the Qing state and the deprivation of patronage appeared too challenging for the Taipei community to fill. By 1905, the Taipei Confucian temple had already stopped performing the ceremony.<sup>32</sup> In 1907, the temple was torn down by the colonial government to build the new campus for the Japanese Language Academy.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Kanbun Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 2213, September 10, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Huang Deshi, *Taiwan di kong miao [Confucian Temples of Taiwan]*. (Taichung: Taiwan sheng zheng fu xin wen chu [News Agency of Taiwan Provincial Government], 1981), 78. It requires more investigation to understand why the Japanese colonial government decided to demolish the Taipei Confucian temple. The colonial authority had been sensible not to provoke Taiwanese resistance on religious and temple matters. However, it is possible that when the Taipei Confucian Temple stopped performing the ceremony, the residual function of the temple became minimal. This could have further justified the Japanese urban planning consideration of building the Japanese Language Academy on the ground of a dysfunctional temple.

In contrast, the long history of the Tainan Confucian temple and its institutionalization of the *yueju* had allowed the Tainan elite community to establish a system of support, nurture knowledgeable agents, and thus fortify their capability to sustain their temple sponsorship, even after annexation introduced unexpected hardships. In the annexation aftermath, while Taipei could only rely on donations to make the Confucian ceremony happen, the older temples of Tainan and Changhua maintained a regular land income to subsidize costs. Moreover, the operation of the *yueju* rooted the ceremony as a local tradition, and allowed for local transmission of the necessary knowledge and technical skills. The patronage vacuum left by the departure of Qing officials and state could thus be quickly filled by the locals. As a result, the Tainan Confucian Temple continued performing the annual Confucian ceremony until its renovation in 1917.<sup>34</sup>

## V. Negotiating Confucian and Colonial Realities

The Confucian ceremony was an arena of musiking for the colonized Taiwanese elites and the Japanese colonial authority to negotiate their cultural and political agendas. The Taiwanese elites, especially the gentries and literati with titles and recognition by the Qing regime, had been the targeted group

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<sup>34</sup> Yamada, *Tainan Senbyōkō [History of Tainan Confucian Temple]*, 25.

whom the Japanese colonial authority eagerly wanted to win over for their support and collaboration. In the early colonial years when the Japanese were exploring administrative strategies, they found that the local Taiwanese elites, who had established themselves as social and community leaders, could be effective mediators between the government and the people. The colonial government thus intended to incorporate the Taiwanese elites into the lower strata of the administrative system. In 1896, for example, Governor-General Nogi particularly highlighted the urgency of improving the colonial administration's rapport with the Taiwanese, and emphasized the importance of incorporating renowned and respected Taiwanese elites into the local administrations.<sup>35</sup> In 1897, the colonial government launched a system of issuing a "gentlemen's medal" to eligible Taiwanese scholars, gentry, or large capital owners respected by their local communities. By issuing medals to these Taiwanese, the colonial government intended to demonstrate that it recognized their contribution to society and importance to the administration.<sup>36</sup> In 1900, the colonial government invented *Yōbunkai*, ("Society for Promoting Civilization"), a meeting in which the

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<sup>35</sup> Wu, *Ri ju shi qi Taiwan she hui ling dao jie ceng zhi yang jiu* [Study of the Taiwanese Social Strata of Elites and Leaders in the Japanese Colonial Period], 62.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

colonial government gathered the gentry and literati with Qing titles to hear their suggestions on issues concerning the Taiwanese.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to these well-documented colonial policies of appeasing the local Taiwanese elites, negotiating elite cooperation and building rapport also occurred in other fields. The Confucian temple ceremony, the symbol of cultural values and identities central to Taiwanese elites, became a field in which the elites negotiated their right to perform the ritual and the colonial authority negotiated the cooperation it desired.

### **Taiwanese Efforts in Continuing Confucian Ceremony**

A closer look at the work done by the Taiwanese elite to continue the Confucian ceremony after annexation reveals how musiking operated. In Taipei, the elites quickly resumed the ceremony in October 1896, relocated to the Longshan Temple due to the Japanese occupation of the Confucian temple. A group of Taiwanese young men practiced and rehearsed the ritual music and dance.<sup>38</sup> Two Taiwanese elites, Li Bingjun and Liu Tingyu, took charge of organizing the ceremony. They planned to invite the Governor-General and

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 65-66. Also see Harry J. Lamley, "The Yōbunkai of 1900: An Episode in the Transformation of the Taiwan Elite during the Early Japanese Period." (paper presented at the *Ri ju shi qi Taiwan shi guo ji xue shu yang tao hui* [International Symposium on the History of Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period], Taipei, 1992) for a study on the history of *Yōbunkai*.

<sup>38</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.37, October 15, 1896, p. 3.

other Sōtokufu officials to witness the ceremony. After the ceremony, students of the Japanese Language Academy arrived to pay homage to Confucius.<sup>39</sup>

In the next autumn sacrifice in 1897, the Taipei Confucian Temple remained occupied and unavailable. Four leading Taipei elites, however, started a committee to coordinate the many aspects of performing the ceremony in the Longshan Temple.<sup>40</sup> It was a big event for the local Taiwanese community and the colonial government as well, and the Sōtokufu's Bureau of Civil Affairs sent staff members to study and document the ceremony. Over eighty Taiwanese young men participated in learning, rehearsing, and performing the ritual dance.<sup>41</sup>

However, in a large event like this, the incomplete ritual utensils and damaged musical instruments were prominent to Taiwanese eyes and ears. Among the various utensils such as baskets, bushels, containers, cups, and so forth, many were lost and had to be substituted with similar but inauthentic items. Most of the musical instruments were absent from the ritual, which meant the absence of the prescribed musical sounds.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the organization committee made the decision to change the ritual attire because a substantial amount of formal attire used for rituals had been destroyed in the annexation

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<sup>39</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.41, October 21, 1896, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.301, September 9, 1897, p. 1. The four elites were Li Bingjun, Chen Luo, Nian Shunyin, and Ye Weigui.

<sup>41</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.307, September 16, 1897, p. 1; *Taiwan shimpō*, no. 308, September 17, 1897, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.315, September 26, 1897, p.1.

struggle. Moreover, since Taiwan was now under Japanese rule, the committee decided that it was sensible to tone down the visual association of the ceremony with the former Qing regime.<sup>43</sup> Some Japanese observers at the ceremony noticed the Taiwanese frustration with the silenced music and the unorthodox attire.<sup>44</sup> The rather thin or even muted sonority of the ritual music aurally reminded the Taiwanese of their becoming the colonized, and the subdued attire added yet another visual reminder.

In addition to Taipei, Taiwanese Confucian temples in Changhua, Hsinchu, and Tainan also attempted to continue the ceremony. In early 1897, the Changhua Confucian Temple performed the spring ceremony.<sup>45</sup> In 1898, the Changhua community planned to repair the musical instruments and in 1900 the community refurbished the ritual attire of the musician-dancers.<sup>46</sup> In late 1897, the Hsinchu community conducted the Confucian ceremony without the ritual objects and musical instruments in the temple that had recently been vacated from use as troop barracks and had sustained much damage.<sup>47</sup> In order to host the ceremony, the Hsinchu community began restoration work, forcing them to reschedule the ceremony to a later date.<sup>48</sup> In 1897 or by early 1898, the Tainan

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<sup>43</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.307, September 16, 1897, p.1.

<sup>44</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.319, October 1, 1897, p.1.

<sup>45</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.156, March 19, 1897, p.1.

<sup>46</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no.1455, March 11, 1903, p.4.

<sup>47</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.298, September 5, 1897, p.1.

<sup>48</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no.313, September 23, 1897, p.1.

Confucian temple had resumed the ritual performance. However, since 1896 the Tainan Confucian temple had been used as colonial school facility, so members of the *yueju* were required to negotiate with the local colonial authority to maintain the schedule of the annual ceremony.<sup>49</sup>

To summarize, within the first five years of annexation, at least four large Taiwanese elite communities in the major cities of Taipei, Hsinchu, Changhua, and Tainan resumed performing the Confucian ceremony despite the difficulties of occupied temples, damaged musical instruments, and missing ritual utensils. Holding onto an important tradition in this way, the Taiwanese elites managed to defy the hardship brought by colonization, and invested their best efforts to continue a ceremony of great cultural, communal, and personal importance.

### **Japanese Positions and Involvements**

Furthermore, the Japanese colonial authority demonstrated their effort in building rapport with the Taiwanese elites by showing its support for this Taiwanese tradition. After all the damage done to Taiwanese temples by Japanese soldiers, and with Taiwanese anger on the rise, the Japanese Governor-Generals tried to control the damage and avoid further exacerbating the Taiwanese-Japanese friction. For example, in January 1896, first Governor-

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<sup>49</sup> Yamada, *Tainan Senbyōkō [History of Tainan Confucian Temple]*, 25.



General Kabayama ordered Japanese troops not to tamper with temple objects and architecture. Upon departure, the troops were order to restore the temples back to their original condition as much as possible.<sup>50</sup> Third Governor-General Nogi toured several Taiwanese communities in autumn 1897 and encouraged them to continue performing the Confucian ceremony. Nogi visited Hsinchu and gave the elites his encouragement and permission;<sup>51</sup> he also instructed the Taipei County government to subsidize the cost of the ceremony to be held in Taipei.<sup>52</sup> The fourth Governor-General Kodama, after using the Changhua Confucian temple for feasting with the local Taiwanese elders, dispensed funds to aid in the temple maintenance.<sup>53</sup> In sum, the Governor-Generals demonstrated gestures of support in attempts to improve rapport with the Taiwanese elites. However, as the colonial regime was in need of public space for administrative and military use, their sponsorship of the Confucian ceremonies rarely went beyond limited oratory encouragement and monetary support.

The Japanese local administrations were often invited by Taiwanese elites to be witnesses or even celebrants of the ceremonies. The Taipei elites, in planning their ceremonies in 1896 and 1897, invited the Governor-General and other colonial officials. In their 1897 spring ceremony, the Changhua elites

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<sup>50</sup> Kun-Liang Chiu, *Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi ju zhi yan jiu: jiu ju yu xin jiu* [Study of Theatres of Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period: old and new theatres] (Taipei: Zili wanbao chubantu, 1992), 36.

<sup>51</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no. 298, September 5, 1897, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no. 301, September 9, 1897, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, March 11, 1903, p. 4.

invited local colonial governmental officials to be the liturgical celebrants, the roles formerly performed by Qing governmental officials prior to the annexation.<sup>54</sup>

Some local Japanese administrators appeared to be more enthusiastic than others toward the Confucian ceremony. For example, from 1900 to 1903, the Changhua county governors or their representatives would come to the ceremonies to burn incense and pay homage. The Changhua county governor of the year 1903 even instructed the board members to improve the ritual performance by regulating the audience present in the hall to solemnize the ritual site, and to have the musician-dancers rehearse three days in advance to better synchronize their performances.<sup>55</sup>

A special case of local colonial administration and Taiwanese elites working on a new version of Confucian ritual music occurred in Changhua. In 1905, the ritual performed was a reformed version combining ceremonial music used in modern Japan into the existing Confucian liturgical structure. The county governor assumed the role of the leading ritual celebrant. Other Japanese officials from the local administration lined the left side of the hall, and the Taiwanese gentlemen stood at the right. A segment of Western-style music was played, and all the participants bowed to revere Confucius. Then the rite of

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<sup>54</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no. 156, March 19, 1897, p. 1

<sup>55</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1455, March 11, 1903, p. 4.

*yingshen*, welcoming the deities, was performed with the Confucian ceremonial song and dance presented by the Taiwanese musician-dancers. The next section of the ritual was comprised of the rites of *xianli*, offerings of wine and silk, performed by the governor to the ritual music, and the recitation of an honorary essay by a Taiwanese gentleman. After the Confucian ceremonial music paused, Western music was performed while the participating officials and gentlemen offered burning incense in front of the altar. The final section of the liturgy included sending off the deities and burning of the ritual silk, with prescribed ritual music accompaniment.<sup>56</sup> This new version retained the basic liturgical structure and rites of the traditional Confucian ceremony and the corresponding music and dance, but the core part of the three offerings were simplified. The content of the Western-style music is unknown, but it very well could have been the military band music that the Japanese had adopted for their modernized ceremonial occasions. A reporter of this event commented that the reformed version was meant to accommodate both the Japanese and the Taiwanese to express their homage to Confucius.<sup>57</sup>

Arguably, when the Taiwanese invited the Japanese officials to replace the vacant role of the former Qing officials, the Taiwanese elites were trying to incorporate the colonial state into the Confucian ceremony. In doing so, the

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<sup>56</sup> *Kanbun Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 2209, September 10, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.*

Taiwanese elites tried to accept the reality that the Japanese were now their new rulers; at the same time they also tried to create new possible state sponsorship so that the Confucian ceremony would be continued and not repressed in spite of colonization.

## **VI. Conclusion**

After Japanese annexation of Taiwan, the elites, though not engaged in armed resistance, did engage in a subtler form of resistance by asserting their need to continue performing the Confucian ceremony. The annexation in 1895 caused Confucian temples to be occupied for other uses and led to the damaging of musical instruments used for ritual music. This damage literally silenced the ceremonial music in most Taiwanese Confucian ceremonies in the early colonial period. However, the Taiwanese elites musiked their need to perform the Confucian ceremony by reenacting the ritual site in different locations (e.g. Taipei) or by negotiating the use of the site (e.g. Tainan) to continue the ritual performance.

The Confucian ceremonial music, when performed after the Japanese takeover of Taiwan, became a sonic enactment of Taiwanese values and identity. Performing Confucian ritual music addressed and validated the Confucian culture of the Taiwanese elites. On the other hand, in the early colonial years,

some of these musical sounds were muted because of damaged or lost musical instruments. Occasions of hearing the ritual music with many muted parts reminded the Taiwanese of the bitter reality of colonial occupation. In some locations, the muted sounds could never come back again because of the loss of patronage, which further reflected the reality of colonization. When actually heard, sounded or muted, the Confucian ceremonial music became a sonic index of what the Taiwanese elite could do and could not do when they became a colonized people.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### MUSIKING TAIWANESE MODERNITY AND LOCALITY

Japanese colonization was a pivotal force in systematically introducing modernity to Taiwan. Throughout the colonial period, the Japanese left profound marks of modern systems in Taiwan – such as education, communication, banking, civil engineering, medicine, leisure, and transportation, to name a few. To fortify colonial control and economic development, in their first decade of rule the Japanese authority pursued one of its largest and most-advertised modernizing projects – the construction of the cross-island railroad. This modern colonial infrastructure aimed to reach the Taiwanese people in various localities to incorporate them into the network of colonial control. In addition to its political purpose, the cross-island railroad also was intended to facilitate transporting goods and products for exportation, an important goal of colonizing the subtropical island of Taiwan.

The spread of modernity, especially the cross-island railroad project, was announced and celebrated with musical performances at the locales where

modern projects were completed. To both display the achievements and incorporate the Taiwanese into modernity, the celebrations appropriated popular Taiwanese musical performances to deliver the message. By resituating traditional musical sounds in the context of celebrating modernity, the colonial government negotiated its presence into all corners of Taiwan.

## I. Colonial and Modern Infrastructures in Taiwan

The colonial infrastructures established in Taiwan covered a wide range of functions that the Japanese considered necessary for Taiwan to become a modern society. Built primarily to meet the daily needs of Japanese bureaucrats and expatriates, these infrastructures also significantly modified the lifestyle of the Taiwanese. Schools, hospitals, police stations, marketplaces, music halls, post offices, banks, and parks were among the institutions introduced by the colonial regime within its first decade in Taiwan.<sup>1</sup>

The colonial infrastructures were often introduced to the residents with celebrative musical sounds to highlight their physical and visual presence. For example, in June 1897, a new hospital was built in Hsinchu. Building hospitals

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Taipei alone in the first decades from 1895-1905, had at least twenty-five public buildings either newly-built or converted from existent structures. These public buildings served the needs of colonial education, economy, leisure, medicine, communication, military, public security, and administration. See Ye Suke, *Ri luo Taipei cheng: ri zhi shi dai Taipei du shi fa zhen yu tai ren sheng huo* [Sunset Taipei: the urban development of Taipei and Taiwanese daily life in the Japanese colonial period]. (Taipei: Zi li wan bao, 1993), 158-160.

and promoting modern hygiene were top priorities of the colonial administration, in order to tackle the poor sanitation and public health of the colony. The new Hsinchu boasted superior hygiene and advanced facilities. To highlight the need for modern medicine in Taiwan, the completion of the new hospital was advertised and celebrated as an important local event. Operas were performed outside the hospital entrance, as Japanese officials and Taiwanese community leaders banqueted inside the building to the accompaniment of music and dance performed by geishas – possibly both Japanese and Taiwanese.<sup>2</sup>

Similar celebrations to mark the arrival of colonial infrastructures were plentiful. On June 28th, 1898, the new marketplace in Taipei's Dadaocheng district opened for business, and the grand opening gathered together governmental officials and local merchant-elites. Taiwanese operatic numbers and musical performances from Japanese geishas constituted the featured celebratory entertainment. In addition, four famous Taiwanese female entertainers were specially hired from the Mengjia district to perform. These celebrity-geishas attracted a large crowd of onlookers.<sup>3</sup> A few months later in October 1897, the local administration of the Wenshan region in the outskirts of Taipei celebrated the completion of the remodeling and expansion of the administrative office. The celebration formed quite a significant local event,

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<sup>2</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no. 224, June 9, 1897, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 47, June 30, 1898, p. 2; no. 48, July 1, 1898, p. 5.



featuring one hundred and twenty participants from among Japanese civil and military staff and local Taiwanese elites and senior citizens. Several Taiwanese gentlemen gave complimentary speeches to congratulate the Japanese chief administrator and his Taiwanese consultant. The celebration included a banquet, an opera troupe performing theatrical numbers, and singing from Taiwanese geishas. On the streets, shops raised Japanese flags to celebrate. The celebration also attracted Taiwanese villagers of nearby areas to see and hear the musical festivities.<sup>4</sup>

As Japanese colonial administration took root throughout the colony, celebrations of modern facilities continued to take place in many Taiwanese localities, including outside the major cities. For instance, on October 21st and 23rd, 1903, Zhudong township (east to Hsinchu) celebrated the completion of the new town hall and Common School building. Each celebration drew over a hundred participants and featured banquets and Taiwanese operatic performances.<sup>5</sup> On June 28th, 1904, the opening of the new county government building in Taoyuan County also became a spectacular event for the locals. Not only did Gotō Shimpei, the Chief Civil Administrator of Taiwan, come to the opening ceremony from Taipei, along with several other high-ranking colonial officials, but local Taiwanese residents also came to see the new building with its

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<sup>4</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no. 327, October 10, 1897, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1648, October 27, 1903, p. 3.

modern architecture. Fireworks and music opened the celebration and welcomed the arrival of the high colonial officials from Taipei, and a stage was temporarily erected in front of the new building for the theatrical and festive performances that many Taiwanese residents and villagers came to watch and hear.<sup>6</sup>

These celebrations, held at the sites of colonial infrastructures and featuring popular Taiwanese musical sounds or a joint presentation of Taiwanese and Japanese performances, brought Japanese authorities and Taiwanese subjects together to witness the modern aspects of colonization. To engage the local Taiwanese, it was strategically practical for Japanese officials to incorporate the musical sounds and performances familiar to the Taiwanese in the colonial celebrations. This musicking negotiation of modernity and colonization highlighted the Japanese effort in making Taiwan like Japan, and the Taiwanese were moved toward a modernized lifestyle along with an acceptance of their fate of being the colonized.

## **II. The Cross-Island Railroad Construction and Its Celebrations**

Among the modernizing projects and colonial infrastructure, the most ambitious was the construction of the cross-island railroad system linking two major Taiwanese ports, Keelung in the north and Takao (Kaohsiung) in the south.

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<sup>6</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1847, June 29, 1904, p. 2; no. 1848, June 30, 1904, p. 3.

The railroad passed through the agriculturally productive western plains of the island. Upon completion, the railroad immediately became the island's economic backbone, supporting the fast transportation and exportation of Taiwanese goods and products. Furthermore, the railroad system also modified the pre-modern topography of Taiwanese cities, towns, and harbors. The railroad affected local economic development, population migration, and the resulting development or decline of communities.

### **A history of the cross-island railroad project**

Prior to Japanese annexation, Taiwan possessed sixty-six miles of railroad connecting Keelung, Taipei and Hsinchu. This railroad came to existence when the Qing government had endeavored to transform Taiwan into China's main defensive fortress for its southeast coast. For that purpose, Qing mandarins had envisioned a cross-island railroad in Taiwan as part of a modernizing project to strengthen Taiwan's defensive capacity. In 1887, the ambitious Qing Governor Liu Mingchuan launched railroad construction from Taipei to Keelung. The twenty miles of railroad, passing through the hilly area between the two cities, took five years to complete in 1891. In 1893, another forty-two miles of railroad

from Taipei to Hsinchu was completed. The construction of the cross-island railroad was, however, suspended by the next Taiwan Governor Shao Youlian.<sup>7</sup>

As this was the second-earliest Chinese railroad built in the late nineteenth century, Chinese travelers to Taiwan were fascinated by the speed and efficiency of railway transportation. For instance, a Qing official visiting Taiwan in 1892 described the train trip from Keelung to Taipei as fast as riding on lightning, and commented that it was a costly but beneficial transportation project.<sup>8</sup>

However, railroad operation, especially on the line between Keelung and Taipei, was terribly compromised due to bureaucratic corruption and inadequate maintenance.<sup>9</sup> When the Japanese annexed Taiwan in 1895, they inherited a malfunctioning railroad. Although Governor-General Kabayama arrived in Taipei by train from Keelung to inaugurate colonial reign, the colonial staff experienced two derailing in their short trip. The Japanese soon discovered that Taiwan's existing railroad operation could not meet their economic and military needs.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Chih-Wen Hung, *Zhen cang shi ji Taiwan tie dao: gan xian tie lu pian (One Century of Railways in Taiwan: Main Lines)* (Taipei: Shibao wen hua, 2000), 27.

<sup>8</sup> Jiang Shiche, *Tai you ri ji [Journals of visiting Taiwan]*, in *Taiwan wen xian shi liao cong kan di 9 ji juan 177* [Collections of Taiwan historical documents], vol. 177 (Taipei: Da tong shu ju you xian gong si, 1987[1892]), 21.

<sup>9</sup> Liu Wenjun, Wang Weijie, and Yang Senhau, *Bai nian Taiwan tie dao (One Hundred Years of Railroad in Taiwan)* (Taipei: Guo shi chu ban, 2003), 17-18.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

Upon annexation, proposals quickly emerged for building a new cross-island railroad system penetrating the island for colonial control and military defense. But the fiscally-challenged Sōtokutu hesitated over the huge expenditure of railroad construction. Before launching the cross-island railroad project, however, the colonial government had devoted some efforts to improving and renovating the existing Keelung-Taipei rail segment. Upon the completion of those renovations in March 1898, governmental officials and local Taiwanese elites gathered near the new tunnel – the final step of the renovation – to celebrate the updated railroad.<sup>11</sup>

In November 1899, the Sōtokufu consolidated the Railroad Department to supervise the cross-island railroad project. In the same year, the railroad system began construction from both the north end of Taipei and the south end of Takao (Kaohsiung). Ten years later in 1908, the cross-island railroad through Taiwan's western plains was proclaimed complete. Over the span of ten years, as railroad segments were completed and mileage of train transportation increased, celebrations were held to mark the advancement of the project. As a result, multiple Taiwanese locales welcomed and celebrated the arrival of the railroad. The final completion in 1908 culminated in the grand opening and celebration in Taichung, now only several hours of train travel from either Taipei or Kaohsiung.

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<sup>11</sup> Taiwan Kōtsūkyoku Tetsudōbu, *Taiwan tetsudō shi [History of Taiwan Railroad]*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kondō shōten, 1910-11), 374-76.

The cross-island railroad project also inspired the construction of several regional light rail networks to facilitate transporting local products such as logs and minerals from remote areas to major cities for sale or r exports.<sup>12</sup> During the colonial period, both governmental and private capital invested in these local light rail networks. One of the earliest light rails was proposed and funded by local Taiwanese businesses in the Taoyuan area. To speed up the transportation of tea products, the Taiwanese investors proposed a light rail from Daxi to Taoyuan.<sup>13</sup> From there, tea products could travel to Taipei for sale or to Keelung for export.

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<sup>12</sup> Chih-wen Hung has documented the local light rail networks built during the Japanese colonial period. Chih-wen Hung, *Zhen cang shi ji Taiwan tie dao. Di fang tie dao pian (One century of railways in Taiwan. Local lines)* (Taipei: Shi bao wen hua, 2001), 63-117.

<sup>13</sup> Reports in *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō* [*Taiwan Daily News*] commented that after the railway began operating on December 5, it did not experience a booming business because the tea season had just passed. Yet the safety and smoothness of the ride pointed to promising future business opportunities. *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1693, December 22, 1903, p. 2; and no. 1694, December 23, 1903, p. 3.

Figure 7-1: Map of the cross-island railroad system.

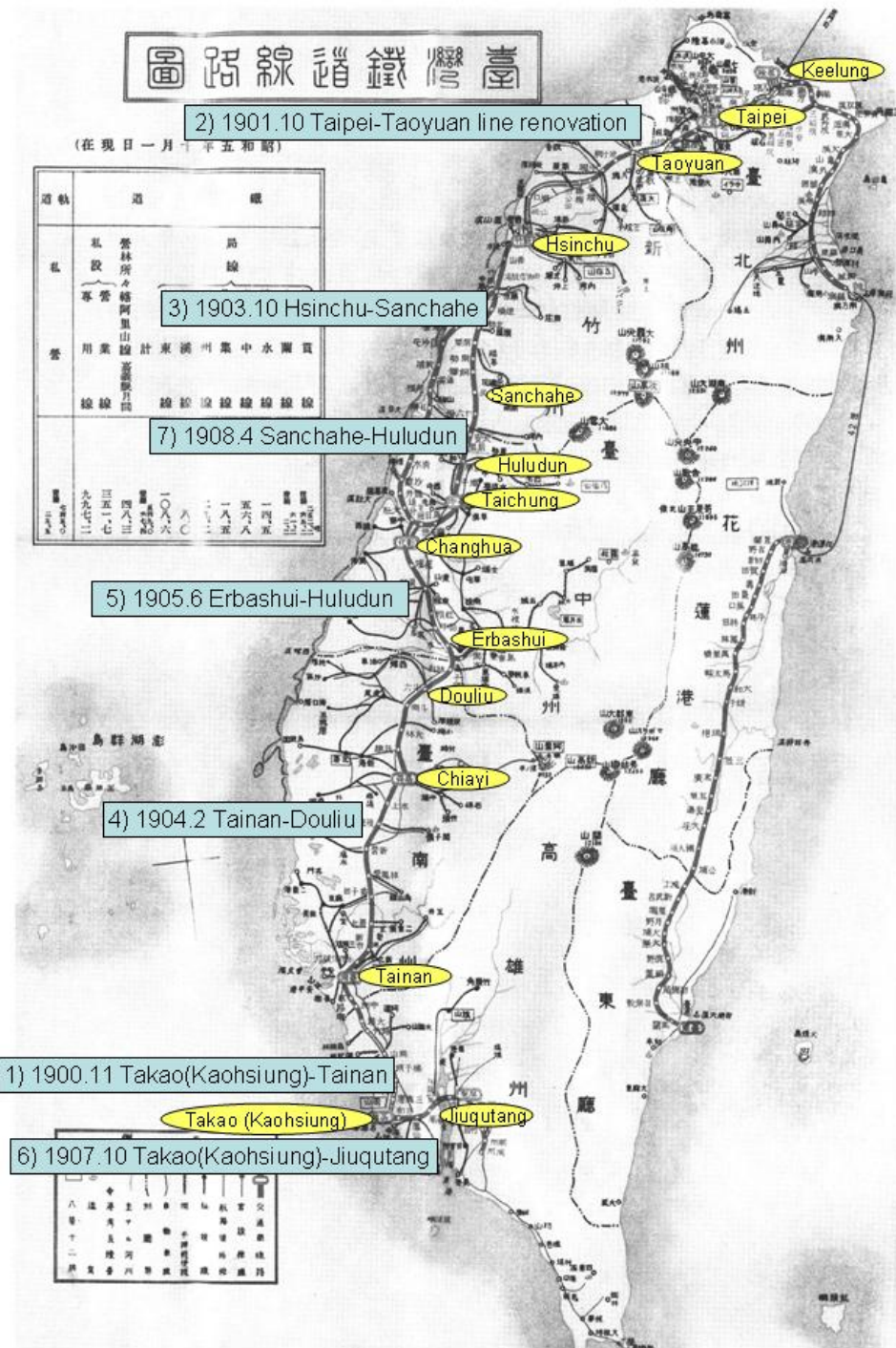


Table 7-1: The segmental completion of the cross-island railroad system.<sup>14</sup>

Date of opening celebration	Railroad segment completed	Location of celebration
1900.11.28	Takao (Kaohsiung) – Tainan	Kaohsiung Station
1901.10.25	Taipei – Taoyuan line renovation; Taipei – Danshui (branch line, an extension to Danshui from the mainline)	Taipei Station and Danshui station
1903.10.7	Hsinchu – Sanchahe (Sanyi)	Miaoli Station
*1903.12.20	Taoyuan – Dakekan (Daxi) light rail (Taiwanese initiated project)	on a hilltop overseeing the Dakekan river
1904.2.28	Tainan -- Douliu	Chiayi Station
*1905.3.26	Erbashui -- Changhua	Changhua Park
1905.6.10	Erbashui (Ershui) – Huludun (Fengyuan)	Taichung Station
1907.10.1	Takao (Kaohsiung) – Jiuqutang (branch line, an extension to Pingtung from the mainline)	Fengshan Station
1908.10.24	Full line completion (when the challenging segment Sanchahe (Sanyi) – Huludun (Fengyuan) completed)	Taichung Park

### The railroad celebrations, 1900-1907

The first railroad celebration took place in Kaohsiung when the southern segment between Tainan and Takao (Kaohsiung) was completed in November 1900. On November 28, 1900, almost a thousand participants gathered in the

<sup>14</sup> Table compiled based on the grand openings documented in *Taiwan tetsudō shi* [History of Taiwan Railroad], vol. 3, 431-491, and newspaper entries on *Taiwan nichichi shimpō* [Taiwan Daily News] (items with \* mark).



Kaohsiung railroad station. It was reported that participating guests included 119 Japanese officials, 15 foreign residents, 97 Japanese community leaders, 107 Taiwanese elites, 593 Taiwanese landowners who had donated land for railroad construction, and 33 merchants and businessmen, totaling 964 listed participants.<sup>15</sup> The Kaohsiung station and nearby streets were decorated with Japanese themes of ball-shaped lanterns, green arches and Japanese flags.<sup>16</sup> The celebration started with trains transporting guests from several places along the Kaohsiung-Tainan line to Kaohsiung station. The opening ceremony began after all the participants had arrived and featured several speeches interpolated with music.<sup>17</sup> Officials from the Railroad Department spoke of construction progress, and Governor-General Kodama congratulated the achievement. After the Tainan County governor gave his speech, Cai Guolin, a renowned Taiwanese gentry-elite of the Tainan area, presented a congratulatory speech on behalf of the Taiwanese communities.<sup>18</sup> Following the ceremony, the guests retreated to banquets and entertainment. Fireworks and Taiwanese operatic performances entertained the guests and added festivity to the celebration.<sup>19</sup> The grand opening lasted several hours; by two o'clock in the afternoon trains began to take

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<sup>15</sup> *Taiwan tetsudō shi [History of Taiwan Railroad]*, vol. 3, 431.

<sup>16</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 775, November 29, 1900, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 769, November 21, 1900, p. 3. However, it is unclear what kind of instrumental music, *sōgaku*, was employed here.

<sup>18</sup> *Taiwan tetsudō shi [History of Taiwan Railroad]*, vol. 3, 432-442.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 442; *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 775, November 29, 1900, p. 3.

guests and participants home. On the next day, November 29, 1900, the Kaohsiung-Tainan line officially began operation on schedule.<sup>20</sup>

The format of the opening celebration in Kaohsiung became a standardized model for subsequent celebrations. Transporting the guests to the grand opening by train was a strategy to educate the Taiwanese about the modern improvements the Japanese had achieved, especially since the Japanese had semi-demanded that many Taiwanese relinquish their land for the railroad construction with nominal compensation. The visual motifs of the green arches, ball-shaped lanterns, and Japanese flags were emblematic decorations consistently presented in the next several grand opening ceremonies. The musical and theatrical performances were also essential as they provided a festive aura to the celebration. Taiwanese operatic performances or a joint presentation of Japanese and Taiwanese musical sounds thus formed the fundamental soundscape of railroad celebrations.

A year after the Kaohsiung celebration, the cross-island railroad project celebrated another accomplishment in northern Taiwan. The celebration on October 25, 1901, highlighted the renovations and improvements to the pre-existing Taipei-Taoyuan line and the newly-constructed branch line between Taipei and the downriver harbor town Danshui. This celebration included almost

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<sup>20</sup> The fare and train schedule was published on *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 774, November 28, 1900, p. 6.

1700 invited participants, invited based on qualifications similar to the first celebration in Kaohsiung – colonial governmental officials, Taiwanese elites, Taiwanese landowners who submitted land, and leading Japanese and Taiwanese businessmen. The same Japanese-themed visual motifs – Japanese flags, ball-shaped lanterns, and green arches – decorated the Taipei station.<sup>21</sup> The Japanese Navy Band was specially invited to perform in this celebration.<sup>22</sup> Three stages were set at the east, south, and west sides of the station to feature various performances of Japanese music, dance, and wrestling.<sup>23</sup> In addition, a Taiwanese theatrical performance of excerpts from the famous story *The Three Kingdoms* was also staged nearby.<sup>24</sup>

The cross-island railroad project continued making progress and to generating celebrations. By October 1903, the northern part of the railroad had extended southward beyond Miaoli to Sanchahe (Sanyi), entering the most geographically challenging region of the railroad project. The extended mileage of railroad led to a new schedule of freight, commuter, and postal service

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<sup>21</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1039, October 17, 1901, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1046, October 26, 1901, p. 2; *Taiwan tetsudō shi* [History of Taiwan Railroad], vol. 3, 443.

<sup>23</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1046, October 26, 1901, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> According to another newspaper entry on *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1046, October 26, 1901, p. 5, the journalist reported hearing and seeing a Taiwanese theatrical performance amidst the many Japanese performances.

schedules for the area.<sup>25</sup> To celebrate the new segment's completion, Japanese investors hired and transported Japanese geishas from Taipei to the celebration site at Miaoli. In addition, fireworks and Taiwanese operatic performances were included in the program.<sup>26</sup> The celebration began at 6:30 in the morning when the train began taking about five hundred guests from Taipei to Miaoli. To make the several hours' trip more comfortable, the train included dinner cars and musical performances.<sup>27</sup> In six hours the train arrived at Miaoli, and the opening ceremony and celebration began.<sup>28</sup> Two temporary stages were set up to host the *teodori* ("posture dance") performances by the Japanese geishas hired from Taipei, and operatic performances by Taiwanese geishas.<sup>29</sup> It was estimated that in addition to over five hundred guests from Taipei, a large number of local people, perhaps a couple thousand, came to see this grand event.<sup>30</sup> Because of the long

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<sup>25</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1630, October 4, 1903, p. 5. News on rescheduling the postal collection and delivery times due to new railroad schedules also appears in *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1634, October 9, 1903, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1628, October 2, 1903, p. 5; no. 1629, October 3, 1903, p. 4. According to a later report in *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1632, October 7, 1903, p. 3, it is possible that some Taiwanese geishas were also hired from Taipei and transported to Miaoli to perform at the celebration. These geishas also served as the receptionists of the dining car, according to the news entries on October 8 and October 9, 1903. The exact number of Japanese and Taiwanese geishas hired from Taipei was not clear, but was reported by the newspaper to be either several dozen or seventy to eighty.

<sup>27</sup> *Taiwan tetsudō sh* [*History of Taiwan Railroad*] i, vol. 3, 453. However, no information was given to which type of music ensemble, *ongakutei*, or musical performances, was provided on the train.

<sup>28</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1632, October 7, 1903, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1634, October 9, 1903, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1634, October 9, 1903, p. 3.

trip from Miaoli to Taipei, the five hundred Taipei guests spent two hours at the Miaoli celebration and then took the train back home.<sup>31</sup>

As the cross-island railroad continued to increase its mileage count, between 1904 and the final completion in 1908 four additional segmental completions and opening celebrations were staged to mark the progress of this modernization project: Chiayi in 1904, Changhua and Taichung in 1905, and Fengshan in 1907. Each grand opening enlisted hundreds of guest-participants – officials, elites, merchants, and land donors – and attracted large numbers of crowds and onlookers. For example, the Changhua celebration in March 1905 was said to have attracted two thousand people.<sup>32</sup> At the Taichung celebration in 1905, four temporary stages were set up for the performances of *kabuki* (classical Japanese dance-drama), geishas' music playing,<sup>33</sup> *teodori* dance, and Taiwanese operatic excerpts performed by two troupes.<sup>34</sup> These music, dance and theatrical performances attracted numerous people in addition to the six-hundred-plus invited guests, and overcrowded the Taichung station.<sup>35</sup> For every celebration, whether the estimated number of people was accurate or exaggerated, the newspaper reporters conveyed a sense of spectacle and attraction for these

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<sup>31</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 1632, October 7, 1903, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 2069, March 29, 1905, p. 2; no. 2070, March 30, 1905, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 2134, June 14, 1905, p. 3. It is, however, not clear whether the geishas' music playing was by Japanese geishas or Taiwanese geishas or both.

<sup>34</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no.2134, June 14, 1905, p. 3; no. 2133, June 13, 1905, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Taiwan tetsudō shi [History of Taiwan Railroad]*, vol. 3, 470.

modernizing projects in Taiwanese locales, generated through the celebrative music and performances announcing the arrival of the railroad.

### **The final celebration, 1908**

On April 20, 1908, the cross-island railroad project announced the completion of the most difficult railway segment between Sanchahe (Sanyi) and Huludun (Fengyuan). This segment was thirteen miles in length, but took four years to complete. Located in a mountainous area and passing through two big rivers, the geographically challenging segment demanded nine tunnels and two long bridges.<sup>36</sup> Its completion finalized the cross-island railroad, culminating in the final celebration on October 24, 1908. For the Sōtokufu, the completion of this modernizing project represented its greatest achievement in developing and governing the colony. Unlike previous celebrations, which focused on advertising the modern features of the railroad to the local Taiwanese population, this final celebration was an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the Sōtokufu's overall achievement in colonial management. The theme of the final celebration thus shifted to present the Sōtokufu and the colony to metropolis Japan and its representatives of high officials and imperial royalty.

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<sup>36</sup> Liu, Wang, and Yang, *Bai nian Taiwan tie dao (One Hundred Years of Railroad in Taiwan)*, 37.

The final celebration was to be held on October 24 in Taichung, the middle point of the cross-island railroad. With convenient transportation, within several hours people could travel from either end of Taiwan to Taichung by train. Holding the celebration of the railroad in central Taiwan made a stronger statement about the modernization project than having the event in the capital of Taipei. To prepare, the Sōtokufu set up an organizational committee dedicated to this climatic celebration.<sup>37</sup>

The six-month long preparation period, from the railroad's completion in April to the celebration in October, allowed the Sōtokufu, the celebration committee, and the local administrative offices to meticulously attend to all kinds of details. A grand hotel, for instance, was built in Taipei to accommodate the travelers. The Keelung Station, the starting point and northern end of the cross-island railroad, underwent a significant renovation to scale up the building's interior and façade.<sup>38</sup> Needless to say, the new construction and renovations aimed to impress the Japanese guests, most of whom would sail to Keelung and board the southbound train to Taipei and Taichung. To present a nice picture of Taiwan and impress the travelers, the celebration committee also attended to the minor stations at which the trains would only make short stops, and to the

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 39. Details of the railway celebration committee, such as regulations, task descriptions, subdivision memberships, eligibilities and qualifications of invited participants, and so forth, are recorded in *Taiwan tetsudō shi* [History of Taiwan Railroad], vol. 3, 491-514.

<sup>38</sup> Liu, Wang, and Yang, *Bai nian Taiwan tie dao* (One Hundred Years of Railroad in Taiwan), 38.

scenery along the route. The smaller stations were decorated and beautified with green arches and Japanese flags and Taiwanese households along the route were commanded to raise Japanese flags.<sup>39</sup> In the Taichung area, the celebration committee demanded that the *hōshō*, the low-rank Taiwanese administrators overseeing a hamlet composed of ten households, avail the young Taiwanese men of their hamlet for two days prior to the celebration. These men were to stand by to respond to any urgent call of service pertaining to the upcoming celebration.<sup>40</sup>

Although the final celebration focused on presenting the colony Taiwan to the Japanese nobles, the colonial government also continued its effort of advertising the railroad to the local Taiwanese. From May 22nd to June 5th, a “train fair” reached the major stops along the railroad to showcase what the railroad could do. The “train fair” was a moveable business exhibit in a train of fifteen passenger and freight cars. In the cars, goods and products from different parts of Taiwan were on display alongside commodities imported from Japan. The cars were beautified with green leaves and flags and advertisement banners hung on both sides. At each stop, theatrical performances, fireworks, and other entertainment activities were mounted to attract the local Taiwanese to see the

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 39. Also *Taiwan tetsudō shi [History of Taiwan Railroad]*, vol. 3, 517-518.

<sup>40</sup> Liu, Wang, and Yang, *Bai nian Taiwan tie dao (One Hundred Years of Railroad in Taiwan)*, 39.



fair.<sup>41</sup> To maximize the advertisement and educational effect of the train fair, the Sōtokufu even organized and arranged for the aborigines, most of them living in areas still remote to the railroad line, to visit the train fair and see the railroad.<sup>42</sup>

The final celebration began with a prelude welcoming Japanese royalties on October 22nd. On this day, a Japanese military flagship escorted Prince Kan'in (*Kan'in-no-miya Kotohito Shinnō*) and his consorts as they arrived at the port of Keelung. Fireworks, salutary cannons, and a large crowd met the ship in the harbor. Upon the landing of the imperial royalty to the colony's soil, the Navy Band played music specifically for welcoming high nobility. Groups of governmental staff, Japanese soldiers, Primary School Japanese students and Common School Taiwanese students lined up on both sides of the road from the harbor to the Keelung train station. From there a special train transported the noble guests to Taipei.<sup>43</sup>

On October 24, the grand celebration began as trains transporting participants and guests from other cities arrived in Taichung. The grand opening ceremony began at 12:45 pm with the music of the Japanese anthem *Kimigayo*. The ceremony was comprised of congratulatory speeches by the Governor-General, the head of the Railroad Department, the honorary guest of Prince

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<sup>41</sup> *Taiwan tetsudō shi [History of Taiwan Railroad]*, vol. 3, 570.

<sup>42</sup> Liu, Wang, and Yang, *Bai nian Taiwan tie dao (One Hundred Years of Railroad in Taiwan)*, 38.

<sup>43</sup> *Taiwan tetsudō shi [History of Taiwan Railroad]*, vol. 3, 514-15.

Kan'in, high officials from Japan, and selected Taiwanese elites. When the ceremony ended, the guests were guided to the resting and dining areas. After the Governor-General made three calls of *bansai* to salute the Japanese emperor and queen, the entertainment festivities and performances began.<sup>44</sup>

The festivity of the celebration following the train trip constituted the more important part of the presentation of the colony of Taiwan to the representatives from mainland Japan. To inform the Japanese noble guests of the cultural and ethnic elements of Taiwan, the entertainment program included Taiwanese comedy numbers, opera excerpts, dances, and martial arts. In addition, the Sōtokufu specially presented singing and dancing by several aboriginal tribes. The exotic physiques, singing styles, and headdresses of the aborigines particularly attracted the curiosity of some of the honorary guests. The British consul, for example, took a picture wearing an aboriginal chief's headpiece.<sup>45</sup> The railroad had helped the Sōtokufu to arrange for members of the aborigines tribes living in various locations of Taiwan to gather in Taichung, in order to present their cultures to the empire of Japan and allow the imperial representatives to experience an exotic encounter with the colony.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 521-22.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 552-53. However, no further details are given on the actual content of Taiwanese opera, dance, and comic numbers; no specifics are given on which aboriginal tribes performed nor the contents of the performances.

Figure 7-2: Prince Kan'in and the Taiwan aborigines at the Governor-General's residential mansion.<sup>46</sup>



The convenience of the railroad allowed the Sōtokufu to present even more of the colony by arranging for the Prince to visit southern Taiwan after the grand opening celebration. Over the following three days, Prince Kan'in, escorted by colonial officials, visited the historical sites of Tainan and toured the sugar factories in Kaohsiung.<sup>47</sup> After the Prince traveled back to Taipei, the

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<sup>46</sup> Image scanned from *Jian zheng--Taiwan zong du fu, 1895-1945 (Witness--the colonial Taiwan, 1895-1945)*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Taipei: Li hong chu ban she, 1996), 44. The note accompanying this image, "Prince of Kanin no Miya and the aborigines at the Governor's residence," suggests the picture could have been taken during Prince Kan'in's trip to Taiwan, October 22 – October 30th, 1908. However, the stamp on the upper left corner reads June 17th, 1909 or 1910. This information suggests that the picture was related to the Inauguration Day celebration in 1909 or 1910. Therefore, questions arise regarding whether and when Prince Kan'in was photographed with the Taiwan aborigines. However, the image points to the fact that the transportation in Taiwan had been greatly improved enough that the colonial government could easily gather aborigines to Taipei. As a result, high bureaucrats, elites and aborigines could be photographed together in one location.

<sup>47</sup> *Taiwan tetsudō shi [History of Taiwan Railroad]*, vol. 3, 555.

Sōtokufu hosted a special reception before the Japanese nobilities left Taiwan on October 30th. During the week that Prince Kan'in spent in Taiwan, he had traveled through the island, viewed the scenery, and experienced the cultural and ethnic diversity of the colony. All of this was made possible by the cross-island railroad.

### **III. Concluding Remarks: Musiking Colonial Modernity**

The cross-island railroad system accelerated the process of transforming Taiwan into a modern society. In addition to the steaming trains rolling through the island on a daily basis, the Taiwanese sense of time and space changed along with the train schedules. In order to catch a train, the Taiwanese had to understand the temporal rhythm of the Gregorian calendar and develop the concept of being punctual. Being able to travel the same distance in a much shorter period of time modified the Taiwanese experience of space, making the modernizing influence of this project even more impressive and persuasive.

Wu Degong, a Taiwanese gentry-elite of the Changhua area, provides an interesting example of the Taiwanese experience of modernity and its power to soften resistance. At the time of the Japanese annexation of Taiwan, Wu and his family suffered deeply from the warfare; as a result, he withdrew from the public service in which he had previously actively engaged as a Qing literari. Quite a

large number of Taiwanese elites, like Wu, chose to resist the Japanese colonial power by renouncing public service.

However, the colonial regime diligently persuaded Wu to collaborate with the new administration by offering him positions to continue public service and to mediate between the local community and the new government.<sup>48</sup> Wu's acceptance of the colonial regime increased when he participated in *Yōbunkai* (Yangwenhui in Mandarin Chinese, "Society for Promoting Civilization"), a Sōtokufu-engineered meeting held in 1900 to solicit the support of the former titled gentries to the colonial government. As an invited participant, Wu traveled from Changhua to Taipei via various means of transportation, and was impressed by the train trip that took him from Hsinchu to Taipei in just three hours.<sup>49</sup> Wu's exposure to modernity began with railroad travel, and was further enhanced by visits to colonial institutions such as military units, schools, hospitals, pharmaceutical manufacturers, factories, banks, power plants, and so forth. In commentaries and poems composed during the *Yōbunkai* trip to Taipei, Wu often praised what he witnessed in the visits. In the next decade, Wu's

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<sup>48</sup> Wu's thoughts and stance toward the colonial regime softened from resistance and retreat in just a few years from the time of annexation. The change of attitude could be seen through his poems composed during this period. See Shi Yilin, "You Fan Kan dao Qing Xie -- ri ji shi qi Zhanghua wen ren Wu Degong shen fen ren tong zhi fen xi [From Resistance to Compromise: an analysis of the identity evolution of Zhanghua area elite Wu Degong in the Japanese Colonial Period," *Zhong guo xue shu nian kan (Studies in Sinology)* (March, 1997): 322-27.

<sup>49</sup> Wu Degong, "Guan guang ri ji," in *Taiwan wen xian shi liao cong kan di 9 ji juan 177* [Collections of Taiwan historical documents], vol. 177, (Taipei, 1987 [1900]), 23.

writing revealed his changing attitude toward the Japanese colonial rulers; he also re-engaged in public service and began actively cooperating with the colonial government.<sup>50</sup> Many factors – personality, family economy, social obligation, pragmatism, etc. – would contribute to Wu’s changing attitude from resistance to cooperation.<sup>51</sup> The experience of modernity, however, played a crucial role in persuading Wu of the kind of well-being and development Taiwan could have under Japanese rule.

The Taiwanese incorporated the modern railroad into their daily life. For example, Zhang Lijun, a local Taiwanese community leader, often took train trip from Huludun (Fengyuan) to Taichung to visit friends and relatives, or to conduct personal or administrative business.<sup>52</sup> Although a mere ten-mile trip, the common usage of the train nonetheless indicated that the Taiwanese had accepted and welcomed modernity into their life.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Shi, “You Fan Kan dao Qing Xie -- ri ji shi qi Zhanghua wen ren Wu Degong shen fen ren tong zhi fen xi [From Resistance to Compromise: an analysis of the identity evolution of Zhanghua area elite Wu Degong in the Japanese Colonial Period],” 331-335.

<sup>51</sup> Shi Yilin attempts to contextualize Wu’s becoming a collaborator by examining the personal, familial, and social factors that could have affected his decisions and thoughts. Ibid: 335-343.

<sup>52</sup> Entries in Zhang’s journal of 1911 (vol. 3) shows he often traveled by train to Taichung. Zhang Lijun, *Shui zhu ju zhu ren ri ji (Diary of Chang Li-jun, 1906-1937: the life of a township administrative official)*, ed. Hsueh-chi Xu and Chiu-fen Hung, 10 vols. (Taipei: Zhong yang yan jiu yuan jin dai shi yan jiu suo (Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica), 2000).

<sup>53</sup> Certain questions can be asked here: among the Taiwanese, who would take the train? How affordable was the train fare? How did they use the train, for commuting or for vacation? These questions are beyond the scope of this chapter, but the answers would bring more insight to how Taiwanese embraced modernity in their daily lives.

The arrival of the railroad or other modern colonial infrastructures at various Taiwanese localities was often announced loudly by celebrative music. The musiking celebrations at various sites unanimously manipulated the musical sounds familiar to the Taiwanese locals to attract their attention, and hence to advertise and negotiate the message of modernity into Taiwanese life.

The final celebration of the cross-island railroad project in 1908 musiked with a different targeted partner – the Japanese empire, represented by its royalty. In this musiking event, the Sōtokufu took up the role as a mediator, through which colonial Taiwan was presented to the empire as a site for imperial gazing and listening. The railroad allowed the many ethnic, local, and sub-cultures of the island to be packed into one large showcase in a cultural fair. In this musiking context, the musical sounds of the colony were the raw, exotic cultural materials for the empire to gaze at, survey, and appropriate.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:

#### COLONIAL TAIWAN'S NEW AND HYBRIDIZED SOUNDSCAPE

The previous chapters have shown that various musical repertoires, sites, policies, and institutions constituted a new and uniquely hybridized soundscape of Taiwan in the early Japanese colonial period. As part of a new colonial Taiwanese culture, the soundscape provided a foundation for the subsequent developments of Taiwanese music into the later part of the twentieth century. Among the many factors contributing to the formation of the new soundscape, the Japanese policy of tolerance and non-interference toward Taiwanese cultural conventions allowed the soundscape and its diverse musical elements to operate. Under this policy, native musical genres and musicking practices continued to exist, develop and even thrive under colonization.



## I. Non-Interference Policy: Negotiating Colonial Authority and Local Traditions

The Japanese colonial government adopted an attitude of non-interference toward Taiwanese social-cultural conventions for practical reasons. When Japan acquired Taiwan, it was inexperienced in colonization. While Japan drew blueprints from Western models and theories of colonial governance, it had to explore, experiment, and develop an actual scheme of colonial management that could work with the Taiwanese society they confronted on a daily basis. In the early colonial period, the colonial government was preoccupied with suppressing militant Taiwanese uprisings.<sup>1</sup> Learning from their attempts to control Taiwan, the colonial government realized the importance of not provoking the Taiwanese and not fanning the flames of anti-Japanese sentiments.

Therefore, the colonial authority opted to gradually address the cultural and social problems they wished to eradicate. The major problems included the men's Qing Chinese hair style of long queues, women's bounded feet, and addiction to opium. Unless Taiwan became free from these problems, some Japanese argued, it could not become a loyal and profitable colony. The problems were deep-rooted, however, and could not be forcefully eliminated without

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<sup>1</sup> From late-1895 to mid-1897, the Japanese colonial government was challenged by a number of major Taiwanese uprisings. See Yosaburō Takekoshi, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, George Braithwaite trans. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1907), 92-94.

provoking Taiwanese resistance. Tolerance, albeit temporary, was needed. Governor-General Nogi Manesuke (tenure from 1896 to 1898), for example, advised his staff to tolerate Taiwanese customs that differed from the Japanese. Nogi instructed them that bad customs that hindered effective administration should be immediately abolished, while other less obstructive customs, such as clothing and hair styles, could be gradually addressed.<sup>2</sup>

The colonial authority's actions concerning opium smoking – the Taiwanese custom that the Japanese found most abominable – were illustrations of this policy. Realizing the need to promptly control the problem without provoking Taiwanese hatred toward their Japanese rulers, in 1897 the colonial government adopted the strategy of opium regulation devised by Gotō Shimpei, then Chief of the Sanitary Bureau of Japan. The policy gave the colonial authority monopolistic control of opium manufacture and distribution, which monitored Taiwanese acquisition of opium through governmental licenses. The policy endeavored to not only regulate Taiwanese addiction to opium but also to increase the financial revenue of the colonial government.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Wu Wenxing, *Ri ju shi qi Taiwan she hui ling dao jie ceng zhi yang jiu [Study of the Taiwanese Social Strata of Elites and Leaders in the Japanese Colonial Period]* (Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Co, 1992), 250.

<sup>3</sup> Takekoshi, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 157-58, 161-62. This double-edged opium policy, however, also demonstrated the multivalent and contradictory aspects of Japanese colonial management in Taiwan. Opium smoking continued to exist in Taiwan through the five decades of Japanese colonial rule. Seeing from the point of view of drug control, one may ask why the colonial authority, with its absolute power, did not completely abolish opium smoking after a period of

For this and other policies, Gotō Shimpei was recognized as the pivotal colonial bureaucrat who brought political stability and financial independence to Taiwan. When he became chief Civil Administrator of the colonial government in 1898, he implemented a colonial policy based on what he called the “principle of biology.” Successful colonial management, Gotō argued, should respect and preserve the existing customs and institutions of the indigenous society. Changes could be introduced, but only gradually and when necessary.<sup>4</sup> With this argument supporting a more realistic approach to administration, the colonial government tolerated many of the existing Taiwanese customs and cultural practices.

### **Traditional Taiwanese Musical Occasions: Temple Festivals and Religious Events**

Given a chance to survive by the Japanese non-interference policy, deep-rooted Taiwanese social conventions, traditional music, and performing arts continued and some even flourished during the first four decades of colonization.

Temple festivals and religious fairs, the most important contexts for musical activities, resumed quickly after annexation. Musical performances, especially

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monopoly and allowed the drug problem to continue albeit under control. One can further argue that the colonial government purposefully kept opium manufacturing and selling in order to maintain financial revenue.

<sup>4</sup> Edward I. Chen, “Gotō Shimpei, Japan's Colonial Administrator in Taiwan: a Critical Reexamination.” *American Asian Review* 13 (Spring, 1995): 52.

operatic performances, had been an integral part of traditional Taiwanese communal activities at the temples, which were the social and physical centers of ritual and cultural affairs. In traditional Taiwan, religious celebrations such as the birthday of sea goddess Mazu called for operatic performances as the offering and entertainment to the deities and their followers. David Johnson argues that opera and ritual belong to the same cultural and performance system, and they mutually influence each other.<sup>5</sup> If ritual is a metaphor for Chinese life and virtue, its correct performance underscores Chinese morality, as Johnson explains. While ritual performances are systemized and bureaucratized acts, they can be secularized and expanded into operas, dramatic presentations of stories and morals. As the secular counterpart of ritual, opera became a ubiquitous part of traditional Chinese society, and operas portrayed all facets of Chinese life. Because of the close relationship between ritual and opera in traditional Chinese society, Chinese life became “operaticized”.<sup>6</sup>

Applying Johnson’s theory, one sees how operas constituted an indispensable part of early Taiwanese colonial life, and why the Japanese colonial authorities had to tolerate its operation. Opera performs religious and social functions: the performance provides not only offerings to divine beings but also

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<sup>5</sup> David Johnson, “Actions Speak Louder than Words: the Cultural Significance of Chinese Ritual Opera,” in *Ritual Opera, Operatic Ritual: “Mu-lien Rescues His Mother” in Chinese Popular Culture*, ed. David Johnson, Publications of the Chinese Popular Culture Project, 1 (Berkeley: IEAS Publications, University of California, 1989), 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-32.

an appealing entertainment for the human participants.<sup>7</sup> Through their offerings of sacrificial wines, foods, and music, the lay people reached out to the deities to ask for blessing and the rewards of peace and bountiful harvests. Through opera, lay people connected themselves with their gods and goddesses.

A schematic list of Taiwanese temple festivals and their functions in 1897, reported by the *Taiwan Shimpō* [*Taiwan News*], appears in Appendix B. These events represent only a fraction of the festivals that occurred throughout the island. This newspaper sampling of Taiwanese temple festivals suggests that traditional Taiwanese cultural life quickly resumed after Japanese annexation in 1895, and the colonial government refrained from repressing the Taiwanese social conventions, despite the fact that traditional Taiwanese beliefs and practices were considered to be at odds with the modern values the colonial government wanted to promote.

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<sup>7</sup> In Barbara Ward's observation of opera in a religious context, opera is both the community's entertainment offering to the deities and the enactment of religious connotations. The operatic performance is itself packed with cosmological symbolisms such as geomantic directions of the stage, colors, costumes, repertoire selections, and so forth, rendering the operatic performances itself a rite in which the actors are also the religious and ritual officiants. Barbara E. Ward, "Not Merely Players: Drama, Art and Ritual in Traditional China," *Man, New Series* 14 (March 1979, 1979): 24, 28-29.

Figure 8-1: A religious festival in Taipei's Dadaocheng district, ca. early 1900s.<sup>8</sup>



### **Negotiating policy, convention, and social wellness concern**

Although the colonial government tolerated Taiwanese temple festivals and celebrations in general, they did occasionally ban the activities, generating negotiations between the colonial authority and the Taiwanese locals. For example, the death of Japanese imperial family members would prompt the colonial government to ban festive activities of music, dance, and theatre for various lengths of time. On January 12, 1897, the Japanese dowager empress died,

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<sup>8</sup> Image scanned from Takekoshi, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 284.

and to pay respect to the imperial family the colonial government banned all music and dance activities in Taiwan.<sup>9</sup>

The most common cause for prohibiting a Taiwanese communal event was concern for public health. Throughout the colonial period, Taiwanese held temple festivals to request their guardian deities to exorcise epidemics and plagues; the same condition also prompted the colonial authority to announce bans of such activities at the beginning or end of disease outbreaks. For example, in May 1899, the Dalongdong district of Taipei wanted to host a large festival to thank the guardian deity, *Baosheng dadi*, for alleviating people's suffering from an epidemic that was brought under control. The local colonial administration, however, disapproved of the community's plan, arguing that the proposed festival would attract people from many places, including areas still infected by the disease. A crowded festival like the one proposed had the potential to restart the epidemic. Should that happen, the local administration eloquently argued, the people of Dalongdong would render the deity's blessing ineffective, which was ungrateful.<sup>10</sup> The Taiwanese of the Dalongdong community temporarily suspended the festival plan; they nevertheless felt uneasy about not following the tradition of rewarding and honoring the deity by celebrating his work with

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<sup>9</sup> *Taiwan shimpō*, no. 107, January 16, 1897. Cited and interpreted in Xu Yaxiang, *Shi shi yu quan shi: Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan bao kan xi qu zi liao xuan du* [Historical facts and interpretations: select newspaper reports on Taiwanese theatre in the Japanese colonial period] (Yilan County: Guo li chuan tong yi shu zhong xin (Center for Traditional Arts), 2006), 19.

<sup>10</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 300, May 5, 1899, p. 4.

rituals and festivities of operatic performances. About two weeks later, the Dalongdong community petitioned again to host the festival, and their request was granted by the colonial authority.<sup>11</sup>

Similar prohibition and petition recurred throughout the colonial period. As late as 1934 and 1935, Yilan, the northeast region of the island, experienced outbreaks of encephalitis, and the government prohibited public gatherings of temple festivals. Even performances in commercial theatres were closed for public health concerns.<sup>12</sup> The epidemic outbreak and public gathering bans also had the effect of depressing local business. In May 1935 and April 1936, the local business community eagerly petitioned and negotiated with the colonial government to arrange a large temple festival with more musical performances to boost the local economy, and to make up the loss of income.<sup>13</sup>

Notwithstanding times when social and public health concerns were involved, the colonial authority adhered to the non-interference policy for more than four decades. Only in 1937 when the Sino-Japanese war began did the colonial authority tightened control of public religious and musical activities in Taiwan. But for most of the colonial period, the government avoided suppressing temple festivals and their musical performances, thereby

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<sup>11</sup> *Taiwan nichu nichu shimpō*, no. 312, May 19, 1899, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Jian Xiuzhen, *Huan jing, biao yan yu shen mei: Lanyang di qu Qing dai dao 1960 nian dai de biao yan huo dong [Environ, Performance, and Aesthetics: performing activities of the Lanyang region from Qing dynasty to the 1960s]* (Taipei: Dao xiang chu ban she, 2005), 118-119.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 119-121.



strategically appropriating the activities for their own political and administrative agendas. For example, when the new Sōtokufu mansion was completed in 1916, the colonial government organized a business fair in the form of a Taiwanese temple festival to celebrate.<sup>14</sup> By attracting the Taiwanese with the musical sounds and activities familiar to them, the colonial government imprinted its new and imposing mansion, a symbol of their authority, onto Taiwanese perceptions of colonial life.

## II. Musiking Colonial Taiwan

The thriving and flourishing Taiwanese musical practices of the communal temple festivals and urban entertainment quarters continued to be an essential component of Taiwanese music culture after the annexation. The Japanese non-interference policy assured some space for continuity and development. At the same time, the colonial government introduced new elements which interacted and intersected with the traditional ones to create a foundation of a new, hybridized Taiwanese music culture.

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<sup>14</sup> Kun-Liang Chiu, *Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi ju zhi yan jiu: jiu ju yu xin jiu* [Study of Theatres of Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period: old and new theatres] (Taipei: Zili wanbao, 1992), 99.

### From *shōka* to the new crop of musical elites

First and foremost among the elements of Japanese musiking was *shōka*. Practiced in the colonial school system of modernized education, *shōka* served as a critical means to introduce and develop Western-style music in Taiwan. *Shōka* introduced the Taiwanese to a new set of musical objects, styles, functions, and music-making experiences, and pointed to the sonically modern and Western world that appealed to the aspiring Taiwanese. *Shōka* helped nurture a new generation of musically informed and colonial educated Taiwanese elites, from which musicians emerged pursuing and performing Western-style music.

These new Taiwanese elites were mostly graduates of the Japanese Language Academy.<sup>15</sup> Their musical abilities increased as the years of education under colonial rule unfolded. In 1905 when the second annual Japanese Language Academy concert series took place,<sup>16</sup> a group of Taiwanese students performed *shōka* selections and a few others performed solo keyboard pieces on

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<sup>15</sup> The colonial cradles of new Taiwanese elites included the Japanese Language Academy and the Medicine School. Some Taiwanese students and graduates from the Medicine School were aficionados or connoisseurs of Western style music. However, most of them stayed in the career as doctors, an even more prestigious and profitable profession than teachers.

<sup>16</sup> The Japanese Language Academy or its faculty hosted recitals or concerts before establishing the annual concert series. For example, on May 14, 1899, the Academy's music teacher Takahashi Fumishi, members of the band *Taihoku ongakutai*, and Japanese students of several Primary Schools (*shōgakkō*, elementary schools for the Japanese children on the colony), performed a concert featuring European music and *shōka* selection. *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 307, May 13, 1899, p. 3.

*fūkin*, organ.<sup>17</sup> In the concert of the following year, the number of Taiwanese students performing organ solos increased; one of them, Zhang Fuxing, was particularly praised for his control of dynamical contrast.<sup>18</sup> To reward his achievement and to cultivate music teachers for the colony, the colonial government and the Japanese Language Academy issued Zhang Fuxing a fellowship to go to Tokyo to study music. Zhang went and majored in organ performance and minored in violin.<sup>19</sup>

Upon his return to Taiwan in 1910, Zhang taught music at the Japanese Language Academy, and subsequently played an active role in promoting Western classical music and performances in Taipei. In the early-1920s, Zhang and his private students formed a music club and they gave small ensemble recitals.<sup>20</sup> Later in 1922, Zhang began surveying and documenting the folk and traditional musics of the Taiwan aborigines and Han Chinese.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The program is printed in *Kokugo gakkō kōyūkai zasshi* [Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association Newsletter] 17 (1905): 66-67. The organ, *fūkin*, was likely a semi-portable keyboard instrument sounding by pumping the air with foot pedals.

<sup>18</sup> The program and brief comments are printed in *Kokugo gakkō kōyūkai zasshi* [Japanese Language Academy Alumni Association Newsletter] 19 (1906): 67-69.

<sup>19</sup> Chen Yuxiu and Sun Zhijun, *Zhang Fu Xing: Jin dai Taiwan di yi wei yin yue jia* [Zhang Fuxing: The First Musician in Modern Taiwan] (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 2000), 48.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-54, 131-32, 137. According to the chronology of Zhang compiled by Chen and Sun, in February 1922 Zhang was commissioned by the Taiwan Education Society to collect the music of the aboriginal tribe about to be uprooted from their home by the new hydroelectricity power plant by Sun Moon Lake. Zhang's trip predated the similar collection trip made by Japanese musicologist Tanabe Hisao in April 1922. According to Chen and Sun's research, Tanabe used several musical examples transcribed by Zhang in the monograph *Nan'yō-Taiwan-Okinawa ongaku*

Figure 8-2: Zhang Fuxing and his ensemble in recital, ca. 1920-1923.<sup>22</sup>



Following Zhang's footsteps, a handful of Taiwanese students went to Japan for further training and to prepare themselves for musical careers. In 1915, Ke Dingchou, another Japanese Language Academy graduate, returned from music training at the Tokyo Music School and became the second Taiwanese music faculty member in the Japanese Language Academy.<sup>23</sup> By the 1930s, a

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*kikō* (*Expeditions in Micronesia, Formosa, and Ryukyu: a monograph by Hisao Tanabe*), edited and published by Tōyō Ongaku Gakkai (The Society for Research in Asiatic Music), in 1968.

<sup>22</sup> Image scanned from Chen Y. ed. 1998: 159.

<sup>23</sup> Chen and Sun, *Zhang Fu Xing: Jin dai Taiwan di yi wei yin yue jia* [*Zhang Fuxing: The First Musician in Modern Taiwan*], 115. Ke taught only several years in Taiwan, and then in 1919 went

critical group of colonial-educated and Japanese-trained Taiwanese musicians was working in Taiwan. They organized Western music concerts and performed throughout the island. In August of 1934, for example, these musicians performed concerts in seven Taiwanese cities. In July and August of 1935, they performed thirty-seven concerts all over the island, raising charity funds to help the survivors of the disastrous April 1935 earthquake affecting the area from Hsinchu to Taichung.<sup>24</sup> In addition to performing, several of these musicians also taught, nurturing the next generation of Taiwanese musicians.

Members of the new colonial educated and musically informed Taiwanese elites patronized Western-style music beyond performance and teaching. Cai Peihuo, a Taiwanese intellectual noted for his involvement with the anti-colonial movements of the 1920s and 1930s, wrote songs to promote Taiwanese self-rule, to advocate cultural enlightenment, to celebrate the publication of the first Taiwanese newspaper, or to simply express personal emotions.<sup>25</sup> Cai was not a professionally trained musician, but his Christian background and education at

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back to Japan for more study. In 1922 he moved to China, changed his name to Ke Zhenghe, and worked in music education.

<sup>24</sup> Hsu Tsang-Houei, *Taiwan yin yue shi chu gao [History of Music of Taiwan: First Draft]* (Taipei: Quan yin yue pu, 1991), 268. The earthquake affected a large area and caused deep sufferings that the Sōtokufu published a special monograph documenting the earthquake and the relief works. Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Shōwa jūnen Taiwan shinsaishi [Records of the Earthquake Disaster in the tenth year of Shōwa period]*, Reprint from 1936 ed. (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju, 1999).

<sup>25</sup> A collection of songs written by Cai Peihuo is compiled in Chun-yan Lai, *Cai Peihuo di shi qu ji bi ge shi dai [The poems and songs of Cai Peihuo and his time]* (Taipei: Cai tuan fa ren Wu Sanlian Taiwan shi liao ji jin hui, 1999).

the Japanese Language Academy had helped him develop an interest in music. Some other musical elites worked in the burgeoning popular music industry in the late-1920s through the mid-1930s. Deng Yuxian, a graduate from Taipei Normal School who had trained in Japan, became a composer of Taiwanese popular songs. Deng's songs, such as Wangchunfeng ("Longing for Spring Breeze") and Yuyehua ("Flowers in the Rainy Night"), became the most famous, beloved, and enduring classical works in Taiwan and are still frequently performed and enjoyed by Taiwanese today.

### **Colonial holidays and the extra music economy**

If *shōka* and colonial education worked together to bring new musical experiences and creative horizons to the Taiwanese, these experiences were also rooted in the Japanese manipulation of holidays, commemorations, *matsuri*, and social-financial enterprises. Colonial holidays and commemorations of *Tenchōsetsu*, the Japanese emperor's birthday, *Shisei kinenhi*, colonial reign inauguration, and the biennial Taiwan Jinja Matsuri, for example, created new occasions, sites, and processes for cultural, social and financial interactions, allowing Taiwanese and Japanese to make music and musically negotiate their agendas. The financial gain generated by the colonial celebrations was also significant for both the Japanese and Taiwanese musical economy.

### **After the railroad: mobile performances and artistic exchanges**

In terms of the musical, cultural, and economic impact of Japanese colonization, the completion of the cross-island railroad system was a critical development. It stimulated the cultural and musical economy by generating more performance opportunities in urban centers along the railroad, and by encouraging cross-genre exchanges. For example, in 1903 when the famous Xiahai Temple of the Earth God in Taipei held its festival, many traveled to Taipei from as far as Hsinchu via the train.<sup>26</sup> By providing modern transportation, the railroad allowed more people to travel to important temple festivals outside their usual local area. From the 1910s onward, the Xiahai Temple festival was heavily patronized by businesses of the area, and parades made up of various types of performances and advertisements were designed to attract large crowds and money. As people were lured by the temple festivals to come to Taipei, they attended theatres and other performance venues in the entertainment quarters, spending money and boosting revenues for the commercial institutions.<sup>27</sup> The

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<sup>26</sup> During the two days of the festival, railroad passenger traffic in the segment north of Hsinchu was at least double the traffic of regular days of travel. The increased passenger traffic on festival days indicates that railroad transportation could have motivated people to travel to a temple festival outside their local area. *Taiwan nichichi shimpō*, no. 1534, June 12, 1903, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Kwang-yu Sung, "Xia hai cheng huang ji dian yu Taipei dadaocheng shang ye fa zhan di guan xi (The Relationship between the Ceremonies of Hsia-hai city-god and the Commercial Development in Ta-tao-ch'eng Taipei)." *Zhong yang yan jiu yuan li shi yu yan yan jiu suo ji kan (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica)* 62 (April 1993): 312-313.

Xiahai Temple of Taipei was not the only one to benefit from the railroad transportation. Many famous temples reachable by the cross-island railroad and the connecting regional light rail networks also received similar benefits generated by the increased number of visitors.<sup>28</sup>

Railroad service directly contributed to the development of urban theatre facilities and commercialized performances of Chinese operas. Unlike festival participants, clients of the commercial venues of theatres had to pay admission to watch performances. Commercialized urban theatre dedicated to performing Chinese and Taiwanese operas first appeared in Taiwan in the early 1900s. In 1906, two mainland Chinese opera troupes appeared on the indoor stage of Taipei theatres. These performances proved to be profitable money-making ventures for the businessmen who hired the Chinese troupes. As a result, recruiting Chinese troupes to perform in commercial venues became a booming business.<sup>29</sup> In 1909, the first commercial theatre facility designed for the used of

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid: 313.

<sup>29</sup> The two Chinese troupes visiting in 1906 and another in 1908 performed in the Japanese theatres in Taipei. Later in 1908, three local Taiwanese troupes imitated the examples set by the Chinese troupes and used a temple plaza as the commercial stage. Xu Yaxiang, *Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi qu shi lun : Xian dai hua zuo yong xia de ju zhong yu ju chang* [On the History of Taiwanese Theatre and Operas in the Japanese Colonial Period: theatrical genres and revenues in the field of modernity] (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju, 2006), 88.



performing Chinese operas troupes was erected in Taipei; the next year, Tainan built its own commercial theatre for Chinese opera.<sup>30</sup>

The burgeoning commercial theatre spread from Taipei and Tainan, the two major Taiwanese cultural and urban centers, to other cities along the railroad. With the transportation service, troupes and recruiters could schedule many performances in different cities to minimize cost and maximize profit. For instance, a Peking Opera troupe from Shanghai first performed in 1909 in Taipei, and then moved on to perform in Keelung, Hsinchu, Taichung, Chiayi, Tainan, and Takao (Kaohsiung), all major cities along the railroad. With a changing cast – as members left, new members from China were hired, the troupe continued to perform from one city to another until 1913.<sup>31</sup> Because of the convenience of travelling throughout the island, mainland Chinese troupes were recruited to Taiwan more frequently and performed in more urban theatres.

Learning from the commercial performances of the Chinese troupes, Taiwanese troupes began to perform in commercial venues as well. Some Taiwanese troupes continued to perform at temple festivals with occasional

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<sup>30</sup> Xu Yaxiang, *Ri zhi shi qi Zhongguo xi ban zai Taiwan* [Chinese troupes in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period] (Taipei: Nan tian shu ju, 2000), 14-16.

<sup>31</sup> Xu, *Ri zhi shi qi Zhongguo xi ban zai Taiwan* [Chinese troupes in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period], 69-71.

contracts to perform at the commercial theatres, and some were more focused on theatres alone.<sup>32</sup>

The booming performance market of Taiwan allowed mainland and local troupes to interact with one another, generating cultural and musical exchanges. To become acquainted with the Taiwanese audience, the Chinese troupes often debuted in Taiwan by working with local troupes. As the debuting troupes moved around in the island, they would work with a different local troupe whenever they performed in a new city. In addition to these collaborations, some Taiwanese troupes hired mainland Chinese performers to serve as teachers and artistic directors.<sup>33</sup> Artistic exchanges between Chinese troupes and local Taiwanese performers became frequent and extensive. One noticeable result of the exchange was that many Taiwanese troupes adopted the libretti, martial arts, costumes, and stage design featured in the performances of the mainland troupes.

One of the most fruitful results of Taiwanese-Chinese operatic exchange was the quick development of *gezaixi*, the Taiwanese Opera. As the only locally grown operatic genre of Taiwan, it rapidly transformed from a small theatrical parade into a full-scale opera that was popularly performed in both commercial

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<sup>32</sup> Xu Yaxian provides a list of Taiwanese troupes performing in commercial theatres during the Japanese colonial period. Xu, *Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi qu shi lun: Xian dai hua zuo yong xia de ju zhong yu ju chang* [On the History of Taiwanese Theatre and Operas in the Japanese Colonial Period: theatrical genres and revenues in the field of modernity], 151-204.

<sup>33</sup> Xu, *Ri zhi shi qi Taiwan xi qu shi lun: Xian dai hua zuo yong xia de ju zhong yu ju chang* [On the History of Taiwanese Theatre and Operas in the Japanese Colonial Period: theatrical genres and revenues in the field of modernity], 207.

theatres and temple festivals. Before, as a small troupe performing comic and musical skits in the colloquial Holo Taiwanese language, *gezaixi* performers had improvised their performance and sang preexisting *gezai* tunes. Once *gezaixi* began to be performed in commercial theatres, it soon transformed into a more structured form of operatic performance. A young opera with seemingly overnight popularity, *gezaixi* developed by absorbing artistic elements from other operatic genres and their performance practices. The primary artistic sources were the many Peking Opera troupes visiting from the mainland. Some mainland troupe members even chose to stay in Taiwan for personal, financial, or other reasons, and joined the *gezaixi* or other Taiwanese opera troupes, contributing to the opera's further development.<sup>34</sup> As a result, *gezaixi* became aligned with the Peking Opera in many aspects such as costume design, stage presentation, acting and martial arts. Suffice it to say that the mobility of operatic performances, created by the railroad system, facilitated the rapid development of the Taiwanese Opera, *gezaixi*.

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<sup>34</sup> The memoir of Lü Fulu, a *gezaixi* performer, tells such a story. Lü's father came to Taiwan with a Peking Opera troupe from Shanghai in 1926 but did not return to China. Lü's father, specializing in the martial male role, then joined another mainland Peking Opera troupe and several Taiwanese troupes performing the Peking Opera and the *gezaixi*, Taiwanese Opera. Both Lü Fulu himself and his older brother later became *gezaixi* performers. Xu Yaxiang, ed. *Chang xiao: wu tai fu lu [Long Shout: Fulu on the stage]* (Taipei: Boyang wen hua, 2001).

## **The lone Confucian temple ceremonial**

The flourishing traditional Taiwanese musical life, however, did not extend to the very elite and special genre of Confucian ceremonial music. The Taiwanese elite attempted and struggled to maintain the ritual that manifested their personal and collective identity as Confucianists. Colonization had imposed many unexpected difficulties and cut away many critical supports. First, the absence of Qing officials and scholars created holes in the local elite's unity and the transmission of Confucian ritual knowledge. Second, traditional Confucian education was replaced by the modern education provided by the colonial schools; as a result, the new generation of colonially-educated Taiwanese elite experienced only limited involvement with the Confucian ritual and the meanings it signified. Third, the land income that financially subsidized the Confucian temples diminished after the Japanese colonial government launched the land survey and re-engineered land ownership and the tenure system.

Despite these factors, the Confucian ceremonial music continued after adjusting to the new colonial realities. Even though unorthodox elements and deviations from the Qing-prescribed version appeared, the basic form and meanings of the ceremony remained, generating a firm reminder that Confucian values and practices were still relevant and significant as a ritual-musical

heritage, and as an effective field for cultural, social, political, and ethnic negotiations.

### **Colonial negotiations and the hybridizing soundscape**

Musicking negotiations were indispensable in early colonial Taiwan when Japanese colonizers and Taiwanese colonized had to confront one another in order to advance their own agendas. The Japanese might have won the colonization of Taiwan through diplomatic and military actions, but they could not rule the island by mere force. Nor could they make Taiwan a profitable colony by simply enforcing Japanese policies and values. They had to educate and transform the Taiwanese into loyal and productive citizens of the empire. To achieve such goals, they had to musick with the Taiwanese – teaching the Taiwanese to sing Japanese history and values through *shōka* during national holidays and Taiwan Jinja Matsuri, and building cultural and social rapport with the Taiwanese by inviting, engaging, and appropriating their musical performances. Having been colonized, the Taiwanese people had to negotiate with their Japanese colonizers to find a better life for themselves. With little power, they could hardly resist Japanese orders. Nevertheless, through music and their musicking efforts, the Taiwanese found the means, sites, and processes to bargain with the Japanese colonizers. By learning to sing *shōka*, they

demonstrated their submission. But by mastering the skill and value of what lay behind *shōka*, the Taiwanese grasped musical creativity and advanced into musical modernity. By continuing to perform local genres of operas and songs, they reaffirmed who they were and what they wanted. The Taiwanese elites' continuation of the Confucian ceremony was exemplary of the multiplicity of being Taiwanese: they needed the expression to hold onto their cultural identity while simultaneously accepting the colonial polity and embracing modernity. And the rapidly developing Taiwanese Opera, *gezaixi*, eloquently revealed not only the newly-constructed musical identities but also the dynamic interactions between Japanese colonialism, Taiwanese modernity, Chinese heritage, and local needs and desires. As these interactions created a new and hybrid soundscape in colonial Taiwan, they laid the foundation for a diverse and dynamic music culture to develop in the 20th century. It is from such a foundation that contemporary musical Taiwan has risen.

### **III. Conclusion**

This dissertation has provided new perspectives on Japanese colonialism in Taiwan and Taiwanese musical experiences in early colonial period through an ethnomusicological understanding of colonialism and music. First, this dissertation demonstrates how the Japanese musicked with the Taiwanese in the

process of colonization. Music was an integral component of the colonial enterprise. Japanese colonizers understood the power of musiking in colonial schools, and also the effects of musiking on colonial holidays and celebrations. Music was thus a tool to deliver colonial discourses, and a means to engage and appropriate the Taiwanese into the colonial and modernizing enterprise.

Second, the complexity of musical modernity in Taiwan requires a closer and a more nuanced examination of the Japanese colonial legacy in Taiwan. While *shōka* has long been recognized as the foundation of musical modernity in Taiwan, the established notion of colonial musical modernity has focused on the emerging music professionals and amateurs in the 1920s and 1930s. However, the process of how Taiwanese musical modernity developed from its earliest foundation of *shōka* to producing visible markers of music professionals has been under-studied. This dissertation addresses how *shōka* became part of Taiwanese musical life and served as an early foundation of Taiwanese musical modernity before the emergence of Taiwanese musicians and songwriters. Japanese colonial policy and newly-created performance contexts also contributed to the vitality of Taiwanese musical life across a range of genres and contexts. In other words, the Japanese and Taiwanese musiking in the early colonial period established a social mechanism for both modern and traditional musics to develop and evolve.

Third, the case of musical Taiwan during early Japanese colonization suggests that greater ethnomusicological focus should be turned to the relationship between colonialism and music. A longstanding focus on “traditional music” has overlooked the embrace of Western-style music and the development of indigenized musical modernity in colonial and post-colonial societies. Consequently, ethnomusicologists often fall into an unintentional essentializing of music cultures by privileging genres without apparent colonial “contamination,” neglecting syncretic or hybridized genres created, embraced, and consumed by local societies. The ethnomusicological studies of Amy K. Stillman and Veit Erlmann, for example, call attention to the process of how local populations have indigenized foreign or imposed musical vocabularies into their musical creativity to create new music genres and even new traditions. These musical sounds, creative and hybridized in nature, are commonplace in the contemporary musical lives of many societies which experienced colonization. In addition, the perpetuation of transplanted Western Classical music has been assured by the establishment of pipelines that produce professionals who perform, teach, and promote the repertoire. To overlook these musical practices constitutes the (un)intended failure of ethnomusicologists to address the prevalence of musical modernity in many non-Western societies.



A goal of this study has been to understand the process of how musical modernity becomes indigenized in an evolving colonial context. Moreover, by examining a spectrum of Taiwanese musical life during early Japanese colonization, this dissertation expands the scope of understanding colonialism and music beyond musical modernity. Interactions between the colonial polity and local musical traditions demonstrate how musiking facilitated negotiations between colonizers and colonized in a colonial society. The case of early Japanese colonial Taiwan invites ethnomusicologists and music scholars alike to assess colonialism and music in a more nuanced, non-monolithic way – one that will lead to a more comprehensive understanding of one of the most prevailing and profound social-cultural phenomena in history.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### Glossaries of Chinese and Japanese Terms

#### Chinese names and terms

Amoy (Xiamen)	廈門
bayin	八音
beiguan	北館
beiqu	北曲
bentuhua	本土化
bentu wenhua	本土文化
bianqing	編磬
bianqu	邊區
bianzhong	編鐘
bofu	搏拊
bozhong	搏鐘
Cai Peihuo	蔡培火
Cai Zhinan	蔡植楠
Changhua	彰化
Chen Baoquan	陳寶泉

Chen Bin	陳濱
Chen Da	陳達
Chen Shui-Bian	陳水扁
chi	簾
Chiayi	嘉義
Dadaocheng	大稻埕
Dalongdong	大龍峒
Danshui	淡水
Danshui guan	淡水館
Deng Yuxian	鄧雨賢
Deping	德平
di	笛
dongxiao	洞簫
erxian	二絃
fu	府
Fujian	福建
fuxue	府學
gezaixi	歌仔戲
gu	鼓
Hakka	客家

hanhua	漢化
hanzu minjian yinyue	漢族民間音樂
Hokkien	福建
Holo	福佬
Hsinchu	新竹
Hsu Tsang-Houei (Xu Changhui)	許常惠
hui	麾
Jian Yanghua	簡揚華
jiazhong	夾鐘
jie	節
jikong	祭孔
jinghu	京胡
Kaohsiung	高雄
Ke Dingchou (Ke Zhenghe)	柯丁丑 (柯政和)
Keelung	基隆
koxinga (guoxingye)	國姓爺
Lee Teng-Hui	李登輝
Liu Hong'ou	劉鴻鷗
Liu Mingchuan	劉銘傳
liuyi	六藝

Lü Yuxiu	呂鈺秀
Lugang	鹿港
Mengjia	艋舺
Miaoli	苗栗
minge caiji yundong	民歌採集運動
minge	民歌
nanguan	南管
nanlü	南呂
neidihua	內地化
paixiao	排簫
pipa	琵琶
qin	琴
qinqin	秦琴
Quanzhou	泉州
Sanchahe/Sanyi	三叉河/三義
sanxian	三絃
se	瑟
shange	山歌
Shao Youlian	邵友濂
sheng	省

Shi Weiliang	史惟亮
shufang	書房
suona	嗩吶
Taichung	臺中
Tainan	臺南
Taipei	臺北
Taiwan minbao (Taiwan Minpō)	臺灣民報
Tang Jingsong	唐景嵩
Taoyuan	桃園
teqing	特磬
tuzhuhua	土著化
Wei Qingde	魏清德
xian	縣
xianxue	縣學
xiao	簫
xishi xinyinyue	西式新音樂
Xuanping	宣平
xun	埴
Xuping	敘平
yida	藝姐

Yilan	宜蘭
yingshen	迎神
Yiping	懿平
yu	敌
yu	羽
Yuanshan	圓山
yuanzhumin yinyue	原住民音樂
yue	樂
yue	簫
yueju	樂局
yueqin	月琴
Yunlin	雲林
Zhang Fuxing	張福興
Zhaoping	昭平
Zheng Chenggong	鄭成功
Zheng He	鄭和
Zhiping	秩平
Zhishanyan	芝山巖
zhongguohua	中國化
zhonghua minzu	中華民族



zhongyuan fudi

中原腹地

zhu

柷

Zhudong

竹東

### Japanese names and terms

Akinami Sei

秋濤生

*chinzasai*

鎮座祭

Chō junnan rokushi no uta

弔殉難六氏之歌

Chokugo hōtō (Reply to Imperial Rescript)

敕語敬答

dokusho

讀書

fūkin

風琴

fukoku shōhei

富国強兵

funukui

煙鬼

gagaku

雅樂

gaishō

街庄

gakumu bu

學務部

gakusei

學制

geisha

芸者

Genshisai

元始祭

gogaku bu

語學部

Goshōraku no kyū	五常樂急
Gotō Shimpei	後藤新平
gūji	宮司
hichiriki	篳篥
hotaru/hotaru no hitari	螢/ 螢の光
Hyōjō	平調
Ichigatsu tsuitachi	一月一日
igakkō	医学校
Inō Kanori	伊能嘉矩
Izawa Shūji (Isawa Shuji)	伊澤修二
ji wa kogane	時わ黄金
jōruri	浄瑠璃
Kabayama Sukenori	樺山資紀
Kabuki	歌舞伎
kaitaku sanjin	開拓三神
kami	神
kampeisha taisha	官幣社大社
Kanbun Taiwan nichichi shimpō	漢文台湾日日新報
kanbun	漢文
Kannameisai	神嘗祭

kannushi	神主
Karasu	烏
Karyōbin no kyū	迦陵頻急
Katen no kyū	賀殿急
katsudō shashin	活動写真
Kazoe uta	数へ歌
Keitoku	慶徳/鶏徳
Kigensetsu	紀元節
Kimigayo	君が代
Kitashirakawa no Miya, Yoshihisa Shinnō	北白川宮能久親王
teodori	手踊り
Kodama Gentarō	兒玉源太郎
kōgakkō (Common School)	公学校
Kokinwakashū	古今和歌集
Kokugo denshūjo (Japanese Language Lab)	国語伝習所
Kokugo gakkō (Japanese Language Academy)	国語学校
Kokugo gakkō kōyūkai zasshi	国語学校校友会雑誌
kokugo	国語
kokutai	国体
kyōka tōgō	教科統合

Mansairaku	萬歲樂
Masugu ni tateyo	真直にたてよ
Miya Shitsuka	三屋靜
miyako bushi	都節
Nigimitama	にぎみたま
Niinamesai	新嘗祭
Nogi Manesuke	乃木希典
Okamoto Yohachirō	岡本要八郎
Okuni tama no mikodo	大国魂命
Onamuji no mikodo	大己貴命
ongaku torishirabe gakari	音楽取調掛
ongakutai	音楽隊
ōza	玉座
rakugo	落語
Raryō'ō	羅陵王
Rokushi sensei	六氏先生
sakubun	作文
Sakunihikona no mikodo	少彦名命
Sandai'en no kyū	三臺塩急
sanjutsu	算術

shamisen	三味線
Shiba Fujitsune	芝葛鎮
shihan bu	師範部
Shin raryō'ō	新羅陵王
Shisei kineihi	始政紀念日
Shizangan gakudō	芝山巖學堂
shō	笙
shobō	書房
shōgakkō (Primary School)	小学校
shōka	唱歌
shōkashū	唱歌集
shūji	習字
Shukujitsu taisaibi kashi hei gakufu	祝日大祭日歌詞並樂譜
shūshin	修身
sōchinju	總鎮守
sōgaku	奏樂
Sōtokufu	總督府
Sumera mikuni	皇御國 (すめらみくに)
Taichū (Taichung)	台中
Taihoku (Taipei)	台北

taisai	大祭
taisō	体操
Taiwan Jinja	台湾神社
Taiwan Jinja Matsuri	台湾神社祭り
Taiwan kyōikukai	台湾教育会
Taiwan kyōikukai zasshi	台湾教育会雑誌
Taiwan kyōkayōsho kokumin dokuhon	台湾教科用書国民読本
Taiwan Minpō	台湾民報
Taiwan nichichi shimpō	台湾日日新報
Taiwan shimpō	台湾新報
Taiwan shūyū shōka	台湾周遊唱歌
Taiwan tekiyō kokugo dokuhon shoho	台湾適用国語読本初歩
Takahashi Fumishi	高橋二三四
Takao (Kaohsiung)	高雄
Tansumi kan	淡水館
Taue	田植
Tenchōsetsu	天長節
Torii Ryūzō	鳥居龍藏
torii	鳥居
Ueda Kazutoshi	上田万年

Yamato takeru no mikoto	日本武尊
Yōbunkai	揚文会
yōhai	遥拝
yokyō	余興
Yūchi'en shōkashū	幼稚園唱歌集
Yūkannaru suihei	勇敢なる水兵
yūndōkai	運動会

## APPENDIX B

### A schematic list of Taiwanese temple festivals and religious events in 1897

The table of Taiwanese temple festivals and religious events is made based on newspaper entries in *Taiwan Shimpō* [*Taiwan News*], January to December 1897.

<i>Taiwan Shimpō</i> entry date	Place	Event/ Reason	Activities
2.18	Hsinchu – various locations	Lantern Festival: a celebration of the lunar new year	Firecrackers, music, opera
2.19	Taipei – Longshan temple, Zushi temple	Lantern Festival	Firecrackers, music,
3.24	Taipei – Longshan temple	Guanyin’s (Bodhisattva) descend to Taipei and taking residence in the temple	Flag/banner decorations; animal sacrifice and food and wind offerings; drum & wind music; singings by Taiwanese geishas; staged operatic performances
4.16	Taipei – Bao’an temple	The deities’ change of costumes	Loud music, red flags, sedans, and mediums to escort the deities; parade included young Taiwanese geishas’ music performances



4.20	Tainan	Outbreak of plague; residents praying and requesting the deities to descend to exorcise the disease	Parades; music played by instruments of big drums, trumpets, gongs, <i>huqin</i> (two-stringed fiddles), etc
7.1	Taipei – Lianhuachi villa	Worshipping and praying to the guardian deity <i>Baoyi daifu</i> (“Doctor Baoyi”)	Banquet and wine offerings; performances of opera, puppet theatre, and Taiwanese geishas’ playing and singing
7.2	Taipei – Dacuoko village	Celebrating the birthday of <i>caishen</i> , “god of wealth”	Food and wine offerings; operatic performances; Taiwanese geishas’ singing and performances
7.2	Changhua	Annual event – from the fourth to the sixth month of the lunar calendar, communities in the area taking turns to invite sea goddess Mazu from Nanyao Temple to temporarily reside in the communal temples housing the god of earth	Animal sacrifices; flower offering; operatic performances
7.27	Taipei – Mengjia district	Celebrating the birthday of <i>Xiqin wangye</i> , guardian deity of music and opera	Music and opera professionals staged operatic performances to celebrate
8.24	Taipei – Mengjia district	<i>Yulanpen hui</i> – festival on the fifteenth of the seventh month of the lunar calendar for feeding and exorcising the ghosts	5-6 stages of operatic performances; 3-4 groups of Taiwanese geishas’ singing

9.10	Villages in Danshui vicinity	in the eighth month of the lunar calendar, each village rewarded the guardian deities for their blessings in peace and harvest	At least one or more operatic performances per village along with abundant food offerings
12.1	Chiayi	Chiayi city residents invited and transported goddess Mazu from the large temple in Beigang to temporarily reside in the several temples housing the earth god	Parades; music and theatrical performances to celebrate the arrival of Mazu and to accompany the parade of the goddess

## APPENDIX C

*Chō junnan rokushi no uta* ("Song to mourn the six teachers"), short version, in number notation and in staff notation.

半(變口)調

On the scale of  
key signature B-  
flat

吊 殉 難 六 氏 歌

	3 — 3    3	6 — 6 —	6   7   1̣   7	6 — 0
	ヤ — ヨ    ヤ	コ    ラ	ハ   グ   メ   ヤ	ヨ — ●
	ウ    タ    へ	コ    ラ	オ   モ   へ   ヤ	ヨ
	3 — 3    3	7 — 7 —	1̣   7   6   7	3 — 0
	マ   ナ   ベ	コ    ラ	コ   ド   モ   ラ	ヨ
	ス   ス   メ	コ    ラ	ク   ニ   ノ   タ	メ

♩ = 96

— ヤ   ヨ   ヤ    コ    ラ    ハ   グ   メ   ヤ   ヨ  
 ニ   う   た   へ    こ    ら    お   も   へ   や   よ

マ   ナ   ベ    コ    ラ    コ   ド   モ   ラ   ヨ  
 す   す   め    こ    ら    く   に   の   た   め

The example includes the first eight measures of the song to illustrate the corresponding reading between number notation and staff notation. Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 denote the seven tones of a diatonic scale. For example, in C major scale and its relative a minor scale, the numbers denote C, D, E, F, G, A,

and B. A dot above the number indicates an octave higher; a dot below the number indicates the note is in the range below the middle C. The same principle applies to other diatonic scales. For example, in A major scale and its relative F-sharp scale, the numbers 1 through 7 represent A, B, C-sharp, D-sharp, E, F-sharp, and G-sharp. In the song *Chō junnan rokushi no uta*, the key signature is indicated as B-flat, hence the numbers 1 through 7 are equivalent to B-flat, C, D, E-flat, F, G, and A. The actual tonic of the song is 6 (=F, see p.136 for complete music example in number notation), thus the song is in f minor.

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