From Henan Opera to Taiwan Bangzi - Localisation and Identity of Taiwan Bangzi

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Abstract
A foreign Henan Opera has survived, changed, and localised and established its Taiwan identity from Henan Opera to Taiwan Bangzi for more than sixty years in Taiwan, since it was introduced from China to Taiwan under a historical occasion. This paper examines the localising process from Henan Opera to Taiwan Bangzi in Taiwan from four perspectives: social and cultural background, performers, contents of scripts, and textures of music. The time frame is divided into two periods (1947-1987 and 1987-2013) to discuss the processes separately.

Key words: Taiwan Bangzi, Localisation, Taiwan identity, Henan Opera

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In this paper, I investigate and discuss how a foreign Henan Opera can survive, change, and localise and establish its Taiwan identity from Henan Opera to Taiwan Bangzi. Primarily all materials in this paper come from the collections,
interview and transcriptions of the fieldwork during 1998 –
2000, and following observations of rehearsals and
performances after 2000. This paper examines the localising
process from Henan Opera to Taiwan Bangzi in Taiwan from
four perspectives: social and cultural background, performers,
contents of scripts, and textures of music. I divided the time
frame into two periods (1947-1987 and 1987-2013) to discuss
the processes separately.

The first period: 1947-1987
Social and cultural background
The Henan1 Opera (also named Henan Bangzi2 or Yuju3) is one
of the most prosperous and prevailing traditional Operas in
Chinese societies, and people can find a Henan Opera
performing group in many places, including Taiwan (Zhao
1993: 61). The Henan Opera is not a traditional genre in
Taiwan and uses the dialect, characteristic melody and texture
of Henan. Around 1947, many professional and amateur
performers in Henan gradually migrated from Mainland China
to Taiwan within the army. As many performers practised
together in the army, many Henan Opera groups formed and
existed in the army. At the peak (1963), there were three major
Henan Opera groups. Their purpose was not only for them
to entertain the public, but also to soothe the soldiers who were
serious homesick, because of its familiar local language and
melody from their hometown (Ma 2001:2). As the groups
disbanded gradually and the political environment changed,
only one Henan Opera - Feima (飛馬, Flying Horse) remained
and became a national performing group under the National
Centre of Traditional Arts and its official name was changed to
the Taiwan Bangzi Opera Company in 2008.

Figure 1 A rearranged traditional Henan opera:
Chipin Zhimaguan (七品芝麻官)

The curfew period lasted from 1949 to 1987 in Taiwan.
Because of the political conflicts between Taiwan and
Mainland China, all cultural circulation between these two
places was prohibited and many entertainment activities in
Taiwan were restricted. In order to encourage the soldiers and
to relieve their homesickness, many people who could play or

1 Henan is a name of a province in China.
2 There are four major singing systems in Chinese opera: the Beijing opera
is Pihuang system and Henan opera is Bangzi system (Wang 1993: 1, Jiang
3 Yu is the abbreviation of Henan province and Ju means opera in mandarin.
YuJu means the opera in Henan opera, and its main language is the Henan
dialect.

4 http://hot.stt-net.tw/upload/archive/17/20080509115707.jpg (accessed
22/03/2014)
sing Henan Opera gathered and practised for formal performances and annual competitions in the army. These kind of performances were designed for people who migrated from Mainland China after 1947, not people who lived in Taiwan before 1947, for example the aboriginal people and people who migrated from the south of Fujian province in China. These performing groups existed in the army, so the support from the government was very important. Without a sponsor, it was very hard to survive and meet for regular practice and there were not many opportunities to perform in public. The audiences recovered from their homesickness temporarily when they enjoyed these performances, because the language they spoke and sang was a strong connection between them and their hometown.

At the beginning of the first period, it was a good leisure activity for them to ignore the feelings of discomfort of being in an unfamiliar place and feeling depressed by homesickness. The familiar language and tunes soothed them and encouraged them to fight with their opponents in China to go home as soon as possible. In this period, TV and other entertainment equipment were not popular with every family, so going to see a performance was a relaxing leisure activity for soldiers, their relatives and others.

**Performers**

It is easy to understand that the performers in this period mainly relied on people who could sing and play Henan Opera very well in Henan, because there was no Henan Opera before this period in Taiwan. All performers were trained and had learnt in Henan and they were the first generation of Henan Opera in Taiwan. Among these performers, are some very famous professional performers, for example, Chang Xiuyun (張岫雲) and Mao Lanhua (毛蘭花). Before they moved to Taiwan, both of them had high reputations in Henan in China. For example, Mao Lanhua was the first one among the eighteen leading actresses in Henan province. They not only became the leading actresses, but also the tutors for many groups, raising the second generation for Henan Opera in Taiwan.

All performers were born in China, not in Taiwan, so in their minds, they did not think they were Taiwanese when they were forced to migrate from China to Taiwan; they just lived in Taiwan temporarily. Most of them were soldiers or the relatives of soldiers, and at the beginning the period, they lived in the army accommodation subsidised by the government. As they gradually retired and left the army, they were able to buy their own houses of a better quality and freedom outside the army. By the end of the first period, they had lived in Taiwan for a period of around 40 years and most of them were over 60 years. Although in the second period, people in Taiwan could visit China and choose to live there, most of the first generation chose to visit their hometown temporarily, rather than to live in their original hometown permanently. This was because they gradually considered Taiwan as their second home since they moved to Taiwan in 1947 and evolved within Taiwan society.

**Content of scripts**

From a survey of scripts from the first period, the contents were almost all traditional scripts. Among these, patriotic contents were popular with the audience and the government, because these kinds of contents could fulfil the demands of training in the army and for political purposes under such circumstances. When the president enjoyed a
performance, the group would be rewarded and would acquire more opportunities to perform in public. *Yang Jinghua* (楊金花) was a very famous opera and was performed repeatedly (figure 2), because its contents reflected the political situation and implied that the people would win and be able to return to their hometown in China at last.

Similarly, many scripts with the same content were reproduced and rearranged by these performers and this kind of script became the mainstream in this period under the prevailing political circumstances. Apart from this, some classical history scripts were also popular, because the audiences were very familiar with these when they were in China.

Figure 2 *Yang Jinghua* (楊金花)

Henan opera performers of the first generation were not only the main actors and actresses on the stage, but also the main playwrights. They wrote down what they learnt and supervised every rehearsal, and sometimes in order to refresh an old script, they applied some local tune in Henan to arrangements of the singing melody. This method revealed the flexibility of Henan opera and became an important way to localise a foreign opera in Taiwan.

**Textures of music**

Textures of music in the first period did not change too much, compared to the original tunes and styles in Henan, because many tunes came from a range of professional and amateur performers. Performers taught other actors what they had learnt and sung in exactly the same way. In the music system of traditional Henan opera, two main characteristic melodies can be found: *yudongdiao* (the tune of eastern Henan) and *yuxidiao* (the tune of western Henan). Their characteristic melodies can be demonstrated below (music example 1 and 2).

![Music example 1](http://go.eslite.com/Event.aspx?id=8222 (accessed 22/03/2014))

**Music example 1** The scale and range in *yudongdiao*

![Music example 2](http://go.eslite.com/Event.aspx?id=8222 (accessed 22/03/2014))

**Music example 2** The scale and range in *yuxidiao*

From these two music examples, it is easy to recognise two different modes used in these two types. In the first period (1947-1987), the singing style mainly relied on early original and traditional methods and the music system also retained many historical characters. The melody they performed was transcribed by Ming-Hui Ma (Ma 2001:254), and these two characteristic tunes can be distinguished easily. Music
example 3 demonstrates the yudongdiao, and music example 4 demonstrates the yuxidiao.

Music example 3 Yudongdiao (Ma 2001:254)

Music example 4 Yuxidiao (Ma 2001:254)

Among these performances in the first period, the mixture of two tunes can be found in some recordings. A music example is a good way to illustrate the mixture of two tunes. The first half is yudongdiao and the second half is yuxidiao (music example 5). This method is very significant for developments of Taiwan Bangzi opera. In the traditional music system, the range of yudongdiao is higher than it is in yuxidiao. Usually, tunes of yudongdiao express vigorous and cheerful styles and the counterpart of yuxidiao are good at expressing agitating and indignant styles. For different moods, different styles are used in the whole performance. This method also reflects the flexibility of Henan opera and the mixture of gradual changes from the first to the second period, with the clear differences between these two characteristic tunes blurring slowly by degrees. This tendency reveals that the

Henan opera was modified and increased in diversity of performance.

Music example 5 The first line is yudongdiao and others are yuxidiao (Ma 2001: 284)

The Second Period: 1987- 2013

Social and cultural background

The cancellation of the curfew by the Taiwan Government in 1987 is a turning point in the development of Henan opera in Taiwan and localisation of Taiwan Bangzi opera. The prohibition of cultural activities between Taiwan and Mainland China were cancelled; however, the Henan Opera existed in the army under some restrictions, so there was no official activity from China until the arrival of Wang Xiling (王希玲) from Henan in 1994 (Yan 2003: 33). Before 1994, many video and audio recordings produced in China were transcribed and rearranged by performers in Taiwan, because of the political restrictions in the army. In 1996, the Henan Opera group (Feima) was moved from the army to the Education Administration (Yan 2003:33), and acquired more
opportunities for cultural circulation between China and Taiwan. In the first period, the first generation of Henan Opera intended to return to their hometown in China, because they were forced to migrate from China to Taiwan; however, as the second and the third generations were raised by them, they evolved with Taiwan society gradually, and the intention of going back to Mainland China only existed solely in the minds of the first generation.

Since the 1960s, many performers of the first generation gradually retired from the army, including Chang Xiuyun. Over time, the main performers were substituted by the second and third generation. As previously mentioned, subsequent generations were born, educated and lived in Taiwan. Although they were the performers in a Henan Opera group, they did not consider their homeland as China. Instead, these performers were very familiar with life in Taiwan and considered themselves as Taiwanese in the beginning of the first period.

After the cancellation of the curfew in 1987, the tendency of ‘Taiwanisation’ in many areas become obvious and a large number of scholars devoted time to conducting research into this topic, including literature and fine art (Chen 2000; Chen 2004; Chen 1998; Huang 2004; and Yang 1994). According to one survey by National Cheng Chi University, only 3.6% of these people considered that they were Chinese (table 1)\(^6\). Thus, under this atmosphere and circumstance, cultural activities developed and modified in this direction, including Henan opera.

\(^6\) [tinyd2/content/TaiwanChineseID.htm](http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/modules/tinyd2/content/TaiwanChineseID.htm)
since her birth there, and she is Taiwanese, although her
parents were from China before 1949. Taiwan is her
hometown, rather than China. Before 1987, she learnt how to
perform from the first generation of Henan opera in Taiwan,
rather than performers in China. It is a transition period for the
localisation process in second generation of Henan opera,
because in their minds, they think they learnt the most
authentic Chinese tradition in Henan opera and they evolved
within Taiwan society, gradually forming a Taiwanese identity.

Amongst the current members of the Taiwan Bangzi
Company group, all of the performers are Taiwanese, and
some of them are the third generation of Henan opera. For
example, Hsiao Yangling (蕭揚玲) is the student of Chang
Xiuyun (first generation) and Wang Hailing (second
generation), and became a leading actress in many new
programmes (figure 3). All of them are trained, educated and
lived in Taiwan since they were born. In addition, all of the
group members in the orchestra are Taiwanese and learnt how
to play traditional instruments in Taiwan. One member, Kao
Yangming (高揚民, the drummer), is an aboriginal
person of Taiwan (A-Mei tribe). He learnt the Henan
Opera from the first generation from 1984 and
received professional

training from school.

Figure 3 Mongliujung (蒙古君)7: Hsiao Yangling (left) and Wang
Hailing (right)

A comparison between the members in the first period
and the second period from an ethnic perspective reveals the
localising process in Taiwan. Performers in the first period
were born in China and forced to migrate to Taiwan in the
army. Their hometown was China, when they moved to
Taiwan. As they struggled to survive within Taiwan from the
first to the second period, they considered Taiwan as their
second home. Many of them in the first generation retired
before the end of the first period, so the second and the third
generations raised by them continued to perform and became
the main members the group. Thus, in the second period, the
members in the group were born in Taiwan and formed a
Taiwanese identity from their cultural, social and educational
background. These members do not live in Taiwan temporarily,
but rather consider Taiwan as their home and they are
Taiwanese. Their mother tongue is either Chinese or the local
language in Taiwan, rather than the local language in Henan,
which is used to sing Henan opera.

Content of scripts
In the first period, many scripts were recollected by the
first generation. In order to fulfil the political demands, they
represented and rearranged many programmes based on their
memory. Most of these programmes were full of patriotic
thought and became the propaganda of the government. The

7 http://hot.stt-net.tw/upload/archive/18/20080509115722.jpg
(accessed 22/03/2014)
foci of the programs were victory and recovery. In the second period, the contents of the scripts varied. In addition to the patriotic programs in the first period, by the end of this period, some scripts from Beijing opera and Kunqu (昆曲) were adapted and rearranged for Henan opera. In the second period, many new programs from China were performed by the Henan opera in Taiwan. Thus, three kinds of script contents in the second period can be used to illustrate the diversity of contents and scripts for Henan opera in Taiwan, compared to the scripts in the first period.

The first is the scripts from playwrights in China, which were the main resource. This kind of content focuses on real and imaginary events in history or novels, compared with the historical contents of the first period. Stories in Taiwan were used and adapted for performances, for example, the debut of Caogong Waichuan (曹公外傳, A story of Caogong) (figure 4) in 2003. It was a collaboration of Henan opera and Taiwan Bangzi in 2003 to celebrate the Fifty Anniversary of Henan opera in Taiwan, including actors and actresses, playwrights, composers, directors and stage and lighting designers. It was the first time for Henan opera to perform based on a Taiwanese historical story. In this program, the costume and stage were designed to establish the atmosphere of Taiwan, and some local dialect was used in the performance. In addition, Meirenjian (美人尖, Widow’s peak) (figure 5) is another new Henan opera adapted from a novel written by a Taiwanese writer, Wang Chulong (王瓊玲), and performed in 2011. In 2014, another novel, Meishanchun (梅山春, Spring on plum mountain) (figure 6), written by the same another is going to be performed in Henan opera version. Both of these two novels depict two different female stories in traditional Taiwan society separately.

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The second is the new programme, which adapted Western Opera and theatre. For example, the opera-*Turandot* by Puccini (2000), and *Bond*, an adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice* (2009), and *Measure for Measure* (2012) by Shakespeare, are two kinds of experimental new programmes for the crossover of Henan opera in Taiwan. Similar to the first kind, local dialect, both mandarin and Taiwanese, and contemporary news in Taiwanese society were used and inserted in singing and speaking. In *Turandot* (Henan opera version)(figure 7), the language, used through the whole performance by the prince performed by Wang Guosen 王國森, was mandarin. *Measure for Measure* (figure 8) by Shakespeare is the script from a Western drama and is the first time for Henan opera to adapt from Western drama.

![Figure 7 Turandot](http://hot.sst-net.tw/upload/archive/20/20080509115753.jpg)  
![Figure 8 Measure for Measure](http://hot.sst-net.tw/upload/archive/30/20080509121149.jpg)

The third is a special genre for Henan opera in Taiwan—opera for children. In order to promote Henan opera in Taiwan and to form a Taiwanese identity for people from childhood, this new genre was created to perform for children. These three programs are *Qianyiao Banjia* (錢要搬家, Money is moving? 2004)(figure 9), *Zhubajie Danao Pansi Cave* (豬八戒大鬧盤絲洞, *Zhubajie* disturbs *Pansi* cave 2001)(figure 10), and *Longgong Qiyuan* (龍宮傳奇, The fantastic encounter in the underwater palace 2002). The whole structure remains the main character in Henan opera. The significant difference between traditional programs and this genre is the simple plot, exaggerated action, attractive costumes and use of the local language and slang of Taiwan. These elements are designed to attract children’s attention and they can access this kind of performance easily without any boundary of language or complex plots. The familiar and interesting plots in this genre are not only performed in public, but also arranged to be performed in many schools in Kaohsiung to promote Taiwanese identity.

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11 http://hot.sst-net.tw/upload/archive/20/20080509115753.jpg (accessed 22/03/2014)

12 http://hot.sst-net.tw/upload/archive/30/20080509121149.jpg (accessed 22/03/2014)
genre in Taiwanese culture. Among these new programmes, the use of local language (mandarin and Taiwanese) is now frequently used, and it becomes a method for a foreign performing art to relate to Taiwanese society. The Henan opera developed in a localising way with the name of the group being replaced by the Taiwan Bangzi Company in 2008, rather than the Henan opera. It means that this performing art uses the main structure of the original Henan Opera and the main characteristics of Bangzi and in this way; Henan Opera has evolved within Taiwan society for more than fifty years. The elements of Taiwanese identity appear in various ways in these three new kinds of content, including the story, costume, local language and music, which will be discussed in the next section.

**Textures of music**

Before my discussion in this section, I have to explain two terms, which are used to describe the changes in Henan opera in the second period: modernisation and localisation. Modernisation means a common phenomenon among all Chinese opera, including the use of microphones, lights and stage effects using modern technology, and delicate costumes. Localisation means that a local Chinese opera develops in its local style in its original place, including social customs, and local language, for example, the Henan opera in Henan; or a local Chinese opera that develops in a foreign place by absorbing the cultural elements of the foreign society, which gradually becomes slightly different from its original, for example, the Henan opera in Taiwan.

Professor Chen Fang describes some of the characteristics of modernisation and localisation in Henan opera in Taiwan, including lighting, stage and costume design; collaboration

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14 http://hot.sst-net.tw/upload/archive/21/20080509115818.jpg (accessed 22/03/2014)
between Mainland China and Taiwan; and new modified and creative tunes for singing (Chen 2003: 8-23). However, her focus is not the change in the music. Although traditional Chinese opera is a compound performing art, including action, costumes, lighting, literature, and music, the elements of music are the most significant part that demonstrates the uniqueness in style, compared to other Chinese operas. For example, in a traditional music system, the use of yudongdiao, yuxidiao and other local tunes in Henan are the main elements. In the second period, the ways that composers use these are different from those in the first period. Thus, I will discuss the change of music in the next section.

In the first period, the use of a combination of yudongdiao and yuxidiao became common, and to some extent, they also can also be sung in a higher or lower octave to present different emotions within a different range. In addition, some local tunes in Henan were used in performance, for example, Henan Zhūizi (河南墜子) (music example 6).
of providing the textures of the music. *Caogong Waichuan* in 2003 is a good example to illustrate Taiwanese musical identity. In this programme, the music was composed by a top level national composer, Geng Yuqing (耿玉卿). The difference between traditional *yudongdiao* and *yuxidiao* was not clear, and the whole melody, including singing and bridges, was smoothly presented in different octaves without any break. The maturity of combination of a traditional music system was demonstrated in this programme. Music example 7 is one passage that demonstrates mature and smooth combination.

Music example 6 Henan *Zhuiyi* (Ma 2004: 122-123)

This use reveals they are from Henan and had not yet formed a Taiwanese identity in music in the first period. However, it shows that the application of other local tunes in Henan opera is common. It is also a way of modernisation and localisation, because this flexibility can allow composers to introduce many fresh or familiar tunes to evolve within societies. This situation becomes more common and one of the main characteristics of Henan opera after the first period.

In the second period, the two characteristics of modernisation and localisation become the two main methods
Two other methods also are used frequently in the second period: coloratura and repetition of the final phrase (Ma 2004:108-111). The two methods existed in traditional programs in the first period, and are not new to Henan opera. The coloratura and repetition of the final phrase can express different emotions in singing very well. In the use of coloratura, the singers can not only display their skills, but can also express their emotions extensively and deeply without interruptions by lyrics (music example 8 and music example 7, from bar 107).

Music example 8 Extensive coloratura (Ma 2004: 110)

Sometimes, as in music example 8, the extensive coloratura was used in the repetition of one phrase. The use of repetition of the final phrase is also very common in the modernised textures of music. In order to reinforce the emotion or to express it to the audience through the music, the final phrase is usually repeated. In the repetition, the duration and rhythm will sometimes extend in different octaves to contrast the tension (high to low, or low to high), (music example 8 and bar 14–18 and bar 73–80 in music example 7), or in the same octave to enforce (music example 9). In
practical use, any phrase in one sentence can be repeated several times, and it depends on how to develop music.

Music example 9 The repetition of the final phrase (Ma 2004: 110)

In addition, the application of local tunes was characteristic of the first period, and it became a method to localise Henan opera. To form a Taiwanese musical identity, one popular tune, *Wangchunfeng* (望春風, Gazing the Wind in Spring) was used as an interlude with different lyrics to set up the atmosphere of the Taiwan story in this programme (music example 10). In this application, the tune is slightly different from the original. The original tune is modified to fulfil the demands of the tunes of lyrics in the Henan language (music example 11). In music example 11, the final phrase also reveals a combination of repetition and extensive coloratura. This insertion of local tunes is one of the characteristics of the process of localisation. In music example 7, from bar 5 to bar 8, one phrase of the tune from *Wangchunfeng* is integrated into the introductory section by the orchestra, before the performer sings to emphasise the local tune and to remind the audience.

15 Usually, one sentence can be divided into two or three phrases, and in repetition, the lyric can be the same to reinforce the mood, or can be different to describe more plots in a story.

Music example 10 *Wangchunfeng* in Caogong Waichuan (Ma 2004: 109)

Music example 11 The original tune of *Wangchunfeng*

The tune of *Wangchunfeng* was composed by Deng Yuxian (鄭雨賢, 1906-1944) in 1933 and became one of the most popular songs in Taiwan, because of its characteristic
melody in a pentatonic scale (宮調式, Gong\textsuperscript{16} mode). For the Taiwanese, it became one of the representative tunes of Taiwanese music. Thus, the purpose of the use of this tune a strong connection with Taiwanese music, and the Taiwanese audience who could recognise this tune easily when they heard it. From a comparison between music example 10 and 11, the original tune was not used without any modification, and music example 10 is a tune of Taiwanese music with the modification with the Henan language. From the perspective of texture of music, it is the first time that a Taiwanese musical element was used in a performance for Henan opera. The purpose here is very clear and the audience can recognise this tune very easily, if they are Taiwanese or they are familiar with Taiwanese music.

Compared to the previous three perspectives, the differences between the first period and the second period are quite obvious and the degree of localisation of Henan opera obviously identified. Over more than fifty years of evolution in Taiwan society, the Henan opera was gradually modified, and formed a Taiwanese identity. In 2008, the word ‘Henan’ was replaced by ‘Bangzi’ and Taiwan added to the contrast between the difference from Henan opera to Taiwan Bangzi.

In Taiwan, the second generation or third generation of performers, directors, playwrights, costume designers, lighting and stage designers and musicians in the orchestra are all easily found. However, there is no composer of the second generation in Taiwan in the second period. In the first generation, some performers recollected what they learnt in Henan and rearranged new programmes, including Chang Xiuyun, Yang Gueifa (楊桂發); however, they did not teach the second generation how to compose systematically for that generation. The reason-and crisis-is also reflected in an analysis of the situation based on the relationship between the local language, the singing language, and the training process in Taiwan. In China, professional composers for Chinese operas are trained systematically in a school. In Taiwan, many students studied in schools only learn how to perform, sing and play the existing programmes. There is no specific professional training on composing new programmes in Henan opera. The other difficulty is that the local language in Taiwan is not the dialect spoken in Henan. The composer has to know how to speak this dialect first, and to understand the tune of the language. Within this background training, the composer can create new tunes for Henan opera without losing the characteristics of the local language or disobeying the inner principles of the dialect.

**Conclusion**

In this paper, I examined the process of localisation for a foreign Chinese opera (Henan) in two periods in Taiwan from four perspectives: social and cultural background, performers, content of scripts, and textures of music. In these four perspectives, the Taiwan Bangzi reveals the process of localisation and its Taiwan identity. In a comparison and analysis of the two periods from four perspectives, the Taiwan Bangzi accumulated sufficient energy for the process of localisation and formed a Taiwanese identity. This occurred in its social and cultural background, the performers, contents of scripts and textures of music, although there is no Taiwanese composer for Taiwan Bangzi among these four perspectives.

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\textsuperscript{16} Gong is the first note in a pentatonic scale. When the tonic is Gong, the tune is in Gong mode.
In the first three perspectives, the second and third generation became the main performers in Taiwan Bangzi, and this situation also reflected the change in the social and cultural background in Taiwan. The analysis through these three reveals the whole process of localisation of Taiwan Bangzi in Taiwan, and shows that a traditional performing art has to retain its traditions and evolve with time and the local culture to avoid extinction. From the fourth perspective, although there was no Taiwanese composer for new programmes in the second period, the music of Chinese composers fulfilled the demands of the localisation process in Taiwan by using some skill in composition, including the insertions of local tunes.

This paper also provides a model, which can be used to examine the process of development in other foreign genres in Taiwan in the first and the second period. It strongly supports the concept that the flexibility of modernisation and localisation and the balance between resistance and appropriation are highly significant factors for a foreign genre that intends to develop and survive in a different social and cultural background.

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Author's biodata

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