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Periphery matters : a cultural biography of Peking Opera in Hong Kong
Joshua, Chan; Joshua Chan

Citation

Joshua, C. (2017, September 12). *Periphery matters : a cultural biography of Peking Opera in Hong Kong*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/54688>

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Author: Chan Pui Lun

Title: Periphery matters : a cultural biography of Peking Opera in Hong Kong

Date: 2017-09-12

Chapter Six /

Local Innovation in the Twenty-First Century

Tang Yuen-ha

In the previous chapter, through the career of Liang Hanyong, I discussed the role of government support in facilitating local reception of Peking Opera in present-day Hong Kong. Liang is not the only Peking Opera performer who has been supported by the government. Tang Yuen-ha 鄧宛霞, who is a Hong Kong-born and mainland-trained Peking Opera performer, has also received substantial government funding for her career in Hong Kong. I chose Liang as the focus of the previous chapter because his story reveals much about the interaction between local performers and government funding bodies; as such, his situation tells us more about the influence of cultural politics on Peking Opera in Hong Kong. Not that local cultural politics is not relevant to Tang's case – it matters to her greatly, as evidenced by her involvement in official funding mechanisms, such as the ADC's grant schemes and LCSD's audience-building programmes discussed in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, Tang's story relates more directly to the localization of Peking Opera's presentation, by which I mean the form in which she takes the genre to its wider audience. While both artists share the same goal of facilitating local reception of Peking Opera, Liang does so through regular performances only, but Tang has been trying to find a "Hong Kong way" through her invention of what I will translate as 'guided demonstration' (*daoshang* 導賞, literally 'guided appreciation') – an innovative, interactive mode to present the "national drama" to local audiences. Notably, she has created something new in the presentation of Peking Opera, while keeping the performing practices (for example, acting and music) authentic and traditional.

My main question in this chapter is: how does Tang localize Peking Opera activities and discourse, and how has this affected Peking Opera's reception in Hong Kong since the 2000s? Through a discussion of Tang's career with the Jingkun Theatre (Jingkun Juchang 京崑劇場), a local Peking Opera troupe that she established in the 1980s, I hope to unfold her long quest in localizing the genre. Initially, she strongly subscribed to the mainstream, mainland discourse of Peking Opera as a "national" phenomenon. Toward the century's end, however, her increasingly traditionalist views toward Peking Opera departed from what I will call the "contemporary" approach to the genre on the mainland (I will return to this usage below). This turn led her to rethink her artistic direction and eventually led to a major change in her productions. From "contemporary" plays in the 1990s, which echoed the mainland trend, she moved on to traditional plays and, more significantly, to the invention of her signature device of guided demonstration. I will discuss both the innovative nature of guided demonstration and Tang's motivation for inventing it.

The phenomenon of guided demonstration did more than just raise awareness of the localization of Peking Opera. It was also seen as something initiated in the artistic "periphery" that influenced the presentational dimension of the genre in the "core" area that is the mainland. Hence, I also ask: How did Tang's invention of guided demonstration concretely

affect Peking Opera in the Chinese mainland? I will show how mainland performers became acquainted with the idea of guided demonstration, and discuss how this idea moved them to revisit their method of facilitating the reception of Peking Opera by younger generations in the twenty-first century, and how this led to changes in mainland's presentational conventions of the genre.

6.1 Tang Yuen-ha and the Jingkun Theatre

Tang Yuen-ha was born into an upper-class family in Hong Kong. Her grandfather was Cen Chunxuan 岑春煊, a high-ranking official in the late Qing and early Republican periods. As a result of her family background she was able to explore both Chinese and Western high culture from an early age. In particular, as her mother who loved Peking Opera had regular operatic singing lessons at home, Tang was exposed to the genre from her earliest childhood. When she was six, she joined the Spring and Autumn Drama School and received informal training from Zhang Suqiu, who was the founder of the school. This informal training continued until she graduated from secondary school in 1974.²⁸⁶ Upon graduation, she went to Switzerland and France to study Western classical music. She stayed in Europe for eight years and obtained a degree in piano pedagogy from the Conservatoire de Musique de Genève in Switzerland.

Nevertheless, as Tang recalled, even after having completed her studies as a Western music professional and despite having been cut off from Peking Opera when she was in Europe, she still felt more drawn to practicing Peking Opera. Therefore, instead of taking up a career as a pianist, she went to the Chinese mainland in 1983, and privately studied Peking Opera with Yu Zhenfei and Zhang Meijuan 張美娟.²⁸⁷ She eventually became a disciple of Yu in 1985. One year later, she established the Hong Kong Jing Kun Arts Association (renamed as the Jingkun Theatre in 2004), though she herself still spent most of her time in Shanghai. It was not until 1991, after she had won the mainland Plum Blossom Prize (*Meihua Jiang* 梅花獎)²⁸⁸ for her performance in *The Great Heroine* (*Daying Jielie* 大英傑烈), that she resettled in Hong Kong and continued her Peking Opera career with her troupe.

From the outset, the Jingkun Theatre was a self-funded troupe. Similar to YCOC, it was a "one-person troupe", with Tang being the only structurally affiliated performer. Probably because of this, Tang identified herself as an individual performer in the first few years after she had established the troupe. She started performing using the troupe's name in 1990,²⁸⁹ while she still had to collaborate frequently with mainland troupes, for example the Peking Opera Theatre of Beijing, because she was the only structural member of the Jingkun Theatre.²⁹⁰ 1997 was a significant year for the troupe. Firstly, Geng Tianyuan 耿天元 (born

²⁸⁶ *Wenhuibao*, 11 January 2014.

²⁸⁷ Zhang's expertise was in the martial-female-role. She was a member of the Shanghai Jingju Theatre Company since the 1950s. She was teaching in the Shanghai Chinese Opera School when she met Tang.

²⁸⁸ The Plum Blossom Prize is the highest theatrical award in China. The award is presented by the China Theatre Association to top performers of both traditional Chinese theatre and spoken drama.

²⁸⁹ The troupe was named the Tang Yuen-ha Peking and Kunqu Opera Troupe of Hong Kong at that time.

²⁹⁰ <http://www.jingkun.org.hk>. Accessed on 19 August 2015.

1951), who was the former leading performer and director of the Shandong Peking Opera Theatre, joined the troupe. Secondly, the troupe received a first ADC One-Year Grant. With the addition of a renowned performer from the mainland and growing attention and support by the Hong Kong government,²⁹¹ it gradually developed into a productive troupe in Hong Kong, in terms of both performing and educational activities.

Similar to YCOC, the Jingkun Theatre has relied mostly on government funding for its artistic productions and daily operations. For example, in addition to receiving the ADC grants the troupe also participated in the two LCSD's audience-building programmes in the 2000s. Nevertheless, while YCOC is rather conventional and tied to local communities, the Jingkun Theatre shows greater inventiveness and ambition in its productions. In addition to the invention of guided demonstration, to be discussed below, its productions are also often grander in scale, being organized as major events in major theatres in Hong Kong. In my view, this is because the troupe has been supported mainly by ADC's long-term funding, which is more substantial and places fewer constraints on the structure and content of productions by the grant recipient than, for instance, the one-off project grant also by the ADC. Thus, Tang was given more freedom to realize her own artistic taste through her productions.

6.2 The national vision among local performers

Despite the different paths taken by Liang Hanyong and Tang Yuen-ha, they both clearly subscribe to the ideology of Peking Opera as a national genre. It appears that a strong belief in Peking Opera's national status was the main motivation for both to practice it in Hong Kong, as a place where people might not automatically offer it the welcoming reception it enjoyed on the mainland. As Liang said:

I am not saying that I must do this. However, Peking Opera is a theatrical genre that represents the nation (*daibiao guojia* 代表國家), and it should be promoted and carried forward. It represents a national spirit.²⁹²

Tang has expressed similar sentiments. In particular, she has stressed her desire to promote Peking Opera's connotation of traditional Chinese culture:

I will say my goal now does not contradict [the desire to facilitate local reception of Peking Opera]. However, I will further introduce to audiences the connotation of traditional Chinese culture through Peking Opera. My view is that people can love or hate the art form, but the connotation of traditional Chinese culture is beneficial for the whole world.²⁹³

Tang's subscription to this national vision was reflected not only in her upholding of Peking Opera's national status, but also in the echoing of mainland-national trends in

²⁹¹ The Jingkun Theatre became a frequent recipient of ADC's One-Year and, later on, Multi-year Grants. Also, it has been enjoying a constant increase in funding since 1997.

²⁹² Liang Hanyong (interview, 17 August 2014).

²⁹³ Tang Yuen-ha (interview, 25 July 2014).

producing Peking Opera plays. A 1999 Jingkun Theatre production that was adapted from European literature will be discussed as an example below. But first, by way of background, I will provide a brief survey of Peking Opera's development on the mainland after the Cultural Revolution.

6.2.1 Peking Opera on the mainland after the Cultural Revolution

Traditional Peking Opera repertoire was strictly regulated and eventually banned in 1965, one year before the outbreak of Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). It was not fully reinstated until 1978. This long break resulted in a generation who lacked knowledge of their theatrical tradition. Thus, there was a need for Peking Opera performers to reestablish an artistic trend.²⁹⁴ When the PRC government adopted its policies of Reform and Opening Up, as Colin Mackerras has observed, a “dichotomy between modernization and traditionalist revival” developed in the post-Cultural Revolution era, and “the arts, including the performing arts, [were] one of the sites of this modernization and traditionalist revival.”²⁹⁵

Elizabeth Wichmann has observed two contradictory but simultaneous approaches to Peking Opera productions in that period. The first was a return to traditional plays, which I will refer to as the “preservative” approach. In general terms, followers of this trend – including the PRC government in the early period after the reinstatement of traditional plays in 1978 – attempted to preserve traditional plays in their authentic form (that is, as they were performed in the 1950s). However, as many textual references were destroyed during Cultural Revolution, followers of this approach had to turn to other sources such as performers who survived the Revolution. For example, Yeung Ming in his book *Quyū Menghēn: Yang Ming Jingkun Yishu Pinglunji* 氍毹夢痕：楊明京崑藝術評論集 [Scattered Dreams on the Stage Carpet: An Anthology of Critics on the Arts of Peking Opera and Kunqu Opera by Yeung Ming, 2001] tells the story that a PRC cultural official had asked him, soon after the reinstatement, to recreate the original script of an excerpt play, “Autumn River” (*Qiujiang* 秋江), from memory.²⁹⁶ But even while traditional plays were revived, innovations in performing techniques, such as challenging melismatic passages with high notes or fancy acrobatic skills, would be added into the plays so as to impress the audience. Moreover, the form was also updated. Plots would be tightened, and repetitive components in performing conventions – for instance, dance sequences – would be cut. As such, plays were concentrated in order to cater to the changing taste of contemporary audiences.²⁹⁷

The second approach, which emerged a bit later than the preservative one, was the creation of new plays in a contemporary manner, which I will refer to as the “contemporary” approach. Compared to the preservative approach, innovations were more extensively found in these plays, and mostly in evidence in script writing, performing conventions, music, and *mise en scène*. Some innovations were inspired by other regional genres. For example, in

²⁹⁴ Li 2012: 135.

²⁹⁵ Mackerras 1996: 79.

²⁹⁶ Yeung 2001: 268-269.

²⁹⁷ Wichmann 1990: 151-152.

Cave of the Coiled Web (*Pansi Dong* 盤絲洞), a 1987 production by the Shanghai Peking Opera Company, the actress portraying a spider demon employed the technique of “face changing” (*bianlian* 變臉), which was borrowed from Sichuan Opera.²⁹⁸ Western theatrical genres, such as western opera and spoken drama, were another source of inspiration. According to Wichmann, Western influences on contemporary plays included modern stage techniques such as lighting, sound and stage effects, as well as the extensive use of composed music and the addition of Western musical instruments into the traditional ensemble.²⁹⁹

From the early 1990s on, the contemporary approach gained greater popularity than the preservative approach. In addition to the extensive employment of Western theatrical devices, performers began to adapt Western literature into new Peking Opera scripts. For example, the Beijing Peking Opera Theatre staged an adaptation of Giacomo Puccini’s *Turandot* in Rome in 1994.³⁰⁰ This predominance of contemporary plays on the mainland must be viewed within the social context of the post-Cultural Revolution era, in which the PRC government gradually loosened its regulation and control of Chinese performing arts, and of cultural production at large from 1978 on. This de-politicization was accompanied by marketization, as government subsidy of Peking Opera troupes was substantially reduced. To sustain themselves financially, troupes had to strengthen their audience base. It was in this context that Wichmann compares the two approaches and argues that the contemporary approach was a type of reform that was primarily intended to attract the broadest range of audience in terms of age and educational level.³⁰¹ In this sense, the popularization of contemporary plays could be regarded as a logical choice made by mainland Peking Opera circles so as to achieve their practical goal of audience building and economic independence.

As Mackerras has observed, the growth of the contemporary approach was also favored by PRC government policy in the Reform era. Firstly, direct censorship had become less strict since 1992, compared to any previous period in PRC’s history. This allowed for the emergence of more new scripts.³⁰² Secondly, the Reform era also catalyzed the modernization process of Peking Opera. As Mackerras has noted, “the principle adopted [in the policy of Reform and Opening Up] is that foreign influence is fine as long as it helps China and does not oppose socialism.”³⁰³ This provided some space for Peking Opera performers to appropriate foreign theatrical elements.

6.2.2 From Notre Dame de Paris to The Great Belfry

As noted, Western literature had become a regular source of inspiration for new Peking Opera scripts since the 1990s. In addition to *Turandot* on the mainland, Wu Hsing-kuo 吳興國 and his troupe, the Contemporary Legend Theatre of Taiwan (*Taiwan Dangdai Chuangqi Juchang* 台灣當代傳奇劇場), had also been adapting works of William Shakespeare and Samuel

²⁹⁸ *ibid.* 153.

²⁹⁹ *ibid.* 151, 157.

³⁰⁰ *Wenhui Bao*, 25 March 1994.

³⁰¹ Wichmann 1990: 165-66.

³⁰² Mackerras 1996: 81.

³⁰³ *ibid.*

Beckett since the troupe's establishment in 1986. This phenomenon of Peking Opera adaptations from Western literature was also echoed by Tang in her 1999 production of *The Great Belfry* (*Da Zhonglou* 大鐘樓), an adaptation of Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* (1831). In the following, I will discuss this production in relation to the mainland trend of contemporary Peking Opera plays.

Firstly, Tang made a thorough adaptation of the story, translating it from its original French setting into a Chinese one. The central setting of the original novel, the Cathédral Notre Dame de Paris, was adapted to a belfry where the Chinese emperor stored his collection of Western clocks. Also, the characters' backgrounds were rewritten within the Chinese context. For example, the Romani woman Esméralda in the original story became Aisimei 艾思梅 (a transliteration from Esméralda), princess of the Calabash Gang (*Hulubang* 葫蘆幫). Claude Frollo, the Archdeacon of Notre Dame, who is her main antagonist in the original story, was rewritten as De Gonggong 德公公, a "fake" eunuch (in the sense that he has not undergone castration) in the emperor's court.³⁰⁴

Secondly, *The Great Belfry* demonstrated a less stylized portrait of characters by crossing over between various role types in Peking Opera. The leading actress portraying Aisimei, for instance, integrated the singing style of the mature female role with the action skills of the martial female role. Another example is the main protagonist, Yachou 亞丑 the hunch-backed bell-ringer. To give the audience a more life-like portrait of the character, the conventional choice would have been to have a clown role performer in this role. However, it is rare in Peking Opera tradition for a clown role to take on the leading role. As such, the character was eventually performed by a martial male role. While performing in his typical style, the performer borrowed some stage-steps techniques from the clown role; this allowed him to give a greater sense of reality to the presentation of a hunchbacked person.³⁰⁵

Western influence as reflected in the *mise en scène* was also noteworthy. For example, according to contemporary practice in traditional Chinese theatre, the curtain typically would close between scenes for scene and props changes. However, in *The Great Belfry* the function of the curtain was replaced by a rotating stage, in which the props of several scenes were pre-set and the stage was rotated for scene changes (Figure 6.2). Musical features also reflected Western influence. A mixture of traditional operatic music and Western composed music was heard, and the ensemble was expanded to about twenty musicians in a Western orchestral setting. Moreover, the leading role of the single-sided drum (*bangu* 板鼓) player in the traditional ensemble was replaced by a conductor who took control over all musical aspects in the play.³⁰⁶ In fact, apart from Tang's own performance as Aisimei, all other performers, backstage crew members, and musicians were guests from the mainland. In my view, their familiarity with contemporary plays provided yet another way for this Hong Kong production to relate more naturally to this mainland trend.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ Tang Yuen-ha (interview, 17 December 2008).

³⁰⁵ *Mingbao*, 11 October 1999.

³⁰⁶ *ibid.*

³⁰⁷ *Mingbao*, 28 October 1999.

Indeed, Tang followed closely the mainland trend of contemporary plays in the period around the turn of the century. In addition to *The Great Belfry*, she also produced a similarly fashioned presentation in her 2001 adaptation of Louis Cha's *The Romance of the Condor Heroes* (*Shendiao Xialü* 神鵰俠侶). In fact, Tang herself noted that these two productions, which featured popular stories and more modern presentations of the art form, were attempts to expand the audience base by attracting new generations in Hong Kong. Her statement reaffirms Wichmann's argument that contemporary plays worked better in attracting a broad range of audience members.



Figure 6.1. A scene from *The Great Belfry*: De Gonggong (right) tries to take Aisemei (middle) away from Yachou (left), and put her into custody. (Photo by Jingkun Theatre, 1999)



Figure 6.2. The rotating stage used in *The Great Belfry*. (Photo by Jingkun Theatre, 1999)

6.3 In search of a “Hong Kong way”

While Tang continued to view Peking Opera as a national genre, the years spent honing her career in Hong Kong broadened her perspective, and she developed a distinct view of the differences between practicing it on the mainland and in Hong Kong. This eventually led her to affiliate herself less closely with mainland artistic trends. According to Tang, the difference mostly concerned creative freedom, which she traced to two causes. Firstly, there was censorship on the mainland:

Also we have more creative freedom [in Hong Kong], without the invisible pressure exerted by a political system. There is indeed such pressure on the mainland. For example, some mainland scriptwriters whom we worked with always have to ask themselves “Can I pass [the censors] if I write this?” In this aspect, Hong Kong is indeed a better place.³⁰⁸

The second cause was the different artistic horizon one could gain in particular places. In Tang’s view, the contemporary trend on the mainland often amounted to blind imitation of Western theatrical forms by mainland performers, after these forms had entered the mainland from the late 1970s onward, with the assumption that they were artistically and technically superior eventually resulting in the dominance of the contemporary trend. From this perspective, she considered that this uncritical acceptance of Western influence was

³⁰⁸ Tang Yuen-ha (interview, 17 December 2008).

constraining creativity. In contrast, Tang experienced Hong Kong as a better place because of its richer cultural cosmopolitan history:

Moreover, one can gain a wider horizon in Hong Kong, as you can always see many different cultural forms. This will indeed shape one's artistic taste and, as I have said, one should not be attracted impulsively to some so-called "new" things ... I always lamented the hardship of doing [Peking Opera] in Hong Kong. But now, to a certain degree, I feel fortunate to be here. It is because I can have real creative freedom here, in which I can hold onto my own ideas and artistic views.³⁰⁹

The last statement in the above quote is remarkable, as Tang indeed had an artistic view of her own to hold on to – namely, a traditionalist view toward Peking Opera – that departed distinctively from the mainland trend. In her view, the core of Peking Opera's aesthetic was the stylized portraiture of characters through performance. In this sense, the contemporary trend on the mainland, in particular its features of verisimilar *mise en scène* and the use of modern stage technology, ran counter to this aesthetic. She said:

You cannot say we are completely against the use of lighting and scenery, but the question is 'how should we use it?' ... Everything [on stage] is not real, but I am pursuing a state of *emotional truth*, and this is the core characteristic of traditional Chinese arts. *Do not be faithful to your eyes, but to your heart* ... Therefore, when I create new productions I must follow the spirit of my intention. And if I follow it, it will not demand verisimilar scenery and props. On the contrary, there were occasions when mainland troupes hired some stage designers who had no sense of Chinese aesthetics. I have actually discussed this in my dissertation,³¹⁰ they constructed a very three-dimensional stage and thought it was nice. However, this actually contradicts the aesthetics of Peking Opera.³¹¹

In fact, Tang's departure from the mainstream mainland path was quite similar to the Hong Kong government's attitude toward Peking Opera. As discussed in the previous chapter, in Hong Kong there was a clear sense that the national vision of the genre should be embodied in a simultaneous claim of local identity in its presentation. I submit that this is an excellent demonstration of what I have called the "national yet local" identity of local Peking Opera performers.

6.3.1 Return to traditional plays

In practice, two kinds of theatrical productions by the Jingkun Theatre reflected Tang's claim of locality. The first was conventional performances. In a spirit of revitalizing the preservative approach in the 1980s mainland observed by Wichmann, Tang first attempted to realize her

³⁰⁹ *ibid.*

³¹⁰ Tang has obtained her PhD in December 2016 at the School of Culture, History and Language at the National Australian University. The title of her dissertation is "The Aesthetics of Chinese Classical Theatre: A Performer's View".

³¹¹ Tang Yuen-ha (interview, 25 July 2014).

traditionalist view in 2003 with the Kunqu Opera production *Wusong and Pan Jinlian* (*Wusong yu Pan Jinlian* 武松與潘金蓮). This was followed by the Peking Opera productions *The House of Wulong* (*Wulong Yuan* 烏龍院, 2007),³¹² *You Sanjie* 尤三姐 (2007), and *Jin Yunu* 金玉奴 (2009). Geng Tianyuan was also involved in all these productions.

Nevertheless, rather than focusing on appealing performing techniques, as is the case on the mainland according to Wichmann, the innovation in Tang's and Geng's revision of the above-mentioned plays lies in the attention to the rediscovery (or reinterpretation) of characters, in addition to their efforts to achieve a more logical flow in the story, through revisiting the literature on which the stories originally are based. Here, I use their revision of *The House of Wulong* as an example to illustrate my point. This story from the Chinese classic novel *Water Margin* (*Shuihu Zhuan* 水滸傳) is about the murder of Yan Xijiao by her husband Song Jiang. In the 1930s this play became one of the signature plays of Zhou Xinfang. His treatment of the play, for example in portraying the character of Song Jiang as an absolutely heroic protagonist, and that of Yan Xijiao as absolutely negative, had become the standard for performers ever since.³¹³ With this well-established tradition before him, Geng, as the main script-editor of the Jingkun Theatre's 2007 version, made a bold revision to Zhou's version after revisiting the original text and reviewing the story's logical flow. Firstly, they discarded the stock image of Yan as a "loud-mouthed, ignorant shrew" and represented her character as a "sharp-witted vixen with a mind of her own." Also, the heroic Song Jiang in Zhou's version was represented more realistically, with a dark side to his personality as well. Secondly, in regard to the plot development, Geng added more contextualization to the rather impulsive act of Yan's murder by Song in Zhou's version. As Geng put it:

A chance happening puts them at loggerheads with each other, simply because they have different goals and motives in life. The contradictions intensify and lead to the inevitable tragic end.³¹⁴

6.3.2 The innovative guided demonstration

Compared to the revision of traditional plays, which could still be viewed as somehow building on the mainland preservative approach of the 1980s, the other kind of production by the Jingkun Theatre, guided demonstration, comes across as a local invention. Since the first presentation in 1997, Tang has been bringing this production to primary and secondary schools, universities, and other communities, and they are still doing so regularly. In the following I will make a detailed description of the full process of a guided demonstration. According to Tang, she added some minor refinements to the production throughout these years, for example to the choice of excerpts being performed and the order of items in the

³¹² *The House of Wulong* has won the *Prix Special du Jury* (Special Jury Prize) in the Third Festival of Traditional Chinese Opera in Paris in 2007.

³¹³ This fashion of character setting was popular in Peking Opera plays in the early twentieth century. See *Wenhui Bao*, 11 January 2014.

³¹⁴ Geng Tianyuan, translated by [anonymous]. "Gaibian yu Daoyan de Hua" 改編與導演的話 [Message from the Script-editor and Director], in the programme booklet of *The House of Wulong*, performed by the Jingkun Theatre and the Shandong Peking Opera Theatre. 30 January 2008.

production, but the overall flow and style remained unchanged from what I observed in her earlier productions during the course of my earlier fieldwork, from 2008 to 2010.

A guided demonstration is different from a conventional performance of traditional Chinese theatre in various ways. First of all, the demonstration is structured in four parts, one for each of the four main role types in Peking Opera. In each part, the typical performing style of the role type in question is highlighted, together with the related technical knowledge. This content is demonstrated through the live performance of excerpts and the digital projection of pictures. A demonstration is hosted by Tang and Geng as Masters of Ceremonies (MCs). Their main function is to talk the audience through the demonstration with verbal introductions prior to and during each item.

A guided demonstration begins with a very brief introduction to the history of Peking Opera by the two MCs. At the moment when they introduce the role type system, four performers representing the four main role types come on stage dressed up so as to give the audience a visual impression of how the role types typically appear. After clearing the stage, the first part focuses on the martial clown role. After a few words by the MCs, the performer comes on stage and performs an excerpt as the character Sun Wukong 孫悟空 in the “monkey plays,”³¹⁵ which showcases his characteristic acrobatic skills in somersaulting. The second half of this part focuses on the civil clown role, in which the performer performs a short excerpt as the character Benwu 本無, the monk in *Longing for the Mortal World, Escaping from the Temple* (*Sifan, Xiashan* 思凡, 下山), showcasing his skill in Buddhist necklace tricks. For example, he swings the necklace with his hands, throws it up high and catches it with his neck. (Figure 6.3) The second part features the female role. Here the MCs first talk about the highly stylized characteristics of Peking Opera and the skill of mimicry as the major representation of such stylistic performance. Then the female role performer will perform an excerpt from *Picking Up the Jade Bracelet* (*Shi Yuzhuo* 拾玉鐲), in which she demonstrates the mimicking of sewing and feeding chickens.

The next role type to be introduced is the martial male role. Both sub-types, namely the lightly-suited (*duanda wusheng* 短打武生) and the battle-gearred (*changkao wusheng* 長靠武生), are presented. The former only has a brief appearance here probably because he will reappear in the last item, while the latter is given some time to perform. Before the performer plays a skit from *The Little Shang River* (*Xiaoshang He* 小商河), the MCs will first take some time interacting with the audience on interesting facts about Peking Opera costumes. For example, they may discuss the materials that the fake beard is made of. This will be followed by the fourth part that focuses on the painted face role and the related knowledge about face painting. The MCs first introduce various color tones in the face painting tradition of Peking Opera and their characteristic associations. This presentation is accompanied by the projection of visual pictures. Then a painted face role performer demonstrates performing

³¹⁵ In Peking Opera there are several traditional plays that feature Sun Wukong the Monkey King. These plays are collectively called “monkey plays.”

conventions of the role type with an excerpt from *The Sunny Mansion* (*Yanyang Lou* 艷陽樓).

After these topical introductions to role types and technical knowledge in Peking Opera, the guided demonstration concludes with two longer excerpts so as to give the audience an idea of how an actual play would be performed. The first is the excerpt “Autumn River” from the Kunqu Opera play *The Jade Hairpin* (*Yuzan Ji* 玉簪記). The play dramatizes the romance between a scholar, Pan Bizheng, and a nun, Chen Miaochang, who meet in the White Cloud Convent. The story tells that Pan is forced by his aunt, who is the head of the convent, to leave the convent for the imperial exam after she has discovered his affair with Chen. Pan is in such a hurry that he cannot even say goodbye to Chen. By the time Chen finds out that Pan has left, Pan has already crossed a river. In the excerpt that is performed during the guided demonstration, Chen rushes to the riverside and tries to hire a boat to cross the river so she can see Pan one last time. This excerpt features the stylized simulation of a boat ride by a female role performer as Chen and a clown role performer as the boatman; the two mimic, for instance, the bobbing of the boat when Chen tries to get on and while the boatman is negotiating a rushing river (Figure 6.4).

The second excerpt is a martial arts excerpt from the Peking Opera play *Crossroads* (*Sanchakou* 三岔口). In the story, the main antagonist, Ren Huitang, is on a mission to secretly protect Jiao Zan, a Song dynasty general who was charged with a murder and sentenced to exile. Ren follows the escort to an inn at *sanchakou* (literally ‘crossroads’), where the latter plans to stay for the night. The story tells that a misunderstanding emerges between Ren and Liu Lihua, the inn owner. Liu has the mistaken impression that Ren intends to kill Jiao Zan. Because of this, Liu sneaks into Ren’s room at night and tries to kill him. The martial arts excerpt that is demonstrated is this “fight in a dark night.” In the excerpt, the reappearing *duanda wusheng* performer as Ren and a martial clown role performer as Liu mimic a fight in a completely dark room, through their stylized movements and fighting moves. For example, at the beginning, both Ren and Liu stretched out their arms moving around on stage, indicating that they are “searching” for their opponents in the dark. In addition to the stylized performance, this excerpt also showcases the fighting and acrobatic skills of the two performers (Figure 6.5).



Figure 6.3. The civil clown role performing in a guided demonstration. (Photo by Jingkun Theatre, 2015)



Figure 6.4. The comprehensive excerpt of “Autumn River”. (Photo by Jingkun Theatre, 2015)



Figure 6.5. The comprehensive excerpt of *Crossroads*. (Photo by Jingkun Theatre, 2015)

6.3.3 Motivation behind the local invention

Questions arise about the numerous choices made by Tang and Geng in the making of a guided demonstration. Why do they choose to cover these particular technical aspects over so many others? Why do they choose to perform particular excerpts to showcase these technical aspects? And, fundamentally, why is there a need for guided demonstration? Tang has answered this last question from the perspective of audience building, as she believes that providing the audience with an emotional and sensory first experience, rather than a theoretical introduction, is the best way to advance local reception of the genre. In other words, she hopes that her audience's first experience watching Peking Opera would leave them hungry for more. From this perspective, she considers guided demonstrations the best form to achieve her objective.

In my view, Tang's objective to give her audience a pleasant first encounter with Peking Opera could also be interpreted as an attempt to change the perceptions of the public, especially of the new generation, who tend to regard traditional Chinese theatre as slow, difficult and boring. Understanding this makes it easier to understand the presentational choices she made in the demonstration. Firstly, the separate parts that make up a guided demonstration are short and scheduled tightly. None is longer than ten minutes, including the introductory talk as well as the actual performance, and this even holds for the last two comprehensive excerpts. Secondly, the main content is delivered in an interactive fashion with occasional multi-media presentations, which is not possible in conventional performances. This stimulates the audience's reception of information. Thirdly, aspects covered are all visually centered – acrobatic skills, mimicry, costumes, and face painting. In other words, the audience is presented with a visually oriented experience of Peking Opera. In my view, this is more appealing than aural and textual stimulations.

In addition, the audience's experience is further enhanced by Tang and Geng's flexibility during demonstrations. Firstly, as the MCs, they do not have a fixed script. Rather, they always improvise their speeches according to the age of the group members and the educational level of the audience. For example, if the demonstration is held in a primary school, where the audience is expected to have shorter attention spans and limited tolerance for long and difficult explanations, they will only touch on the very basics of the aspects in question; they will also interact more directly with the audience by frequently asking questions, so as to maintain the audience's attention. In contrast, if they are giving a demonstration at a university, where the audience is expected to be more intellectual, Tang and Geng will go deeper into theoretical aspects and provide more contextual information.

Moreover, on occasion they even work their way out of bureaucratic requirements that would hamper their effectiveness. For example, on one occasion, the Jingkun Theatre was running a series of guided demonstrations in primary schools with the funding from the ADC. The ADC required the troupe to design a worksheet and circulate it as an assignment to the students when they are watching the show. According to Tang, she and Geng thought that this requirement would distract the audience from focusing on the show. They also thought giving an assignment along with the show would contribute to giving the audience a negative first impression not only of the show itself but also of Peking Opera. Therefore, they set only very

easy questions on the worksheet and never distributed it to the audience prior to or during the demonstration.

In sum, every element in a guided demonstration – from the choice of topics and excerpts to the tight structure of the flow, and from the interactive nature to resistance to bureaucratic requirements – serves the same purpose: to give the audience a first impression of Peking Opera as a breath-taking and visually appealing traditional art form.

6.4 Guided demonstration on the Chinese mainland: the periphery impacting the core

On the one hand, the invention of guided demonstrations made an impact on local society by offering Hong Kong audiences a distinctive form to engage with a traditional theatrical genre. On the other hand, it also made an impact on the presentational trend of Peking Opera on the mainland. This is particularly interesting if we consider the mainland and Hong Kong in a relationship of “core” and “periphery” in terms of how popular and rich in history Peking Opera is in these two places. In other words, my case is significant because it shows that influence is not a one-directional phenomenon, and the periphery has also “reversely” influenced the core. In the following, I will show how mainland performers learned about the idea of guided demonstration in the first place, and how they appropriated the idea into their own use in advancing the reception of Peking Opera by new generations of mainland Chinese.

6.4.1 Mainland-Hong Kong collaboration in the making of guided demonstrations

Although a guided demonstration requires fewer personnel than a conventional performance, the small number of Peking Opera professionals in Hong Kong still posed a problem to Tang and Geng. Similar to YCOC, they have dealt with it by collaborating with mainland troupes. Thanks to Geng’s personal relations with the Shandong Peking Opera Theatre (SPOT) also after his departure in 1997, the partnership between the Jingkun Theatre and the SPOT developed well, and the SPOT became the exclusive partner of every guided demonstration project since 1997.

In the period from 1997 to 2015, the team of performers and musicians in every project completed was comprised entirely of members from the SPOT, with the exception of Tang and Geng as the two MCs. The roster includes six performers and an ensemble of around six musicians. According to Geng, the SPOT would first form a team a few months prior to the first show of a project. Then Tang and Geng would let the SPOT know which particular play they would need performed by each performer, and how long they would need for each play (notably, the repertoire has remained the same for many years). Team members would then rehearse at their base in Jinan, the home of the SPOT, without Tang and Geng’s supervision. After several initial rehearsals by the team, Tang and Geng would visit the SPOT and work on refinements with them. As Tang recalled, since the repertoire was mostly signature plays of respective role types, performers usually had no problem mastering them; thus, refinements mostly involved tightening plot development. At the end they would travel to Hong Kong and perform.

So what has contributed to the solidity of their collaboration? For the Jingkun Theatre, why did they only work with the SPOT but not with any other mainland troupe? And for the SPOT, is there any incentive, other than their connection with Geng, which led to the troupe's frequent engagements with this Hong Kong troupe? On the one hand, I would submit that it was Geng's personal relationship with the SPOT, which was based on his history with them and knowledge about them, that put the Jingkun Theatre into an exclusive partnership with the SPOT for guided demonstration projects. According to Geng, the sense of seriousness displayed by the SPOT was the main reason for this collaboration. For example, they would make the project their top priority in their annual plans. They would have their best performers and musicians assigned to the project, and, when there were time clashes, they would give priority to this over other tasks. Besides, the SPOT demonstrated eagerness in engaging in this collaboration especially in terms of finances; they were reasonable in negotiations over remuneration and flexible in arrangements, such as meals and accommodation, during their stay in Hong Kong.

On the other hand, in addition to personal relationships, the cultural policy on Peking Opera by the PRC government has also indirectly encouraged the SPOT to work with the Hong Kong troupe. The agenda of the sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2002 included the identification of several National Key Peking Opera Troupes (*guojia zhongdian jingju yuantuan* 國家重點京劇院團). In 2006, the Ministry of Culture of the PRC finalized a list of eleven troupes, including the SPOT.³¹⁶ According to an official announcement regarding the evaluation method and criterion published by the Ministry of Culture, these key troupes would enjoy substantial government funding. At the same time, they had to maintain a certain standard in terms of artistic achievement, finance, and marketing in order to keep their Key Troupe status, which would be re-evaluated every three years.³¹⁷

Particularly in the realm of artistic achievement, these troupes must meet quantitative requirements that can be roughly categorized according to three aspects: production of performing activities, creation of new plays, and completion of "external cultural exchange" events (*duiwai wenhua jiaoliu* 對外文化交流).³¹⁸ The third aspect is particularly important in my discussion as, according to Geng, it proved the most challenging for many of the key troupes, since opportunities for performance invitations from outside the Chinese mainland were rare. However, as Hong Kong was regarded as external for this purpose, the SPOT could easily fulfill this requirement with their constant collaborations with the Jingkun Theatre. Moreover, the collaborations between Jingkun Theatre and the SPOT was not only limited to local projects of the former. For example, the SPOT members formed the main rosters in Jingkun Theatre's award-winning performance in the Third Festival of Traditional Chinese Opera in Paris in 2007, as well as several guided demonstration projects held in Australia in the 2000s; and these indirect overseas engagements were also taken in account by the PRC

³¹⁶ Anonymous 2006: 1.

³¹⁷ Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, 2005

³¹⁸ *ibid.*

Ministry of Culture in their evaluation of the SPOT's Key Troupe status. Moreover, the PRC government has adopted another policy in recent years, namely "Peking Opera on campus" (*jingju jin xiaoyuan* 京劇進校園). According to this policy, mainland troupes are expected to organize Peking Opera activities in schools as a means to facilitate reception of the genre by the new generation Chinese. By participating in guided demonstrations that were usually held in primary or secondary schools – even though this was in Hong Kong – the SPOT could fulfill this requirement, which led to extra funding from the PRC government.³¹⁹

In sum, in addition to the personal relationships between the two troupes, practical reasons also contributed to their exclusive partnership. The Jingkun Theatre could conduct guided demonstration projects on a smaller budget, and the SPOT could fulfill the PRC government's requirements and secure a constant source of funding.

6.4.2 Appropriating guided demonstration on the Chinese mainland

Even as the "national drama," changing patterns of cultural consumption and new technologies and new modes of entertainment in the twenty-first century are inevitably challenging the traditional Peking Opera. As Li Ruru points out, despite the booming budget for mainland troupes to stage performances – thanks to the fast-growing economy in the post-Mao era – the reality of Peking Opera is "perilous."³²⁰ The old generation of spectators is aging, and the genre is failing to attract younger generations. Thus, its popularization has become a major task that mainland troupes are facing. In section 6.2.1, I discussed the notable production of "contemporary" plays in the mainland Peking Opera market of the 1990s, and I submit that this phenomenon resulted from attempts by mainland troupes to address the issue of popularization by experimenting with forms that, in their eyes, suited the taste of younger generations. The parallel emergence of audience-building campaigns and the production of contemporary plays were truly remarkable in the 1990s mainland circuit. For example, the Shanghai Peking Opera Theatre has completed two audience-building programmes since 1996. These campaigns have resulted in two new productions: *The Upright Official Yu Chenglong* (*Lianli Yu Chenglong* 廉吏于成龍, 2002), a play based on a historical tale, and *Notre Dame* (*Shengmuyuan* 聖母院, 2008), an adaptation of Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*.³²¹

Nevertheless, one should note that these new contemporary plays have shown only innovations in the performing practices of Peking Opera. To a certain degree, Peking Opera on the mainland was still rigid in limiting itself to the form of conventional performances.³²² Even if any sort of lecture was observed, for example in educational activities, it was isolated from the performance – by contrast, lectures in a guided demonstration are an organic part of

³¹⁹ Here, the PRC government's ambiguity regarding whether they regard Hong Kong as "inside" or "outside" China in various circumstances is noted. Since this is not relevant to the main scope of discussion, I do not intend to address this issue deeply here.

³²⁰ Li 2012: 131-32.

³²¹ *ibid.* 132. This is a very interesting issue, but unfortunately I do not have any information at this moment to discuss the connection between the two Peking Opera adaptations of the same Western novel, one by a Hong Kong troupe and the other by a mainland troupe.

³²² Here, I define conventional performance as performance in which plays or excerpts are acted out without interruptions by non-theatrical components, with the obvious exception of intermissions.

the whole performance. As Zheng Shaohua 鄭少華, the head of the SPOT and a professional performer since the 1980s, recalls from his own experience, there was nothing like guided demonstration on the mainland before the idea was brought there from Hong Kong.³²³ From this perspective, the innovation of guided demonstration was significant in the development of Peking Opera beyond Hong Kong itself.

Being the sole partner and the major task force of every guided demonstration in Hong Kong since 1997, the SPOT first appropriated this idea into a version of their own in 2001. Named “Chinese Peking Opera with Explanation” (*you jiangjie de Zhongguo jingju* 有講解的中國京劇), the troupe staged this production in its tours in South Korea and Japan for the years 2001 to 2004 (Figure 6.6). According to Zheng, the SPOT’s version of guided demonstration basically followed the structure of the Jingkun Theatre’s version. Two MCs were present, one who spoke Mandarin and the other spoke whom the local language (i.e., Korean or Japanese), and they were responsible for talking the audience through the whole programme with verbal introductions to the various theatrical elements of Peking Opera in between excerpts. The choice of excerpts, however, was a bit different. While keeping “The Autumn River” and *Crossroads* from the Jingkun Theatre’s version, the SPOT’s version added a number of comprehensive excerpts highlighting dance sequences by the female role characters. This repertoire included *The Favorite Concubine Becomes Intoxicated*, *Farewell My Concubine* (*Bawang Bieji* 霸王別姬), and *Wang Zhaojun Leaving China* (*Zhaojun Chusai* 昭君出塞). In my view, this inclination to favor physical performance may well have originated in a concern for the incomprehensibility of Peking Opera to foreign audiences due to language barriers. Moreover, the musical element in Peking Opera was also introduced in the SPOT’s version; for example, a separate item would be allocated to the ensemble for a performance of a few fixed tunes (*qupai* 曲牌) (Figure 6.7).

Having set up a structure of their own version of guided demonstration, the SPOT not only continued to bring the production on its overseas tours, but also started staging this on the mainland in the late 2000s as another response to the PRC government’s “Peking Opera on campus” policy, in addition to its work in Hong Kong.³²⁴ The troupe kept the dance excerpts alongside the topical items concerning role types, which made the whole performance longer. Facing an audience that could be considered culturally more homogeneous, the troupe also made the verbal explanations more sophisticated. For example, when the MCs talked about the indicative function of the various kinds of fake beards, they would go further than the usual black and white beards and touch on some very specific ones such as the “three-willow” beard (*sanliu hu* 三柳鬚). Lectures on performing styles and manners of various role types also went deeper than that in the Jingkun Theatre’s version. In regard to differences in the explanations for the Hong Kong and mainland versions, Geng sees this from a social perspective. In his opinion, being the core region of the genre, Peking Opera was still more visible to younger generations of mainland Chinese than it was to Hong Kong locals. The influences of the grandparents’ generation, who mostly grew up with traditional

³²³ Zheng Shaohua (interview, 24 November 2015).

³²⁴ Under this policy, SPOT also conducted more orthodox after-curriculum classes in local primary schools.

Chinese theatre, and having a national television channel dedicated to it (China Central Television Channel 11) are still effective nowadays to a certain degree. With their greater familiarity with Peking Opera, children on the mainland need more than the basics. He explained this with a comparison:

This is like explaining to children in Hong Kong “what is a car?” They have been learning about cars since birth because they have one at home. You have to go further than telling them “this is the wheel and this is the steering wheel.” Peking Opera is like this for children on the mainland. So it may not work if you just take the guided demonstration to the mainland completely unchanged. You have to adjust, say, by giving more detailed explanations on technical terms and performing practices.³²⁵

As a matter of fact, the idea of guided demonstration is still new to the mainland, and conventional, straightforward performance is still the major mode of presentation in educational activities among mainland Peking Opera troupes. Nevertheless, Zheng Shaohua is optimistic about the development of this new mode on the mainland, as he highly values the interactive nature of guided demonstration as a big advantage over orthodox performance:

I think the idea of guided demonstration is very good, and I believe that it is the only solution at this moment. It is because it is a face-to-face interaction, which offers the children a zero-distance engagement with Peking Opera. This will raise their interest more effectively ... Of course it is impossible for them to know everything about Peking Opera with only one performance, but it serves as an enlightener to raise their curiosity. With this curiosity, they will be willing to learn. I believe that their positive reception of Peking Opera can be built up this way.³²⁶

Moreover, to the SPOT, guided demonstrations in local schools and in public were also occasions for them to look for new talents. Zheng told me about a child who first became acquainted with Peking Opera in a guided demonstration. Having first had his interest peaked, he joined the extra-curricular class. Eventually, he participated in a local competition for junior amateur performers and won. This motivated him to join a professional training school, and he went on to become a professional performer. In other words, the guided demonstration also helped the SPOT with their task, as a National Key Peking Opera Troupes, in training new professionals.

³²⁵ Geng Tianyuan (interview, 25 July 2014).

³²⁶ Zheng Shaohua. (interview, 24 November 2015).

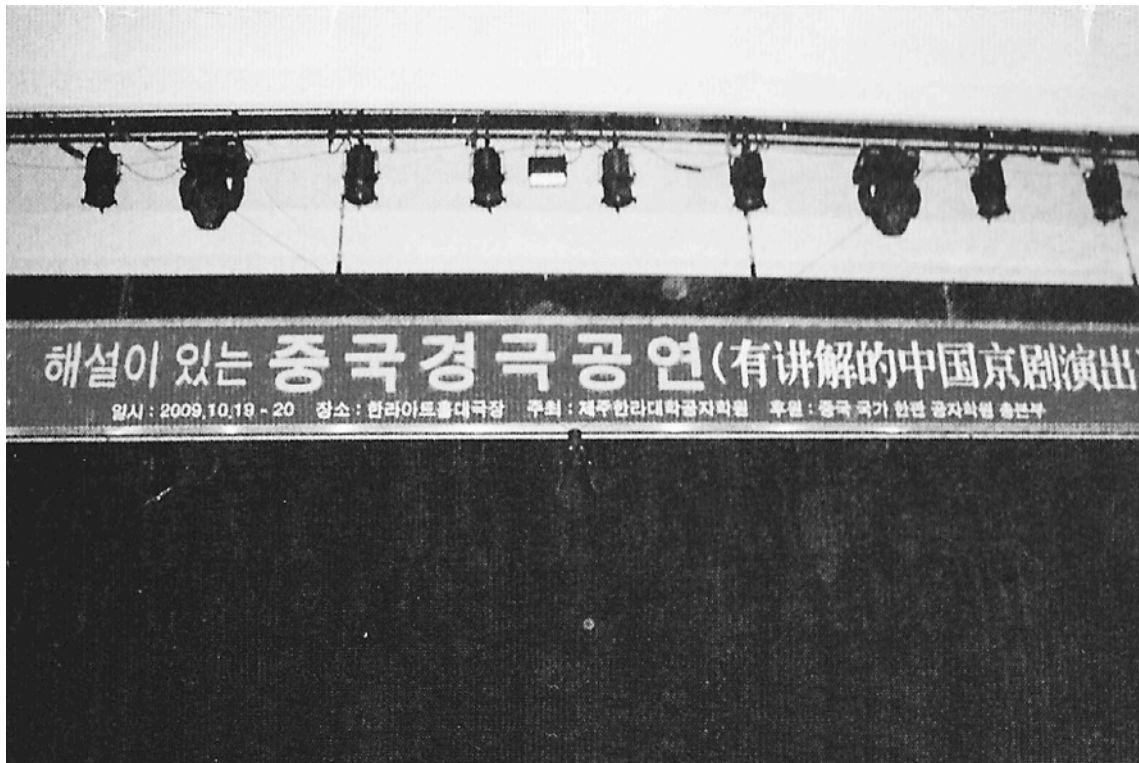


Figure 6.6. The “Chinese Peking Opera with Explanation” performance in the SPOT tour to South Korea. (Photo by SPOT, 2009)



Figure 6.7. SPOT’s ensemble performing Peking Opera music in the performance. (Photo by SPOT, 2009)

6.5 Teaching activities of Jingkun Theatre

In addition to performances of traditional plays and guided demonstrations, the Jingkun Theatre has also been organizing short-term courses of varied Peking Opera skills. These courses are in many ways similar to those organized by the YCOC: they share similar course design (class frequency and duration, etc.) and pedagogy; and they have similar demographics of students in terms of gender and age. Nevertheless, while the YCOC focuses mainly on local communities, the Jingkun Theatre demonstrates a wider spectrum of target groups, which also includes university students.

Due to the small personnel setting of the troupe, Tang and Geng have to adopt some labour-saving measures in their teaching activities. Firstly, courses are organized in the same period as the guided demonstrations. As such, the SPOT members who perform in the guided demonstrations can also teach the courses. Secondly, recorded music is used as accompaniment in singing courses, so that the troupe does not have to spend extra money for musicians. Thirdly, there is the use of numbered notation in singing courses. This mainland convention is different from the common use of *gongchi* 工尺 notation – a notation system that uses Chinese characters to indicate musical pitches – in Cantonese Opera learning in Hong Kong.

6.6 Conclusion

As a local-born Peking Opera performer who chose to develop her career in the cultural periphery, Tang Yuen-ha's negotiation between national(izing) discourse and local identity is intriguing. In her early career, as a *mainland* performer who happened to be a Hong Kong citizen, she followed the mainstream, mainland discourse and trends; her experiences were based mainly on the mainland; she produced a few positively acclaimed contemporary plays; and she even won national recognition through the Plum Blossom Prize. After Tang received the prize, some mainland critics even proclaimed the birth of “Peking Opera in Guangdong style” (*Guangpai jingju* 廣派京劇).³²⁷ To me, this anecdote only reaffirms the mainland's self-proclaimed superior position as the locus of the essential core of the genre – “You are doing my art in your style.” Moreover, the use of “Guangdong” instead of “Hong Kong”, despite Tang's background and citizenship, further implies a questionable vision of Hong Kong. Hong Kong, from this perspective, becomes the periphery of the periphery.

Nevertheless, as Tang has focused her career more in Hong Kong since the 1990s, such cultural distance between the core and periphery has provided her with some space to navigate back to her local identity. With her revisiting of traditional plays and, more significantly, the innovation of guided demonstration, Tang has re-positioned herself as a *Hong Kong* performer, who is searching for a local way to present the genre. The invention of guided demonstration, in this sense, is a local response to the national discourse on Peking Opera.

Moreover, through the partnership between the Jingkun Theatre and the SPOT, the significance of guided demonstrations has traveled back to the core of the discourse on Peking

³²⁷ Tang Yuen-ha (interview, 25 July 2014).

Opera as a national genre. It became a source of inspiration to Peking Opera on the mainland in response to the new cultural consumption patterns that have developed in the twenty-first century. Ashley Thorpe argues that Peking Opera displayed a notable “multiplicity” since the turn of the twentieth century, with its variety of geographical and personal styles, as well as numerous experimentation and innovations; and that such multiplicity is essential for Peking Opera to keep itself relevant to the contemporary world. In this light, the creation of guided demonstration and its travel from Hong Kong to the mainland can further be viewed as another chapter of Peking Opera’s story of survival.³²⁸

This is not to say that guided demonstration is the panacea to the endangerment of the genre, and the production of guided demonstrations still raises some problems. For example, it has been noted that the repertoire of the SPOT’s version has a tendency to highlight feminine dance sequences and physical spectacles. Would this reaffirm the argument, made by both Daphne Lei and Thorpe, that traditional Chinese theatre, when exported, or in a diaspora setting, or in (metaphorical) exile – i.e. transported from its traditional cultural habitat to a modernity in which it does not automatically have pride of place – tends to self-Orientalize itself as feminine and visually oriented?³²⁹ Similarly, the Jingkun Theatre’s version also has focused heavily on highlighting the mimicry nature of Peking Opera’s performance. Would this imbalance in programming, that ignores the complexity and sophistication of its music and vocal production, in turn affect the perceptions of an audience that has an incomplete understanding of Peking Opera? Thorpe may offer an answer from the perspective of Chinese foreign economic policy: this imbalance might just be what British audiences wanted from traditional Chinese theatre, and the critics preferred it over more experimental, contemporary plays. And the Chinese cultural authorities simply gave them what they wanted, in the name of cultural exchange, with the aim to gain material or political benefits in return.³³⁰ Or is this question irrelevant to the work of the two troupes, and should they be saluted for taking the more spectacular elements of Peking Opera and repackaging them through innovative presentation, in order to help increase Peking Opera’s chances of survival?

³²⁸ Thorpe 2011b.

³²⁹ See Lei 2006 and Thorpe 2016.

³³⁰ Thorpe 2016: 201-202.

