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this process, the traditionalized performance has changed from ritual, enlightenment and ethnics to entertainment, aesthetics and commerce, and its emotional cultural foundation has been continuously removed, showing the collision, understanding and dialogue with the modern "re-contextualization".

Keywords: Traditionalized, Intangible cultural heritage, Cultural change

Introduction

Changsha Huaguxi has gone through the stages of Dihuang, tour Huaguxi, rural vocational troupe and urban vocational troupe. In the 40 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Huaguxi gradually entered a glorious period, and professional troupes were set up in various places to perform in urban theaters (Huang Sai, 2011). However, strongly impacted by the multiculturalism, scientific and technological development and market economy since 1990s, the development of Huaguxi began to face more difficulties and gradually lost its glory (Yang Heping, 2019). In 2009, Hunan Provincial People's Government listed Changsha Huaguxi as a provincial intangible cultural heritage. In 2011, it was listed as the third batch of national intangible cultural heritage representative projects, which represented the government's determination of protecting local Xiqu culture from central to local, and under state presence. With the advancement of intangible cultural heritage project, Changsha Huaguxi has chosen a path of "intangible cultural heritage". Influenced by the field of watching and performing, its cultural space and ecology are constantly evolving. In the synchronic field, Huaguxi has gone through the process of reproduction, and its internal and external cultures have been constantly interrelated and interwoven with the power-culture, which profoundly affected the changes and development of culture. From the performance space, Huaguxi has gone through from the folk entertainment-based performance to the protection and inheritance performance under state presence. As a cultural capital in the power field, Changsha Huaguxi has changed from the recessive folk capital to the capital supported by the state, and the traditional culture constructed by it has demonstrated a multi-meaning cultural landscape in the diversified modern field.



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As a kind of tradition, intangible cultural heritage carries and belongs to many specific cultural systems or contexts, which cannot be separated from the comprehensive nurturing of this cultural soil. The inheritance of intangible cultural heritage shall be the comprehensive inheritance of technology and cultural context, rather than the inheritance of removing and non-sustainability. The comprehensive cultural, social and historical context it bears or depends on for its inheritance need to take root and be passed on (Zhao Shufeng, whose "intangible cultural heritage"? --Rethinking the Inheritance and Dissemination of Chinese Traditional Music and Dance "Intangible Cultural Heritage", 2021). When Changsha Huaguxi is empowered with a new context and becomes a heritage consumer goods and is performed in cultural tourism festivals, intangible cultural exhibition halls and other fields, aesthetic standards are often mostly stressed on, and performance time and content are reduced. Audiences pay more attention to whether the performer's voice is beautiful, the costume is exquisite, or the appearance of the performer is handsome, etc. This is not only a subjectivity replacement of performance culture, but also a traditionalized performance. With the deepening of the protection of intangible cultural heritage, the dispute between "inheritance" and "improvement" is emerging in the protection and inheritance of many intangible cultural heritage projects. The performance spaces of Changsha Huaguxi in this paper are performing and displaying. When Huaguxi becomes an ornamental performance, the core is not only the stage in different places and different forms of performances, but also the sustainability and benign tradition and development reflected between audiences and performers. Taking Changsha Huaguxi as an example, this paper has interpreted this argument, and further interpreted the "improvement" of the traditional performance of intangible cultural heritage.

Research purpose

This paper has elaborated the changes of performance behavior and culture of Changsha Huaguxi in the actual performance field.



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Research method

The paper has used long-term field observation statistics, sampling interviews, etc. In the field investigation, it mainly focused on the audiences and performers of Changsha Huaguxi Protection and Inheritance Center in the tourism culture field.

1. Data collection

The data of Changsha Huaguxi in this paper were mainly from the annual survey report of official statistical agencies (such as China Internet Network Information Center) and the data of major Internet providers and important portal websites. As for the global level, the data were mainly from the existing research of foreign scholars and the annual reports of some international statistical agencies. The main data about the performance of Changsha Huaguxi were from relevant management departments and the author's on-site statistics.

Data was collected from August 26th, 2020 to March 15th, 2021.

2. Research tool

2.1 Interview table

Observation, data statistics and interviews were used as the main tools to collect data (Table 1). Professional actors and inheritors were interviewed to mainly understand the morphological characteristics and behavior patterns of Changsha Huaguxi under the background of "intangible cultural heritage" and the reasons behind it.

Table 1

SN	Time	Location	Respondents/subjects	3.3 Research method	Purpose	3.4 Data Analysis
1	August 27, September 2, 2020, etc.	Changsha Huaguxi Protection and Inheritance Center	Ding Chenghuan (leader, Xiaosheng) Wen Jun (Huadan, municipal inheritor)	Interview Observation Literature	To understand the personnel structure and history of the protection and inheritance of Changsha	Description and analysis



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SN	Time	Location	Respondents/subjects	3.3 Research method	Purpose	3.4 Data Analysis
					Huaguxi, and to analyze the morphological characteristics and behavior of the performance	
2	October 4, 2020	Huayi Movie Town	Ding Chenghuan	Interview Observation Literature	To understand the form characteristics and behavior of Changsha Huaguxi in cultural tourism industry	Description and analysis
3	October 8, 2020	Theatre of Changsha Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition Hall	Wen Jun	Interview Observation Literature	To understand the performance characteristics and behavior of Changsha Huaguxi in the "Intangible Cultural Heritage" exhibition hall	Description and analysis



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2.2 Observation table

1) The paper has set two questions and two observation tables as follows:

Question 1: What is the situation of participants in the performance field?

Question 2: What are the regular plays? How many people watch the performance? (Tables 2 and 3)

Analysis: 1. There are 79 people in Changsha Huaguxi Protection and Inheritance Center, including 57 performers, most of whom are young actors;

2) Plays mainly include traditional Xiaoxi and Zhezixi, which are popular.

Table 2

Statistical table of performers of Changsha Huaguxi	
Role	Number of persons
Band	16
Stage art	12
Sheng	9 (one of them is cross gender performer)
Dan	16
Jing	None
Chou	4
Total number of incumbents	79 (including administrative staff)

Statistical time: August 27, 2020

Location: Changsha Huaguxi Protection and Inheritance Center



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Table 3

SN	Time	Location	Plays	Total number of people
1	September 2, 2020	Tiantai Road, Huoxing Street, Furong District	<i>Song You</i> <i>Gui Zhong Yuan</i>	300
2	September 3, 2020	Chaoyang Street, Furong District	<i>Lan Qiao Hui</i> <i>Cai Kunshan Li Tian</i>	278
3	September 4, 2020	Heishipu Street, Tianxin District	<i>Shu Fang Diao Shu</i> <i>Wu Geng Quan Fu</i>	309
4	September 5, 2020	Binjiang Cultural Park	Musical <i>Liu Hai Kan</i> <i>Jiao</i>	400
5	September 9, 2020	Xingsha Yangmeichong Community	<i>Xi Mu Dan</i> <i>Cai Kunshan Li Tian</i>	285
6	September 10, 2020	Shahe Street Community, Tianxin District	<i>Lan Qiao Hui</i> <i>Gui Zhong Yuan</i>	50
7	September 11, 2020	Jinghua Meidi Xingsha Street, Changsha County	<i>Da Tong Luo</i> <i>Wu Geng Quan Fu</i>	105
8	September 14, 2020	Xingsha Poly Champagne International	<i>Xi Mu Dan</i> <i>Cai Kunshan Li Tian</i>	218
9	September 24, 2020	Xiushan Village, Shashi Town, Liuyang City	<i>Li Ying Guan Hua</i> <i>Mao Guojin Da Tie</i>	300
10	October 4, 2020	Huayi Movie Town	<i>Lan Qiao Hui</i> <i>Wu Geng Quan Fu</i>	48
11	October 8, 2020	Theatre of Changsha Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition Hall	<i>Fly a Kite</i> <i>Gua Zi Hong</i>	493



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SN	Time	Location	Plays	Total number of people
12	November 14, 2020	Theatre of Changsha Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition Hall	<i>Qing Feng Ting Gan Zi</i> <i>Gua Hua</i> <i>Shi Yu Zhuo</i> <i>Pan Fu</i>	136
13	November 15, 2020	Theatre of Changsha Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition Hall	<i>Luo Pa Ji</i> <i>Ren Fu</i> <i>Tan Jian</i> <i>Lan Qiao Hui</i>	267

Data source: statistical table of the performance site of Changsha Huaguxi Protection and Inheritance Center

2.3 Data analysis

This paper has studied the field research of "multi-point ethnography" proposed by Geroge E. Marcus ([US] James Clifford, George E. Marcus. Translated by Gao Bingzhong, Wu Xiaoli, Li Xia, et al., 2017), and has regarded the ethnographic research itself as a knowledge production process with various network operations and extensions. Meanwhile, the paper has presented the occurrence and progressing process of a single event by using case study. In addition, according to the types, this paper has made a generalization and analysis on the basis of many similar cases. The case used in this paper was to study the testimony and interpretation of the performance behavior of Changsha Huaguxi in the same background and different spaces.

Research results

1. The open square stage in drizzle

October 4th, 2020, drizzle. At 1:30 pm, guided by Ding Chenghuan (hereinafter referred to as Ding), the author drove to Huayi Brothers (Changsha) Film Town. It is a newly



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built large-scale film cultural tourism industrial base in Changsha, which has used the Italian style. It is located in the south of Yuelu District of Changsha, adjacent to Xiangjiang River and less than 20 kilometers away from Wuyi Square which is in the center of the city. It is known that the event was a music festival for the cooperation between the government and Huayi, the organizer, on National Day. Taking this kind of "constructed" folk festival as the medium, just as shown in Zhang Yinghua's (Zhang Yinghua, 2020) research on "Local Globalization - Watching and Creating of Miao Folk Festival Music Culture in Qiandongnan autonomous prefecture" that it publicizes the local characteristics of national festival culture, takes the cultural connotation and behavior of ritual and folk music as the resources of cultural capital, and carries out "local social reconstruction" (Yin Caixiang, 2014). Some scholars (Zhang Chao, 2014) believe that this is caused by the gradual change of national cultural identity from emotion-driven primitive theory to interest-driven scene theory. With the transformation of mechanism, the tradition of music culture is traditionalized in contemporary society. The activity space is no longer limited to the traditional public ceremony places, but takes the modern cultural center as its main space, highlighting its symbolic metaphor and realistic appeal of "cultural economy" under state presence. The content of the activity has changed from ritual, enlightenment and ethnics to entertainment, aesthetics and commerce.

After entering the scenic spot, it took us about 5 minutes to get to the performance place. The stage was built in the square in front of the church, which was similar to an ancient square terrace. The terrace was about one meter higher than the ground, and the other three sides of the terrace were equipped with fences. Influenced by the rain, the band could only accompany in the corridor of the building behind the stage. According to records, songs and dances prevailed in Song and Jin Dynasties. Other than the buildings dedicated to performing all kinds of Xiqu, acrobatics, singing and dancing in the city, these open-air stages throughout urban and rural areas were very common. They were either established in temples or in squares in front of temples, which became the main places for Xiqu performances. The characteristics of square Xiqu were as follows: whether it was a place for various plays to compete, a gathering square, or a temple for Xi, this form of performance, which had been passed down since ancient times and performed in empty open squares, required actors to



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exaggerate their movements, volume and expressions, so that audiences, at a certain distance from the performance area, could feel the communication and conflicts of characters, and the expression of characters' emotions. The accompaniment of the band must also be huge gongs and drums to create a passionate situation and atmosphere for the Xi in the outdoor square. (Wang Shaojun, Changes of Opera Performance Places and Evolution of Performance Forms-On the Development of Theater Performance, 2013 (Figure 1) The Xiju stage in front of the author was different from the ancient square terrace, because the actors and bands on the scene had amplification system. Although the performance was in an outdoor square, singing plays could be performed and actors only needed to normally sing and perform.



Figure 1

Location: Huayi Brothers (Changsha) Film Town

Time: October 4, 2020, 13:58

Photographer: Wang Lingdan

The performance in the afternoon started at 13:30, two Zhezixi. Although plays were not restricted because modern stage performances were assisted by sound amplification equipment, the bad weather, however, greatly influenced the plays. The author noticed that other than a few audiences with umbrellas in front of the stage, there were also people



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standing in the eaves of the surrounding buildings. However, it was after all not a comfortable vision for them to watch the play, most of them only watched the play for a few minutes before entering their house. According to statistics, the total number of spectators including the number of flows was less than 50. On the open lawn in front of the stage, there were scattered audiences with umbrellas standing in front of the stage. Sometime there was no audience in front of the stage, but the actors on the stage were not affected by the weather and audience, who still conscientiously performed.

2. Theatre -"Novel Singing pattern of Old Xi" in Crossing

Knowing that Wen Jun would perform in Changsha Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition Hall in Juzizhou, we met on October 8th. Together with the actors, we took the sightseeing bus in Juzizhou Scenic Area to the performance place. All the way along Xiangjiang River, enjoying the breeze, and our eyes were full of mature oranges and grapefruit hanging on trees alongside. About 10 minutes later, we arrived at the entrance of Changsha Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition Hall, which covers an area of 2023 square meters and is divided into main building and auxiliary building. The first floor of the main building is the main exhibition area, and the second floor is the temporary exhibition area for the cultural and creative products. The auxiliary building functions as a theatre, where traditional Xiju, music, folk art and other programs are played. Combining traditional culture with modern science and technology, the exhibition area is an intangible cultural heritage exhibition hall integrating appreciating, playing, learning and reviewing. (Yuan Xin, 2018)

Above the gate of the auxiliary hall of Changsha Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition Hall, there is a plaque with 'Xiyuan' (theatre) written in traditional Chinese characters (Figure 2). Inside the hall, there are some snacks for tourists on the right and the audience seats on the left. It is a traditional theater. The first row of the audience seats are chairs and small square tables. From the second row, there are big wooden square tables and four long benches. Audience can sit around the square tables to watch the play, and the whole audience seats can accommodate about 200 people (Figure 3). This is similar to the hall performance in Ming Dynasty. Most of the common performances were carried out in halls.



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The small space and close-distance performance in halls made the performances graceful, and performers focused on the emotional communication between characters and the beauty and conciseness of dance figures. (Wang Shaojun, Changes of Opera Performance Places and Evolution of Performance Forms-On the Development of Theater Performance, 2013). There are two performances, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, each of which lasts for one hour. Besides her Huaguxi, there are also Xiang Ju, Changsha Tanci, Jingju Face Changing and Xiang Sheng. Such multi-type, fast-paced and fragmented performances aim at better promoting the audience's recognition of Chinese traditional culture, as well as meeting the needs of contemporary tourism culture industry. As Giddens believes, tradition controls time and space, while past, present and future are constructed by repeated social practices. ([UK] Anthony Giddens, 2011)



Figure 3

Shooting Location: Changsha Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition Hall - Auxilliary Theatre

Time: October 8, 2020, 11:15

Photographer: Wang Lingdan

According to records, Zaju flourished in Song and Yuan Dynasties, and the front and back stage forms of theatres had also existed in Zaju. The showing up or leaving of characters were represented by greetings with music, or jumping in and out with dance, or singing with



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songs. The change of Xiju environment, the development of events, the changes of characters' personality and destiny are all quietly done in this transformation between the front and back stage. The most obvious artistic function of showing up and leaving of the characters is the freedom of time and space transformation. (Wang Shaojun, *Changes of Opera Performance Places and Evolution of Performance Forms-On the Development of Theater Performance*, 2013). At present, however, the performances of scenic spots have not only been adjusted in the repertoire, which are mainly composed of Xiao Xi, Zhezi Xi or popular aria, but also the forms of some Huaguxi have been omitted. For example, after singing the first aria, Wen Jun did not leave the stage. He played the role of host, directly introducing his next performance, and began his performance when the accompaniment started. As professor Zhao Shufeng said: "Influenced by the "intangible cultural heritage" movement, local governments have reconstructed folk culture. Music context, performance pattern and content have been invented and recreated. All these moves are to meet the needs of diversified aesthetic context. With the convergence of historical accumulation and audiences (or forming a certain cultural cognitive "consensus"), these have become new local cultural traditions". (Zhao Shufeng, 2020)

Summary and discussion

Cultural change is an important concept and theoretical basis of anthropology and sociology that fits with this research topic. For cultural change, culture is often clearly divided into "past" and "present", which belongs to Heidegger's path of dividing culture by time ([German] Heidegger, translated by Chen Jiaying & Wang Qingjie, 1999). But in the process of time passing and things changing, the boundaries between the past and the present are not very clear, and they are often mixed together. Radcliffe-Brown proposed in "The Social Anthropological Method" that to find the laws of cultural change, both synchronic research and diachronic research must be emphasized. From a diachronic perspective, the traditional spirit is constantly changing in the flow, leading to the modern renewal and inheritance of culture. After the Changsha Huaguxi became an intangible cultural artifact, it went through a series of obvious cultural changes. The government and businesses have both been interested in it, too. The emotional and cultural foundation of these performing arts has been



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continuously removed, and they are becoming more secular and entertaining, especially as they become more sensory in space. In the field of cultural change, the inside and outside of culture are always linked and intertwined with the power of cultural discourse. In a considerable sense, the lively, beautiful scenes, open, gorgeous or humble stage, flash lamps, large and small microphones, speakers, colorful screen shots, and the praise from the official media, all of these have become the points that the intangible cultural heritage of artistic performances have to pay attention to from time to time. This further makes these performances urbanized, artistic and refined. Certainly, they have also been standardized, meaningless and changed. However, what is really recognized by the audience and constantly staged is still the classic plays handed down from several generations. When over-changed and excessively stage-oriented intangible cultural heritage of performing arts are staged in today's urban civilization and ever-changing lifestyle, the evolution and inheritance relationship between intangible cultural heritage movement and traditional music have become complicated. How to make these performances originated from pre-industrial civilization recognized by modern audiences? How to effectively transform traditional culture from cultural capital to economic capital? It can be seen that all "de-contextualized" intangible cultural heritage of performances have to face this dilemma, which is also a problem worthy of our long-term study.

Recommendations

To enable this kind of traditionalized intangible cultural heritage of performance to be truly transformed into economic capital as cultural capital, it is necessary to create the consumption space suitable for contemporary economy. Since it involves reproduction of social relations, it will transform or shrink. The evolving cultural space and ecology have a profound impact on the development of these performing arts.



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