

Educational Anthropological Study on the Transmission and Change of  
"Tradition": Traditional Performing Arts Viewed from the Perspective of  
Authoritative Knowledge

「伝統」の継承と変化についての教育人類学的研究  
－「権威的知識」概念から見た伝統芸能－

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要旨

本研究は、「伝統」の継承や変化とはいかなる過程かという普遍的な問題に対して、教育人類学的な視点から伝統芸能の伝承過程を捉え直すことで、新たな貢献を目指すものである。そして、本研究は、衰退しつつある伝統芸能をより良く保護するために、どのような具体的課題に注目すべきかを明らかにする試みである。ここでは、「権威的知識」と呼ばれる概念を用いて、激動の歴史を歩んできた中国の伝統芸能の事例を取り上げ、比較的安定した日本のような社会とは異なるその伝承過程の特徴を浮き彫りにしたい。これまで、「伝統」の継承や変化については、様々な研究者が異なる切り口から考察してきたが、「権威的知識」の概念を用いた研究は、それを提唱したブリジット・ジョーダンが産婆の研究（2001）をしていたこともあって、助産に関する研究など医療分野に限られている。そのような状況を踏まえ、本研究は、この概念が芸能教育の分野へも応用できることを示し、伝統芸能の伝承のあり方を考察する際に役立つ知見を提供したい。

Keywords : Authoritative Knowledge, Transmission of Tradition, Change of Tradition, Educational Anthropology, Traditional Performing Arts

I Introduction

This study aims to make a new contribution by re-examining the process of transmitting traditional performing arts from an educational anthropological perspective, addressing the universal question of what the processes of tradition inheritance and change entail. Furthermore, this research attempts to clarify what specific issues should be focused on to better preserve traditional performing arts, which are in decline. Here, using the concept referred to as "authoritative knowledge," I wish to highlight the characteristics of the transmission process of Chinese traditional performing arts, which have undergone a turbulent

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history, in marked contrast to the transmission processes in a relatively stable society like Japan. Various researchers have examined the transmission and change of "tradition" from different angles; however, studies using the concept of "authoritative knowledge" have been confined to the medical field, perhaps due to its proposal by Brigitte Jordan in her midwifery research<sup>1)</sup>. Considering this situation, this study demonstrates that this concept can be applied to the field of performing arts education and aims to provide insights that will be useful in considering how traditional performing arts are transmitted.

## II Review of Literature

First, I overview the studies concerning the transmission and change of "tradition"(see Table 1). According to "Kōjien" "tradition" is defined as "the spiritual existence that forms the core of beliefs, customs, systems, thoughts, scholarship, and arts that a particular ethnic group, society, or organization has cultivated and transmitted through a long history"<sup>2)</sup>. Here, "tradition" is perceived as something possessing a long history. However, in the study of "tradition," there has been a longstanding contention between essentialism, which presupposes that there are intrinsic and authentic "traditional" cultures unchanging over time within a group, and constructivism, which posits that what has been thought of as natural and essential culture is something constructed under specific contexts. And at least within cultural anthropology, many researchers have shifted their perspective from essentialism to constructivism.

In such a context, numerous studies on "tradition" have been accumulated, among which the argument on "invented traditions" by E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger is particularly well-referenced<sup>3)</sup>. Namely, it offers the perspective that "tradition" includes relatively newly created aspects. They cite examples such as the tartan patterns of Scottish Highlands kilts or soccer favored by the British working class, pointing out that "traditions" are not cultures or thoughts that have continued from ancient times, but rather were created or invented in the modern era. What makes their study intriguing is the point that rapid social changes brought on by modernization created contradictions between old "traditions" and actual society, and to resolve this, new "traditions" were created. Although "tradition" and "modernity" are often considered in opposition, they argue that "tradition" is, in fact, a result of modernization. Moreover, their concept of "invented traditions" particularly emphasizes that "traditions" are created for political purposes, such as the construction of a nation-state or the establishment of national identity, providing insights for many studies dealing with politics<sup>4)</sup>.

On the other hand, building on the discussion around "invented traditions," there have also been studies that pay more attention to the mutual relationship between "tradition" and the individual. L.S. Gibbs and colleagues have proposed the concept of "traditionalization"<sup>5)</sup>, delving into the question of how the existing collective framework of "tradition" is created through a dynamic interplay with the creative activities of individual practitioners, and how it becomes a new "tradition." "Traditionalization," succinctly put, refers to the process where such a mutually created culture is socially appraised, becomes a new "tradition," and influences subsequent practitioners, as can be specifically seen in the processes of staging and producing song contests, anthologies, CD albums, etc<sup>6)</sup>. They aim to avoid the problem often encountered in conventional studies of "tradition" that place emphasis either on the individual or the collective "tradition," overlooking the mutual dependency of both, by focusing on the point where

"tradition" is reconstructed through the interaction between the two.

As outlined above, while various studies on the transmission and change of "tradition" already exist, there is generally a lack of research from an educational perspective. In this study, the concept of "authoritative knowledge" within educational anthropology is applied. Put succinctly, "authoritative knowledge" was defined by Brigitte Jordan and her colleagues, who conducted an international comparison of midwifery practices, as "among diverse ways of knowing within a social situation, regardless of whether they are correct or not, tied to the possession or use of artifacts, where certain knowledge is emphasized over others, socially recognized, becomes official, and is accepted without doubt or question by people as legitimate judgments or actions"<sup>7)</sup>. Through this concept, the process of transmitting traditional performing arts can be re-understood as the formation of "authoritative knowledge" by dominant forces, and the reactions to this by those in a subjugated position. That is to say, the process of transmission is not simply a matter of "tradition" being passed down, but rather is more concretely perceived as a struggle between the mediating "authoritative knowledge" and the people.

For instance, Iida's study of Thai massage<sup>8)</sup> using this concept is suggestive. According to Iida, the "authoritative knowledge" of Thai massage was formed based on medical texts left by court physicians from the late 17th century to the early 20th century. This formation occurred against the backdrop of the traditional medical revival movement carried out mainly by modern medical practitioners since the mid-1970s, under the growing influence of Western modern medicine, as well as the institutionalization of a new medical system called "Thai-style medicine" by the Thai government from the 1990s<sup>9)</sup>. However, in the

Table 1 : Comparison of Various Studies on "Tradition"

Researcher's Name	Summary
E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger	It was argued that "tradition" is not necessarily something old, but rather has been created through the process of modernization for the construction of the nation-state and the formation of national identity.
L. S. Gibbs etc.	Through participation in song contests and the production of anthologies and CD albums, attention was drawn to how "tradition" is crafted into a new "tradition" by the creative practices of performers. This interactive process between "tradition" and practitioners was termed "traditionalization."
B. Jordan	In a specific industry, regardless of whether it is correct or not, the knowledge that gains dominant status as something more publicly and socially accepted than other knowledge, influencing people's actions and judgments, is referred to as "authoritative knowledge."
J. Iida	Based on the case of Thai massage, it was revealed that the "authoritative knowledge" of massage, constructed by Thailand's central government, is somewhat selectively accepted in local village communities based on their own needs.

local village communities where massages are administered, this "authoritative knowledge" is selectively applied by taking into consideration villagers' familiar bodily techniques, traditional etiology, and social relations. For example, unfamiliar stretching postures in Thai massage may be excluded by villagers, or massage may be employed only when the cause of bodily pain is judged to be an abnormality in the Sen (energy lines flowing through the human body) rather than spirits or toxins. Thus, this "authoritative knowledge" is being both adopted and adapted according to the context and needs of the local community.

Hence, in the transmission of "tradition," some form of "authoritative knowledge" is involved by the dominant forces, but when examined at both micro and macro dimensions, a certain contention is evident. By focusing on the concept of "authoritative knowledge," it becomes possible to view the transmission of "tradition" as a process encompassing specific actions, such as who generates such knowledge, how it is established and maintained as the "tradition" within that field or industry, and how people are deviating from such knowledge. This perspective enables a more nuanced understanding of the interplay between established norms and individual or community practices, highlighting the complex dynamics of "tradition" in the contemporary world.

### III About Qin Opera

Before embarking on an analysis using the concept of "authoritative knowledge," I would like to introduce the specific example of traditional Chinese performing arts that this study will focus on. In this research, I will take Qin opera, a subject I have been investigating for over 20 years, as a concrete example<sup>10)</sup>. While various traditional operas (such as Sichuan opera, Cantonese opera, Henan opera, etc.) exist throughout China, Qin opera is a traditional form of opera that is particularly prevalent in the northwest regions of China, such as Shaanxi Province and Gansu Province.

The origins of Qin opera are believed to lie in the folk songs and dances of ancient Shaanxi and Gansu regions, but there are various theories, and the specific time of its inception is unclear. However, it is said that Qin opera existed at least by the middle of the Ming Dynasty (late 16th century)<sup>11)</sup>. Qin opera is considered even older than the famous Peking opera, which is thought to have been formed around the time of Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty (late 18th century).



Performance of Qin Opera (Photographed by the author, September 2010)

A distinctive artistic feature of Qin opera lies in its musical structure known as "Banqiangti" (a rhythm combination referred to as "Banshi"), which sets it apart from other art forms like Kunqu, which primarily relies on a musical pattern called "Qupai." Furthermore, the melody in Qin opera is characterized by both "Huanyin," which conveys joy and happiness, and "Kuyin," expressing sorrow and subdued emotions. These melodies are used selectively depending on the mood of the play or the feelings of the characters, markedly differentiating Qin opera from art forms like Peking opera, where the melodies called "Xipi" and "Erhuang" are predominantly used.

However, in terms of the actor's performance, which includes a collection of traditional patterns referred to as "Si Gong Wu Fa," Qin opera shares many similarities with other traditional operas. This set of patterns is composed of expression techniques such as singing ("Chang"), speaking ("Nian"), gestures ("Zuo"), and fighting ("Da"), along with means of expression including hand movements ("Shou"), eye movements ("Yan"), body movements ("Shen"), the comprehensive utilization of hand, eye, body, and step ("Fa"), and walking methods ("Bu"). Actors utilize these diverse techniques to portray various historical or literary characters, a practice common to many other traditional operas as well.

On the other hand, the roles of Qin opera actors are classified into four major categories and their subcategories: male roles ("Sheng"), female roles ("Dan"), male roles with facial makeup ("Jing"), and comic roles ("Chou"), collectively referred to as "Hangdang." Actors devote themselves to one of the subcategories of these four major roles, learning the basic singing and gesturing styles unique to that role, a role classification similar to what can be found in Peking opera and other art forms. Though there may be slight differences in the names of subcategories, such a classification of roles is not a feature unique to Qin opera.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the performance style of Qin opera is representational, utilizing only minimal props such as tables and chairs in its staging. Essentially, the story is expressed through the actor's body alone, employing the aforementioned "Si Gong Wu Fa." While recent historical dramas and modern plays are beginning to use elaborate stage sets, traditional performances such as those based on the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" or "Water Margin" continue to rely on minimal props. Consequently, traditional operas like Qin opera are often referred to as "the actor's art."

## IV The Transmission Process of Qin Opera from the Perspective of Authoritative Knowledge

### 1. The Modern History of Qin Opera

To begin with, I provide an overview of the intricate modern history of Qin Opera (see Table 2). From the period around the establishment of the People's Republic of China up to the present, Qin Opera has experienced a history rich in changes and filled with hardships. During the Republic of China era (1912-1949), performers of Qin Opera were regarded as those engaged in a lowly profession, lacking social status or social security, and leading lives that hovered on the brink of survival<sup>12)</sup>. This dramatically changed after the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Qin Opera underwent a government-led theatre reform that impacted actors' political thinking and circumstances ("reformation

of individuals"), the management and operation modes of troupes ("reformation of systems"), and the content of performances ("reformation of plays"). As a result, it evolved to serve the people—particularly the workers, peasants, and soldiers—as a propaganda art that contributed to the socialist revolution. While this theatre reform ameliorated the conditions for actors, allowing them to rise from their previously impoverished lives, they became more actively involved in politics, engaging as theatre practitioners dedicated to serving the people<sup>13)</sup>.

With the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, the realm of Qin Opera became even more deeply swayed by political trends. During the Cultural Revolution period (1966-1976), all traditional performances of Qin Opera, as well as some modern plays, were criticized for being feudalistic, capitalistic, or revisionist in nature. Consequently, performances other than revolutionary model plays—intended to politically

Table 2: The Contemporary History of Qin Opera

<b>Period</b>	<b>The circumstances surrounding Qin Opera actors</b>
The Republic of China era (1912-1949)	Acting was considered one of the lowly professions, with actors lacking social status, devoid of financial support from the government, and so uneducated they couldn't even read or write.
The early years of the People's Republic of China (1949-1966)	With the reform of theater, actors gained improved social status as agents of propaganda art with support from the government and were treated as theatrical workers dedicated to the education of the people. Beyond theater performances, they began to engage in political gatherings and labor in rural areas and factories.
The Cultural Revolution period (1966-1976)	Performances of traditional plays were banned, and actors were only allowed to perform revolutionary model dramas. Theater schools were also closed, and many actors and directors were targeted for persecution as counter-revolutionary threats.
The era of the Reform and Opening-up Policy, 1978 to the present	The ban on traditional performances was lifted, theater schools reopened, and the reputations of many actors were restored. The political overtones in Qin Opera performances diminished, with greater emphasis being placed on staging for entertainment purposes.
The period following Qin Opera's recognition as a national intangible cultural heritage (2006 to the present)	Once targeted for destruction and elimination as a symbol of the feudal era, deemed outdated and an impediment to modernization, Qin Opera has since been recognized as a national intangible cultural heritage that warrants robust protection. The Qin Opera Museum was established, and through government financial support, inheritors of the Qin Opera styles have been selected, actively fostering the transmission to the next generation.

enlighten the people, such as "The Red Lantern", "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy", and "Shajiabing" (all of which were adapted from Peking opera)—were prohibited. Additionally, many individuals associated with theatre troupes faced criticisms as "capitalistic authorities" or "reactionary bourgeois figures" and were consequently ousted from their positions<sup>14</sup>. In this manner, the Qin Opera industry was continually buffeted by political upheavals during the Cultural Revolution, suffering significant setbacks and damages.

Following the end of the Cultural Revolution, the initiation of the Reform and Opening Up policy in 1978 enabled the revival of many traditional performances, such as "You Xi Hu," "Zhongguo Hun," and "Zhao Shi Gu Er," which had previously been prohibited. The political undertones of Qin opera gradually faded, giving way to a more entertainment-centric approach. However, with the influx of foreign films and dramas and the proliferation of television, the public's interest in Qin opera waned<sup>15</sup>. This trend was particularly pronounced among urban youth, who, while showing keen interest in television and the internet, became less inclined to make an effort to visit theaters to watch Qin opera.

Faced with this challenge, the Communist Party's Shaanxi Provincial Committee and the Shaanxi Provincial Government launched a campaign in 1983 under the slogan "Revitalize Qin Opera." They established the Shaanxi Province Qin Opera Promotion Committee and designated renowned entities in the Qin opera scene, such as Xi'an Yisushe and the Shaanxi Province Opera Research Institute's Qin Opera Troupe, as "experimental troupes" to spearhead the revitalization efforts. Despite these measures, the diversification of entertainment mediums continued to decrease the number of audience members, leading to a decline in box office revenues for Qin opera troupes. Consequently, many troupes faced financial difficulties.

In recent years, the environment surrounding Qin opera has undeniably grown more challenging, yet there are emerging signs of positive change. One pivotal moment was in 2006 when Qin opera was selected for the "First National Intangible Cultural Heritage List," registering it as a national-level intangible cultural heritage<sup>16</sup>. Behind this decision was a major shift in cultural policy. Before this, art forms once dismissed as "feudalistic, outdated, and hindrances to modernization" were targeted for eradication or destruction. However, these art forms were now being recognized and protected as intangible cultural heritage<sup>17</sup>. Consequently, this recognition as an intangible cultural heritage has galvanized various movements and efforts centered on the protection and preservation of Qin opera. Through the years, Qin opera has weathered many storms, grappling with the challenges presented by the changing times. But with its recognition as an intangible cultural heritage, its visibility has risen, and people's awareness and commitment to its protection and preservation have significantly intensified. The recognition of Qin opera as an intangible cultural heritage offers a beacon of hope to the Qin opera community, which had, until then, often been overshadowed by less encouraging news.

## 2. Qin Opera's History Viewed through the Lens of "Authoritative Knowledge"

Considering the history of Qin opera from the perspective of "authoritative knowledge," what distinctive features emerge? A retrospective glance at Qin opera's history reveals that the government's definition of "authoritative knowledge" has undergone several shifts<sup>18</sup>. For instance, following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the theatrical reforms impacted actors' political

ideology and circumstances, the management and operation of troupes, and the content of performances. Feudalistic undertones were stripped away, paving the way for a socialist transformation. During this period, Qin opera was explicitly positioned as a form of propaganda art to disseminate political ideologies to the masses. As a result, certain performances from before the establishment, especially those with superstitious elements (such as the appearance of ghosts or spirits), were prohibited. Moreover, Qin opera actors began attending specialized theatrical schools to acquire the appropriate political ideology and acting skills befitting carriers of this propaganda art.

The Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966, can be described as an era that intensified the characteristics of Qin opera as propaganda art. Led by Jiang Qing (Mao Zedong's wife) and the Gang of Four, during this period, traditional performances such as "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" and "Water Margin" were entirely banned. Only revolutionary model dramas were permitted for performance. Furthermore, many of Qin opera's playwrights, directors, and actors came to be treated as counter-revolutionary threats. Theatrical schools, which symbolized the "old society" (the feudal era before the founding of the PRC), were regarded with hostility, leading to the closure of most of them. However, post-Cultural Revolution, particularly from 1978 onwards, there was a marked shift in the perspective towards Qin opera. What had once been targeted for eradication and destruction was suddenly promoted as an essential traditional culture. Performances that had been prohibited during the Cultural Revolution were reinstated. Concurrently, the political hue of Qin opera as propaganda art faded, and performances were increasingly staged to provide entertainment to the masses.

On the other hand, as previously mentioned, the designation of Qin opera as a national intangible cultural heritage in 2006 was an initiative to safeguard it, especially considering the lingering effects of damage from events like the Cultural Revolution, and its declining audience numbers in the face of diverse entertainment options spurred by the spread of television and the internet. As a result, in May 2009, to pass on the unique artistic style of Qin opera to future generations, the government began designating inheritors of different schools of the opera based on their achievements and experience, thereby encouraging the transmission of the art form. Moreover, in September of the same year, with government funding, a museum showcasing artifacts related to Qin opera was opened in Xi'an. In various theatrical schools and troupes, these designated inheritors began offering special lectures to impart their acting skills and even staged performances in which they played the lead roles.

In this way, throughout the history of the Qin opera, the government continually shaped and modified the "authoritative knowledge" regarding how the Qin opera should be and what specific acting techniques and knowledge are deemed orthodox. Against this backdrop, certain trends emerge in practice. For instance, in actor training, the acquisition of a "standardized acting technique" is emphasized. This "standardized acting technique" includes various patterns and skills of performance, with particular emphasis on the core skill of singing in the traditional chant style of the opera. More specifically, the primitive method of singing used in Qin opera before the founding of the People's Republic, which did not consider the condition of the throat, is no longer encouraged. In the present day, it is preferable to follow vocal training techniques that incorporate proper vocalization and breathing, and guidance on a diet that avoids harming the throat. Specialized instructors now teach this "authoritative knowledge" in drama schools<sup>19)</sup>.

In a drama school in Xi'an that the author investigated, ever since the initiation of the reform and opening-up policy in 1978, under the leadership of a principal who emphasized traditional chant singing and had acting experience, they purposefully employed instructors trained in vocal music from music schools to fervently teach the "standardized" singing technique. As a result, the number of students who damaged their voices during puberty and thus faced closed doors in their acting careers dramatically decreased. However, initially, many older instructors, who were unfamiliar with vocal music knowledge, viewed this focus on singing techniques as an excessive diversion from direct acting skills and regarded it with skepticism. Furthermore, even as the effectiveness of this approach gained wider social recognition, schools outside the well-resourced state-run drama institutions still face financial constraints that prevent them from comprehensively teaching this "standardized" singing technique<sup>20</sup> .



Performance of Qin Opera by the Students of a State-Run Drama School  
(Photographed by the author, September 2019)

## V Analysis and Discussion

At this juncture, I would like to discuss the relationship between the transmission or change of "tradition" and the concept of "authoritative knowledge." Firstly, it should be noted that the "authoritative knowledge" within the realm of Qin opera presents several characteristics that diverge from the points highlighted by Jordan and Iida.

As described in the previous section, within the Qin opera community, the "authoritative knowledge" about Qin opera has undergone several transformations over time, set against the backdrop of political reforms and revolutions. This knowledge is subdivided into various aspects and skills related to Qin opera, including the knowledge of its history (including the content of performances), chanting, acting forms, and techniques. Especially, among the skills, the skill of chanting, as previously mentioned, is of utmost importance. This diverges significantly from Jordan's 2001 study, which simplifies the situation as the dichotomy between Western medical knowledge on midwifery and a woman's instinctual knowledge. Furthermore, the dissemination of "authoritative knowledge" in the Qin opera community is not solely a top-down process dictated by government policies. State-operated drama schools and theater companies play a pivotal role in its formation. The provincial drama schools and theater companies in Xi'an, which were part of my research, have actively legitimized and emphasized a "standardized" chanting method

interwoven with vocal music knowledge. Nowadays, mastering this specific method of singing, taught in such institutions, is often regarded as a testament to proper actor training and can even be perceived as a status symbol for Qin opera actors.

Contrary to Jordan's example of midwifery practices, which are cutting-edge and advanced medical actions where consensus among practitioners is yet to be established, there is relatively little disagreement regarding the "authoritative knowledge" related to the Qin opera<sup>21)</sup>. One reason for this consensus is that knowledge about the content of performances is intertwined with ideological issues related to government policies, leaving little room for divergent interpretations. On the other hand, when it comes to the "standardized" chanting method and other acting techniques, they don't directly involve life-threatening situations like midwifery, being outside the realm of medical practice, which perhaps makes consensus easier to form.

However, within the Qin opera industry, there are privately operated drama schools that, despite being managed by passionate individuals dedicated to the education of Qin opera actors, are disadvantaged by the economic disparities with state-run drama schools. This disparity means that, even if they wish to, they may not be able to adequately teach the "standardized" chanting method due to their inability to employ experts with specialized vocal knowledge<sup>22)</sup>. Furthermore, these private drama schools tend to prioritize on-stage practices over mastering "standardized acting techniques," focusing their energy on providing students with as many opportunities as possible to perform Qin opera in front of an audience. Iida mentioned that within local village communities, when it comes to massage practices, the massage "authoritative knowledge" created by the central government is selectively adopted, taking into account villagers' familiar bodily techniques, traditional etiologies, and social relations characteristics<sup>23)</sup>. Meanwhile, in the case of the Qin opera, the "authoritative knowledge" of the central government hasn't permeated throughout the industry due to educational and economic disparities.

As discussed above, within the Qin opera industry, the situation surrounding "authoritative knowledge" can be described as far more complex than the binary opposition between medical knowledge and the instinctive knowledge of pregnant and childbearing women as outlined in Jordan's study<sup>24)</sup>. The continuation of the "tradition" of Qin opera involves this "authoritative knowledge," which is formulated top-down by the government and disseminated through state-run drama schools and theater troupes, being subdivided into specific facets and skills of the performance art. Yet, due to educational and economic disparities, this "authoritative knowledge" has not fully penetrated privately-operated drama schools. As a result, they emphasize providing students with more on-stage opportunities than state-run drama schools and have established their unique educational principles. Consequently, these schools perpetuate the "tradition" in a manner that somewhat deviates from the established "authoritative knowledge."

Given the declining status of Qin opera, one may wonder how the process of preserving its "tradition" should be approached. In the case of Qin opera, a fundamental step would be to first ascertain the precise conditions of the "authoritative knowledge" that has been subdivided based on different aspects and skills of theatrical art. Particularly within the Qin opera community, given its turbulent history where the "authoritative knowledge" has been rewritten numerous times, it is crucial to investigate the specific impacts these changes have had on the art form. This examination becomes all the more essential for

traditional performing arts like Qin opera that are classified as intangible cultural heritage. For instance, during the Cultural Revolution, the staging of traditional performances was prohibited for a decade. As a result, after the revolution, numerous actors, regardless of age, revisited drama schools to relearn the basic patterns and movements of traditional performances, having been dispatched from their respective theater troupes. This underscores how performance skills, primarily acquired through physical transmission, can be vulnerable to rapid changes in "authoritative knowledge". Consequently, there might be a pressing need to focus on protecting such vulnerable facets of the art form. On the other hand, attention should also be given to rectifying the educational and economic disparities between schools, ensuring that there isn't a skewed transmission of the "tradition". While it may be acceptable for local village communities to selectively adopt the "authoritative knowledge" from the central government, as illustrated in Iida's study<sup>25)</sup> on massage practices, it would perhaps be crucial to address situations where access to this "authoritative knowledge" is limited due to educational and economic disparities.

## VI Conclusion

In this study, I have expanded the concept of "authoritative knowledge," primarily used in previous research on midwifery, to encompass non-medical domains, thereby reevaluating the transmission process of traditional performing arts. By focusing on this concept, I was able to elucidate how "authoritative knowledge" intercedes in the transmission of traditional arts: who formulates it, how it is established and maintained as "tradition," how people respond to it, and the changes it subsequently brings about.

Compared to tangible cultures, such as historical buildings, intangible culture like traditional performing arts, which is physically passed down through human agents, is incredibly fragile. This necessitates careful attention to its preservation and the management of its changes, especially when it comes to traditional performing arts that have been designated as intangible cultural heritage. In this context, the concept of "authoritative knowledge," as discussed in the previous section, illuminates the specific challenges we should be attentive to. Moreover, this concept provides a clearer picture of the mechanisms and social relationships in what previous performing arts education research<sup>26)</sup> has merely termed the "transmission of tradition," making it easier to grasp its reality. Furthermore, the concept of "authoritative knowledge" introduces valuable insights from educational anthropology to conventional studies on the transmission and transformation of "tradition."

Certainly, the number of case studies in this research is limited. Moving forward, I aim to incorporate a broader range of cases and further develop the theoretical aspect of research from this perspective. I hope to contribute to research in this field, where educational studies remain underdeveloped.

### <付記>

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