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writing rod starts to move. He allows hand to move. Whenever one character is written, the interpretator reads it and transmits to the recorder, thus making up a full revelation eventually. A variety of deities are called upon.

Today, Fu-luan is performed to cure minor illness; to deal such things as marriage talk, transaction, building and house-moving; and to know the right time and direction for the people to act. However, many Fu-luan societies still pay much attention on public moral education as Fu-luan did in feudal China. Society members are expected to get together at Luan-t'ang about ten times a month to take part in Fu-luan performance. Revelations are compiled and published. The book is of course to reflect on member's conducts of daily life so that they could have a rebirth in Paradise after death. The book is also free of charge for non-member people, and is distributed to them in order to call for grave reflection of their daily deeds.

The Relation of the Chinese Puppet Theaters to Popular Taoism

Hiroaki KANI

The puppet theaters in South China fall into four categories: stick-puppet theater, glove-puppet theater (Chinese guignol), shadow-play theater (Silhouette), and string-puppet (Marionette) theater. Of the four theaters, the stick-puppet theater can still be observed in Hong Kong, whereas the rest may be found in Taiwan. Each of these puppet theaters has long been a part of mass entertainment. However, the specific characteristic of the Chinese puppet theater is that it has been somehow connected with popular Taoism there. These connections are summarized as follows.

2

- a. The puppet theater is invariably a great offering that men can make in order to please and placate the gods on their birthday. This is why the image of god must have a clear view of the stage from the altar or temple.

- b. Occasionally the puppet theaters are shown in order to please the ancestor or even hungry ghosts. The best example of this is observed in the Seventh Moon when people feed the hungry ghosts.
- c. Puppet theaters are shown in order to express gratitude to gods, especially in return for the protection that the gods have given upon men's requests.
- d. Before and after every show, Taoist immortals are offered a most reverential prayer.
- e. Through performances, puppet theater performers took part in reading Taoist lectures to the pious and illiterate masses, always laying emphasis on "reward of the good and penalty of the wicked", a famous moral law that once controlled the people in feudal China.
- f. In case of marionettes in Taiwan, the puppeteers are often Taoist priests who belong to the San-nai 三奶 sect.
- g. Marionettes with a string-puppet of Chung-k'uei 鍾馗 is a Taoist exorcism itself in Taiwan. It is performed in order to exorcize the place of fire, disaster, traffic accident, illness, unnatural death (such as suicide or drowning), etc. It is also performed on such occasions as the inauguration ceremony of a Chinese temple or ordinary house.
- h. As Professor Schipper has already observed, Taiwanese marionettes with the jester are shown at wedding ceremonies in order to obtain from Heaven the happy union of husband and wife.

It is true at least in Taiwan that the marionettes are connected with both Taoist exorcism and wedding ceremonies. Judging from my own data obtained in the southern part of Taiwan, however, it is fair to say that exorcism with a string-puppet of Chung-k'uei is only shown in the northern part of Taiwan. In the southern part of Taiwan the exorcism play is not performed with a string-puppet of Chung-k'uei, but is done with a living player who impersonates Chung-k'uei. Puppeteers also take part

in exorcistic rituals, but not with a string-puppet of Chung-k'uei. A string-puppet of Marshal T'ien-tu 田都 (元帥), the patron god of the Nan-kuan 南管 school of music and dance, is used for this purpose.

The marionette with a string-puppet of Marshal T'ien-tu is also shown when a simple Taoist ritual of thanksgiving to the Jade-god is performed. It must be noted, however, that (i) this ritual is performed one day before the wedding ceremony at the groom's house, and a bride is always absent from the ritual; (ii) this ritual is not always accompanied by marionettes; (iii) in order to celebrate the wedding ceremonies, people usually invite the theatrical performances of living actors and actresses, or puppet theaters except marionette; (iv) the marionette theaters are not welcomed to the wedding ceremony, since the marionette is considered to be rather unlucky.

My question here is whether or not the marionette is shown really for the happy union of husband and wife one day before the wedding ceremony. May I mention here the Cantonese custom preserved among the boat people in Hong Kong? It is interesting for us to know that a man from a boat family must be exorcized by Naam-loh 喃嚨老, a local Taoist priest there, one day before the wedding ceremony at his house (in this case on his boat). The exorcism links the wedding ceremony with the Taoist rituals among the Cantonese speaking boat people. I wonder whether the marionettes in Taiwan really function as a ritual for the happy union of husband and wife.

Again, unlike Professor Schipper who identified three jester-puppets with three Marshals of T'ien family, I think each of the puppeteers provides three string-puppets of Marshal T'ien-tu so that marionettes for exorcistic purpose are shown at three different places at the same time.