

The Sacrificial Etiquette in Gan Local Chronicles from the Perspective of the Integration of Sacrifice and Opera — A Study of Nuo Historical Materials

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ABSTRACT

The paper excavates and sorts out the materials of Nuo opera in Jiangxi local chronicles, and on this basis, combines drama, sociology, cultural science and other related theories, analyzes the characteristics of the Nuo performance activities in Jiangxi local chronicles, and reproduces the origin and development of the actual performance of Nuo opera in Jiangxi, as well as the relationship with the development of Chinese drama, and cites that in the process of evolution of Gan Nuo, the traces of Nuo gradually fade, and the dramatic elements are gradually increasing.

Keywords: Jiangxi, Local chronicles, Nuo, Interaction.

1. INTRODUCTION

Gan Nuo is an important branch of Chinese Nuo culture. The local chronicles of the Ming and Qing dynasties faithfully record the relative interaction of the folk Nuo opera at that time. A total of 39 local chronicles during the Ming and Qing Dynasties retained 73 records of Nuo Opera and Nuo performances, involving 37 counties and districts. Since the Ming and Qing Dynasties, Jiangxi local chronicles recorded the performance of the integrated interaction of Nuo performance including: the integrated interaction of sacrifice and drama; the integrated interaction of actors and audience; the integrated interaction of space fixation and movement; the unified interaction of the official and the people of the unity of opposites.

2. LOCAL CHRONICLES AND NUO OPERA

Local chronicles, referred to as local chronicles, are truthful records of the nature, humanities, society, politics, and economy of a place. Gu

Jiegang's "Preface to 'Comprehensive Records of Chinese Local Chronicles'" pointed out: "Records on geography include change and development, territory, area, and division, records on politics refer to establishments, officials, military equipment, memorabilia, records on economics include household registration, land taxes, properties, and tariff, records on society refer to customs, dialects, temples, and auspicious differences, and records on documents include characters, art, gold and stone, and historical sites." [1]^{Preface} A local chronicle is a comprehensive history of a place, with the characteristics of historical continuity, extensive content, and authenticity of data. It can "make up for the deficiencies of history, point out mistakes of the history, make a detailed introduction of the brief history, and continue what hasn't showed in the history". It is known as "the overview of an area", "the entire history of an area" and the "local encyclopedia". It is an indispensable treasure house of humanities research. Cui Jianying's "The Document Value of Rare Chinese Local Chronicles" believes: "The documentary characteristics of Chinese local chronicles are based on the basic unit of one place and one chronicle, forming a yearbook-style cumulative record, and horizontally connecting into regions and even the

*Project: Jiangxi Province Art Science Planning Project "Research on the Interaction between De'an Pangong Opera and Jiangxi Rural People" (Project No.: YG2015065).

CLC number: J722.29 Document Identification Code: A

whole country, forming a series of historical records of discontinuous period, which makes up for the insufficiency and inability of time and space in the history of the country. Although each document has its own independent document value, its greater function lies in the vast, comprehensive and rich database formed by its group."^[2]^{P517} Meanwhile, "Chinese ancient books still have a wide range of application value today, local chronicles should be the first choice."^[2]^{P517} When conducting research on folk art and traditional culture, making full use of local chronicle materials can often achieve better results.

Nuo performance is not only an ancient ritual for expelling ghosts and epidemics, but also an important part of Chinese folk culture. Gan Nuo is an important branch of Chinese Nuo culture. As a kind of folk religious ritual and worship activity, it flourished in Jiangxi for a while. According to the "(Tongzhi) Jingan County Chronicles": "Holding a shield, raising a spear, nine of ten households performed Nuo performances, and women and children appeared one after another. There were so many wizards and blessings." Since the beginning of this century, Nuo dances and Nuo masks in Gan Nuo have been listed as the first batch of intangible heritage in the country. Research on Nuo is heating up rapidly. According to the search of Superstar Duxiu monographs and CNKI journals, as of the first quarter of 2020, there are more than 200 kinds of books studying Gan Nuo, nearly 300 journal papers, and nearly 20 dissertations, involving the form of Nuo performances, religious connotation, and interdisciplinary research, etc.

During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, due to the germination of modern science and the Qing Dynasty's ruling class fearing the threat of folk gatherings to fight Nuo, most Nuo opera was transferred to the folks. Jiangxi local chronicles in the Ming and Qing dynasties faithfully recorded the relevant conditions of folk Nuo performances at that time. The scrutiny and research of this part of the material will help to reproduce the real development track and existence of Gan Nuo and promote the continuous development of Gan Nuo and Jiangxi local chronicles research.

3. THE RECORDS OF NUO IN GAN LOCAL CHRONICLES IN MING AND QING DYNASTIES

Since the Ming and Qing Dynasties, almost all counties and districts in Jiangxi have records about Gan Nuo. According to a review, 39 local chronicles in 37 counties and districts during the Ming and Qing Dynasties retained 91 records of Nuo opera and Nuo performances. The content is all-encompassing, involving the Nuo performance customs, Nuo ceremonies, historical origins of Nuo, Nuo performance relics, Nuo literature and the impact of Nuo performances on local people's lives in Jiangxi during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Here is a list of Gan local chronicles related to Nuo since the Ming and Qing Dynasties by category:

Here are the "Record Category Tables of Nuo Opera Local Chronicles" (see "Table 1", "Table 2", "Table 3", "Table 4", "Table 5", and "Table 6"):

Table 1. Records of Nuo customs in Jiangxi local chronicles

Era	Number of local chronicles	Directories of local chronicles	Number of recording volumes
Ming Dynasty	1	(Twelve Years of Zhengde) "The Records of Jianchang Prefecture"	1
Qing Dynasty	15	(Engraved in the 8th year of Kangxi) "Xiajiang County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 10th year of Tongzhi) "Xiajiang County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 12th year of Kangxi) "Xinyu County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 5th year of Daoguang) "Xinyu County Chronicles", (Tongzhi 11th Annual) "Xinyu County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 12th year of Kangxi) "Fuliang County Chronicles" (enlarged edition), (Engraved in the 16th year of Qianlong) "Jinxi County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 21st year of Qianlong) "De'an County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 10th year of Tongzhi) "De'an County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 11th year of Tongzhi) "Duchang County Chronicles", (Engraved in 11th year of Tongzhi) "Records of Nankang Prefecture", (Engraved in the 11th year of Tongzhi) "Pingxiang County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 11th year of Tongzhi) "Pingxiang County Chronicles", (Daoguang 5th Annual) "Yihuang County Chronicles", (Engraved in Tongzhi 9th year) "Jinxi County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 14th year of the Republic of China) "Wuyuan County Chronicles (Re-edited)", (Republic of China's 24th Annual) "Summary of Zhaoping Chronicles"	22

Table 2. Records of Nuo ceremonies in Jiangxi local chronicles

Era	Number of local chronicles	Directories of local chronicles	Number of recording volumes
Ming Dynasty	2	(Engraved in Zhengde) "The History of Ruizhou Prefecture", (Engraved in Chongzhen) "Qingjiang County Chronicles"	2
Qing Dynasty	15	(Tongzhi 12th Annual) "Ruizhou Prefecture Chronicles", (Engraved in 2nd year of Daoguang) "Ruijin County Chronicles", (Engraved in the first year of Guangxu) "Ruijin County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 4th year of Daoguang) "Ningdu Zhili Prefecture Records", (Engraved in the 10th year of Kangxi) "Gaoan County Chronicles", (Engraved in 19th year of Qianlong) "Gaoan County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 10th year of Tongzhi) "Gaoan County Chronicles", (Tongzhi 9th year movable type) "Jing'an County Chronicles", (Additional engraved in the 6th year of Tongzhi) "Sequel to Xinfeng County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 9th year of Tongzhi) "Shanggao County Chronicles (Re-edited)", (Engraved in the 9th year of Tongzhi) "Linchuan County Chronicles", (Daoguang 29th year) "Wuning County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 9th year of Tongzhi) "Wuning County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 6th year of Tongzhi) "Guangchang County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 10th year of Tongzhi) "Yihuang County Chronicles"	20

Table 3. Records of Nuo historical records in Jiangxi local chronicles

Era	Number of local chronicles	Directories of local chronicles	Number of recording volumes
Ming Dynasty	0	No record	0
Qing Dynasty	8	(Tongzhi 9th year movable type) "Jing'an County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 12th year of Tongzhi) "Nanchang Prefecture Chronicles", (Engraved in the 4th year of Daoguang) "Yining Prefecture Chronicles", (Engraved in the 12th year of Tongzhi) "Yining Prefecture Chronicles", (Engraved in the 11th year of Tongzhi) "Anfu County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 10th year of Tongzhi) "Ruichang County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 12th year of Tongzhi) "Qianshan County Chronicles", (Stone Seal of the 29th year of the Republic of China) "Fenyi County Chronicles"	14

Table 4. Records of Nuo relics records in Jiangxi local chronicles

Era	Number of local chronicles	Directories of local chronicles	Number of recording volumes
Ming Dynasty	0	No record	0
Qing Dynasty	10	(Engraved in the 22nd year of Kangxi) "Jiangxi General History Records", (Engraved in the 10th year of Tongzhi) "Yichun County Chronicles", (Stone Seal of the 29th year of the Republic of China) "Yichun County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 12th year of Tongzhi) "Yining Prefecture Chronicles", (Engraved in 11th year of Tongzhi) "Nankang Prefecture Chronicles", (Engraved in the 10th year of Tongzhi) "Xingzi County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 29th year of Daoguang) "Wuning County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 9th year of Tongzhi) "Wuning County Chronicles", (Republic of China 29th annual) "Wanzai County Chronicles"	15

Table 5. Records of Nuo literature in Jiangxi local chronicles

Era	Number of local chronicles	Directories of local chronicles	Number of recording volumes
Ming Dynasty	0	No record	0
Qing Dynasty	12	(Engraved in the 2nd year of Guangxu) "Changning County Chronicles", (Tongzhi 10th Annual) "Anyi County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 24th year of Qianlong) "Jianchang Prefecture Chronicles", (Tongzhi 13th Annual) "Jiujiang Prefecture Chronicles", (Engraved in the 18th year of Qianlong) "Ruijin County Chronicles", (Engraved in 2nd year of Daoguang) "Ruijin County Chronicles", (Engraved in the first year of Guangxu) "Ruijin County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 4th year of Daoguang) "Ningdu Zhili Prefecture Chronicles", (Plot printing in the 13th year of the Republic of China) "Nanfeng County Chronicles", (Republic of China's 24th issue) "Summary of Zhaoping Chronicles", (Engraved in the 10th year of Tongzhi) "Yichun County Chronicles"	12

Table 6. Records of Nuo influence records in Jiangxi local chronicles

Era	Number of local chronicles	Directories of local chronicles	Number of recording volumes
Ming Dynasty	0	No record	0
Qing Dynasty	8	(Engraved in the 12th year of Tongzhi) "Ganzhou Prefecture Records", (Engraved in 22nd year of Kangxi) "Ruijin County Chronicles", (Engraved in 10th year of Tongzhi) "Ruijin County Chronicles", (Engraved in 19th year of Kangxi) "Ninjian County Chronicles", (Engraved in the 10th year of Tongzhi) "Ninjian County Chronicles", (Engraved in Kangxi 3 years) "Xinfeng County Chronicles", (Plotted in the 26th year of the Republic of China) "Ninggang County Chronicles", (Engraved in the first year of Guangxu) "Jishui County Chronicles", (Plotted in the 26th year of the Republic of China) "Ninggang County Chronicles"	8

From the above tables, the records on Nuo of Gan chronicles cover all counties and districts in Jiangxi Province, but the records of Ming Dynasty chronicles are far less than those of Qing Dynasty. There have been controversies in the academic circles about the origin and maturity of Gan Nuo, and there is no conclusion. The materials about Gan Nuo in the local chronicles are to a certain extent "The origin of Gan Nuo" held by Li Xueping and Zhang Junhua. Based on the comprehensive analysis of the existing historical materials, physical evidence, and the content and characteristics of the performance of Nuo in various

regions, the earliest can only be inferred as the last years of the Southern Song Dynasty. Most of them can be inferred to be products after the middle of the Ming Dynasty" [3]^{P129} to provide material evidence for the view.

As can be seen from the above tables, the main areas of Gan Nuo activities in Jiangxi are Ningdu, Xinfeng, Ruijin, and Wuning. This not only conforms to the current history of the development of Nuo opera from the same origin in Jiangxi, but also reflects the unbalanced development of Nuo opera in Jiangxi. This shows that the rise and fall of

Nuo opera are different in different counties and districts, and there are also differences in the degree of public attention to it.

It can be seen from the above tables that although some counties do not have records of Nuo history, Nuo ceremonies, etc., they retain Nuo relics, which are related to population migration and movement. This also provides circumstantial evidence for the study of population flow and cultural penetration in the Ming and Qing dynasties in Jiangxi.

4. THE SACRIFICE AND DRAMA INTEGRATION OF NUO LANGUAGE MATERIALS IN GAN LOCAL CHRONICLES IN MING AND QING

Nuo performance originally originated from primitive religious sacrifices. Kang Baocheng pointed out: "Nuo is a primitive religious activity created by ancient ancestors to expel epidemic ghosts." [4]^{P12} Nuo activities, as a folk performing art developed from ancient witchcraft, were integrated with opera in the Song and Yuan dynasties, and possessed the elements and characteristics of opera, forming a form of artistic expression integrating sacrifice and opera.

The singing and dancing performed by the Nuo performances exactly show the typical theatrical characteristics of singing and dancing. The 35 records in 22 counties and districts of Gan local chronicles about Nuo opera performances and Nuo ceremonies reproduced the opera scenes of singing and dancing during Nuo performances. For example:

Teenagers wear masks and play and dance in the market, similar to the ancient Nuo ceremonies.

In addition to using the integration of song and dance to show its dramatic performance characteristics, Nuo performances also use a large number of virtualized and programmed drama movements to complete the performance. For example:

The red cloth towels held in the hands of the Nuo opera performers are the Taoist cloths for performances, and the boats or dragons they woven from thatch are the straw baskets for sacrifices; they use handkerchiefs and socks as drum skins.

Performers usually wear black tops and red skirts, and use sacrificial knives with bells and rings to slaughter livestock. This is a legacy of the sacrificial rites that were buried in the ground and guarded by people in ancient times. In the evening, the names of the casualties were called for sacrifices and soul-calling. The nursery dance performance, that is, the witches sang and cried and petitioned for the catastrophe. (Volume 11 of Qing Dynasty "Ningdu Zhili Prefecture Chronicles")

This passage truly records the props, costumes and performances used in the Nuo performances. At the same time, Nuo performances convey the artistic effects of theatrical performances to the audience through each fixed and stylized scientific fan action, so as to achieve the theater effect that infects the audience. The shapes of gods, ghosts, and witches in Nuo masks, as well as the exaggerated gesture language and body language in Nuo dances, are the language expressions of drama narratives.

Nuo performances in local chronicles, "dancing and shouting to exorcise the evil epidemic" for the purpose of the activity, and the acting role "witches sang and cried to petition for the catastrophe" also highlights the essence that is different from general theater performances, and is inseparable from witchcraft and god sacrifice. Since ancient times, China has practiced singing, dancing, crying, and praying for getting rid of disasters and gaining blessings. "The Rites of Zhou · Chun Guan Zong Bo · Position of Witch": "Whenever there is a major disaster in the country, they will petition through singing and crying." Zheng Xuan commented: "There are singing and crying, hoping to touch the gods through sorrow." "New Yuan History · Yuan Jue Biographies": "It is recorded in the "Spring and Autumn Period" that it is a great drought to pray for rain. When the shamans and witches danced for rain, they all kept shouting and asking, and even more powerful, they just cry and sing to request. This is a change in sacrificial etiquette." The Nuo records in the Gan local chronicles truly reproduced the fact that the common people performed religious sacrifices in the form of Nuo opera performances, so as to achieve the utilitarian purpose of dispelling disasters and alleviating difficulties. For example:

In modern times, Nuo gods were mostly people who had merits. After death, they were sacrificed

by the people, and the village would perform dramas to welcome him. This is called "Xing Nuo". In the place of Fenning, there are many Nuo gods that are most effective. In the 26 towns and cities of Wuxiang, the Nuo god of the previous Ming Dynasty is most worshipped. As the saying goes, "Emperor Xuan". He has always been very efficacious, once there is a disaster, all prayers to him will be responsive. (Volume 40 of Tongzhi "Yining Prefecture Chronicles")

Rong Shicheng's "A Preliminary Study of the Anthropology of Traditional Chinese Opera" pointed out that Nuo opera's repertoire "in short, is a combination of theatrical performance and religious rituals. The two are integrated and indistinguishable throughout the performance".[5]^{P9} This shows that the Nuo opera performance originated from the ancient sacrificial rites, but the sacrificial etiquette and the opera form were skillfully integrated. Every Nuo opera performance is not only a folk entertainment activity, but more importantly it is a sacrifice to ghosts and gods. It is a special performance in the form of a drama and a ritual of sacrifice, which fully reflects the characteristics of the whole of sacrifice and drama.

4.1 The Fixation and Movement of the Performance Space of Sacrifice and Drama Integration in Local Chronicles Corpus

When Chen Shouren discussed the theater performance occasions, he proposed "occasion elements"[7]^{P7}, including the performance location environment, venue structure, the relationship between the performer and the audience, related activities in the performance, and audience behavior, etc. Gan Nuo's integrated nature of sacrifice and opera is first reflected in the records and descriptions of the Nuo performance venues in Gan local chronicles during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. There are at least 10 Jiangxi county chronicles that record the venues for Nuo activities in 9 counties. The local chronicles' fixed records of Nuo performance venues are mainly reflected in the regional chronicles of Nuo temples and ancestral halls in various places. The popular legend that "there is a general every five lis, and a Nuo god every ten lis" not only shows the influence of Dai Jun Nuo on Nuo activities in Jiangxi, but also reflects that Nuo performance is a spatial shift with

the participation of the people. Nuo performances are generally performed during the New Year's Eve and festivals, and there are both temporary structures and fixed venues for performances. Fixed venues include both a full-time Nuo temple and a non-full-time Nuo temple, which is dedicated to ancestors¹. The Nuo temple is a fixed place for Nuo performances that integrate sacrifices and operas. Every Nuo play usually performs there. For example:

On New Year's Day, people went to the ancestral temple for a year of sacrificial rituals, welcoming the gods to start the exorcism performance meeting of exorcising demons and descending demons. (Daoguang's "Xinyu County Chronicles" Volume 2)

Nuo performances need to be completed through performance procedures such as picking up, searching, performing, and rounding up, and its utilitarian purpose of sacrificing and eliminating disasters attracts impromptu participation from the public. Michel Brunet of France once put forward the theory of the duality of theatrical space for ordinary theater performances: "Theatrical space has the characteristics of duality: On the one hand, it must have an organization of performance space, stage space, which is a real space in which the relationship between audience and actors is arranged according to the changing position of the times and culture; On the other hand, it comes from another purely imaginary space."[8]^{P48} According to Michelle, the real space of drama is realized on the stage. The real space for Nuo opera performances is in the Nuo temples, but not only in the Nuo temples. Nuo opera performances start from the Nuo temple, which symbolizes the altar, and perform casually with the people and walk around the community. Although this is different from the general fixed venues for theatrical performances, it is still a real performance space. At the same time, Nuo performances also exist in what Michelle called "virtual space". The Nuo temples are the stages where the Nuo opera begins, but they are also altars for offering sacrifices to gods and ghosts and the support of the people's beliefs. This is what Michelle calls the potential

1. Yan Baoquan and Zhang Jing have a detailed analysis in the article "A Brief Account of Nuo Temple Theater in Western Jiangxi". For details, please refer to "Chinese Opera", 2018, Issue 2.

virtual space of "existence through characters' words and gestures" [8]P52. The local chronicles recorded Nuo's performances, such as "black clothes", "red clothes", "ghost face", "holding dagger-axe", "raising shield", and "holding up ship", etc., which all contain people's belief in Nuo god and self-consciousness. Therefore, the Nuo temples are only the starting point for Nuo performances. A Nuo performance not only needs to transform the real performance space, but also achieve the combination of "sacrifice" and "drama" through the "virtual space" of the people's spiritual sustenance, so as to realize the duality of the drama space of the Nuo performances and the spiritual sustenance of the unity of the sacrifice and drama.

4.2 The Characteristics of Entertaining Gods and People in the Integration of Sacrifice and Drama in Local Chronicles Corpus

The characteristics of "entertaining the gods and entertaining people" of Nuo performances enable Nuo activities to meet the spiritual needs of dispelling disasters and praying for ghosts and gods through dramatic representations. The Gan local chronicles preserved a large number of historical records of Gan Nuo entertaining the gods and people, such as:

In December of the lunar calendar, the people were allowed to perform large-scale Nuo opera performances. In performances, Fang Xiang Shi, with four golden eyes, is often on the stage, holding a dagger-axe in one hand and a shield in the other. He is tied with ropes and is chased by all the energies. What is the purpose? It is a lament that if the king abolished the right to reward good and punish evil, even the netherworld is like a ghost and god, and it is within our operation, so it is the same to drive the people. There is really no difference between governing the sun and governing the underworld. This is a truth that the guardian of the country cannot be ignorant. (Tongzhi "Xinjian County Chronicles" Volume 75)

This record illustrates the dual purpose of Nuo's performance to sacrifice to the gods and to govern the people. Coincidentally, this record is also seen in "(Kangxi) Black Salt Well Records: Rebuilding the Temple of the City God". The "Black Salt Well" is located at the junction of Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan, and is now under the jurisdiction of

Sichuan. It is said that it got this name during the Yuan Dynasty, which also proves the relationship between Gan Nuo and Song Yuan drama. When "Yining Prefecture Chronicles" in Tongzhi recorded the source of Nuo, it also reflected its characteristics of the integration of entertaining gods and entertaining people:

The god of Nuo was Fang Xiang Shi in ancient times. The "Xuanyuan Benji" said: "The Huangdi's concubine was called 'Mowu'. Although she looked ugly, she was virtuous. After death, she became Fang Xiang Godness and often helped the people expel the plague of evil diseases." In modern times, the Nuo gods were mostly people who had merits to the people while they were alive. The villages performed sacrifices to them and performed dramas to greet them. They were called "Xing Nuo". The Nuo gods in Fenning were the most effective and many people participated.

The records of the source and purpose of Nuo god here reflect the integrated nature of Nuo god and man. As mentioned earlier, Gan Nuo's sacrifice and performance venue "Nuo Shen Temple", also known as "General Temple". According to Li Xueping and Zhang Junhua's textual research, the Gan Nuo sacrifice themes, purpose and prototype, and the relationship between Gan Nuo and Jun Nuo and December sacrifice, such as "Grandmaster of Nuo", "Prince of God Nuo", "General of Sanyuan", "Patriarch of Qingyuan", "General Ouyang Jinjia", "Yapo and Dongxiaomei", "Liulang Bodhisattva", etc., show that "existing Gan Nuo is the derivation of Xiang Nuo or the army Nuo in the Ming Dynasty, and has absorbed factors such as the New Year's La Festival" [3]^{P128}, fully confirming the characteristics of Gan Nuo's performances of entertaining gods and people, which indicates that public sacrifices are influenced by secular culture and integrate heroic complexes with religious sacrifices. There are a large number of records about the general being the Nuo god in the local chronicles of Gan, such as:

The Nuo temple worships General Yang Wu called Ouyang Huang. (Volume 2 of "Wanzai County Chronicles" of the Republic of China)

Probably, the Nuo god is commonly known as "General Ouyang Jinjia", and Maanling is the place where the ancestral temple was worshipped. (Volume 2 of "Wanzai County Chronicles" of the Republic of China)

The entertaining and entertaining characteristics of Nuo performances are also that the roles participating in Nuo performances are slightly different from those of ordinary dramas. Drama performances generally have fixed roles and are played by full-time actors, while Nuo opera performers are often neither full-time actors nor fixed roles. Sometimes even the whole people participate in the performance, the actors can also be the audience, with strong group participation and group infectiousness. For example:

During the Chinese New Year, every household set up Ji'an wines, cut lettuce, and made spring cakes. Young men performed spring operas from door to door, some in red dresses and ghost masks for Nuo performances. (Volume 1 of Tongzhi "Guangchang County Cjronicles")

Before and after the Lantern Festival, everyone held annual meetings and set up altars in the earth temples within their respective jurisdictions to pray for a good harvest and drive away disasters. Young and strong men hold paper boats, beat gongs and drums, and lead Taoist priests to go door-to-door to sweep away the ominous things. Women and men are very pious, just like the ancient Nuo ceremony. (Volume 11 of Daoguang's "Yihuang County Chronicles")

It can be seen from these chronicles that Nuo opera performers are sometimes fixed witches and Taoist priests, but more of them are the public. Men, women, old and young can all participate. They are both the main actors of the acting and the audience, and their true purpose is to "wipe away the evil in the community with direct and shocking actions, and sweep away the threat of epidemic disease" [6]^{P175-176}. This art of interweaving reality and illusion, as Rong Shicheng said: "The story on the stage has evolved between illusion and reality." [5]^{P9} It fully embodies the theme of the interaction between entertaining gods and entertaining people, folk performing arts and drama representations.

4.3 Interaction of Unity of Opposites Between the Government and the People of Sacrifice and Drama Integration in Local Chronicles Corpus

Since the Tang and Song Dynasties, most of the superstitious Nuo performances have been transferred to the folk. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, with the completion of the transition from Nuo performances to drama, the subjects participating in Nuo opera activities included both the government and the people. The corpus of Nuo activities in Gan local chronicles records the opposition and unity between officials and people in Nuo Opera activities. The unity of officials and people in Nuo opera activities is reflected in the official support and participation in Nuo opera activities. The local chronicles keep records of the government's frequent exorcism activities, such as:

Before the arrival of the Spring Festival, local officials gathered outside the city's Dongguan and set up three village Nuo performers, and asked them to dance and shout to ward off the plague. (Zhengde "The Records of Jianchang Prefecture" in Ming Dynasty)

The day before the beginning of the spring, all the Nuo gods from the village gathered in the city and waited for the local officials to carry out the welcoming ceremony. After that, the etiquette of expelling the plague was carried out in the official office of the Yamen and in the homes of the people. (Republic of China "Summary of Zhaoping Chronicles")

In order to ensure the standard and normal operation of Nuo opera performances, the government will send people to provide economic support and order management for Nuo opera performances. For example:

Send an ambassador to take charge of trade tax collection and Nuo opera performances. (Volume 2 of "Xinfeng County Chronicles" Kangxi period of the Qing Dynasty)

Nuo performance, as a folk belief and sacrificial activity, has negative influences such as propagating superstition and fooling the people, and the government is afraid that the people will endanger the rule by gathering crowds due to the Nuo performances. Therefore, the government

often restricts Nuo performances. The Chronicles truly record the opposition between the government and the people in Nuo performances. This opposition includes both personal behavior of officials and government behavior. For example:

On the Dragon Boat Festival, during a Nuo opera performance in the city, an official named Zhang Tongbiao met him on the road. He reprimanded and said: "God can bless the people, and it makes sense, but you use the name of the gods to confuse the people, not the gods' willingness." And all those who participated in the Nuo performance were flogged. People discarded the Nuo statue and fled. Until the expiration of Zhang Tongbiao's term, no one performed the Nuo performances. (Guangxu "Jishui County Chronicles" Volume 26)

This chronicle reflects the prohibition of Nuo activities by individual officials. The government's behavior is mainly manifested in the negative impact of a large number of Nuo activities recorded in the local chronicles, which led to the official restriction or even banning of this. For example:

Nuo performance is an ancient custom, but nowadays the costumes are becoming more and more extravagant. People often went to villages near the water and far away to look for people, slaves and maidservants. Even for a family of three or four people with a wife and children, the cost of buying a Nuo performer is ten or twenty taels of gold. When they first arrive at someone else's house, they will show their diligence and win the favor of the owner. Within a year, they will abduct people and rob and run away. Without resorting to wicked people to deceive and ask for property, they will sue others and ruin the family. There are also hired workers who die accidentally and use the excuse of life to be a rogue. If the deceased has no relatives, some local people will pretend to be relatives and file a complaint with the government, which is also a major hazard to the local government. (Volume 2 of "Ruijin County Chronicles" in Kangxi period of the Qing Dynasty)

Jiangxi custom likes Nuo opera performances to thank the gods. Rogues and stickmen use this to condense wealth and make money for profit... Accumulated abuses are plentiful, and Wenyi, the official inspector of the road, and Wang Yongsheng, an official of the general town, urge the government and county officials to strictly prohibit Nuo opera

performances... Nuo opera performances are mixed with men and women, which breed troubles among the people. Even if they use the name of the folk Nuo, they are depraved and lose wealth. Those who are interested should consider suppressing this kind of performances. (Volume 20 of "Ganzhou Prefecture Chronicles" in Tongzhi period of Qing Dynasty)

At the end of spring and early autumn, the village and bazaar gathered wizards, set up altars, built a dojo, made colorful dragon boats, sent plagues, killed livestock for sacrifices, and performed Nuo rituals in imitation of the ancients. ...Because the Nuo performance caused thieves to gather in various cities and towns, people did not dare to question the harm of this custom and could only rely on local officials to strictly prohibit it. (Linchuan County Chronicles of Qing Tongzhi, Volume 12) This kind of unity of opposition between officials and people in Nuo opera activities further demonstrates that Nuo performances have both the commonality of dramatic performances and their individuality as folk performing arts, which fully confirms the characteristics of the sacrifice and drama integration.

5. CONCLUSION

In summary, the records of Gan local chronicles' Nuo activities have fully demonstrated its cultural characteristics of the integration of sacrifice and drama. This feature is achieved through the interaction between the fixation and movement of the performance space, the entertaining and entertaining characteristics of the performance purpose, and the opposition and unity of the officials and the people of the performance participants. Therefore, the corpus of Gan local chronicles' Nuo sacrifice and drama integration truly reproduces the origin and development of Nuo performances in Jiangxi and its relationship with the development of Chinese drama. This relationship is just as Li Xueping and Zhang Junhua believe that Gan Nuo is an alienation of Chinese drama and a part of Song and Yuan drama. "It is a complete history of the origin and alienation of Chinese drama. From the Gan Nuo sacrificial drama in the late Song and early Yuan Dynasties, people can see the traces of the transition of Chinese drama from Nuo to opera, and Nuo sacrificial opera has become an important part of

Song and Yuan drama. The development of Nuo from the Ming and Qing Dynasties to modern times coincidentally explained the details of the process of Nuo's evolution to drama, and the traces of Nuo were gradually fading, and the dramatic elements were gradually increasing" [3]^{P129}. The excavation and sorting of this part of the corpus is conducive to the in-depth study of Nuo opera and the realization of the value of local chronicles in drama research.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Ling Xu contributed to revising and editing, Zunzhang Sun wrote the manuscript.

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