

# 論臺灣「牽亡歌陣」的起源與形成

## — 從傳統喪禮與宗教儀式論起

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### 摘要

「牽亡歌陣」是臺灣民間的陣頭表演藝術，大多於喪葬儀式中進行表演，是亡者家屬基於對死者的孝思與情感，而舉行的民間喪葬儀式表演活動。是以唱念、歌舞、小戲、雜技結合法事儀式之形式呈現，其功能與意義包括：超渡、勸亡、開路關、送亡靈平安前往西方等，同時也可以寬慰家屬對於往生者之關懷，與不捨分離的思念之心情。牽亡歌陣是由五位藝師擔任表演，成員有：紅頭法師、尪姨（倒退）、老婆、小旦與樂師，所使用的法器，一般有：龍角、帝鍾、奉旨、烏鑼及木魚。各團演出之項目和內容，是因地制宜而大同小異，一般可以分為：晚場、早場、做七與墓地場等四種類型。「牽亡歌陣」的表演是兼具表演藝術及喪葬科儀的雙重功能，在臺灣社會民間喪葬儀式活動中，占有重要之地位。

在臺灣民間既重要又具有意義的「牽亡歌陣」表演藝術，論其起源與形成卻眾說紛紜，各有不同。本文首先梳理臺灣「牽亡歌陣」之相關研究，探討本土學者之「牽亡歌陣」起源形成說，多著重於民間文學藝術傳播之小傳統，包含：源於中國大陸說；由說唱、戲曲或藝陣轉為喪葬儀式說，以及道教儀式與故事情節起源說等。繼而提出本人所認知的「牽亡歌陣」起源形成，除了傳習鄉土小傳統之表演因素外，還受到中華文化大傳統之喪禮的內在精神影響。因此以歷時性的儀禮論起，進而梳理傳統喪葬儀式之輓歌資料，內容包含：輓歌之起源、輓歌之詩歌形式與內容。又從宗教儀式之攤儀、盂蘭盆和薦亡等儀式，探析與牽亡歌陣雷同之儀式記載，以及從戲曲中之輓歌，翻檢出與「牽亡歌陣」近似之表演形式與內容。最後結論，提出牽亡歌陣是以民間信仰與宗教之喪葬儀軌的理念為發想，結合從福建傳入臺灣之「落陰歌」的部分形式，又吸收了臺灣歌謠、歌仔戲與車鼓陣之音樂，原以說唱形式體現，現發展成主要以宗教儀式結合車鼓身段，並融入民族舞蹈和雜技等，進行踏謠表演之藝陣。本人透過文獻資料與田野調查之訪談資料，與觀察牽亡儀式之內容、表演形式等，進而提出臺灣「牽亡歌陣」之起源與形成的論點，期望此資料能提供相關研究者參考。

**關鍵詞：**牽亡歌陣、喪葬儀式、藝陣、小戲

# The Origin and Conformation of Qian-wang-ge-zhen in Taiwan: A Study from the Traditional Funerals and Religious Rituals

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Qian-wang-ge-zhen (the Soul-guiding Singing Array) is a Taiwanese folk art formation, presented mostly during funeral ceremonies, and as a folk performing activity in the funeral for the mourners and family to show their filial love and affection toward the dead. There are chang-nian (chanting), ge-wu (singing and dancing), xiao-xi (skits), acrobatics combining with ceremonial services, whose functions and meanings include: chao-du (transiting the dead), quan-wang (praying for the dead), kai-lu-guan (leading the dead), and then sending the dead souls to the West (the Sukhavati) peacefully; meanwhile, the mourners and family's concern and affection for the dead could be consoled, and their remembrance and reluctance to part with the dead could also be comforted. Qian-wang-ge-zhen is performed by five artists, including: Hong-tou-fa-shi (Red-head Masters), Wangyi (or Dao-tui; the psychic), Lao-po (the old lady), Xiao-dan (the young lady) and musicians. Generally, the ritual implements being used are Long-jiao (horns),

Di-zhong (bells), Feng-zhi (sacred tablets), Wu-luo (gongs) and Muyu (wooden blocks). The performing items and contents of each troupe could be quite similar since they all have to accommodate themselves to various locales, and they could be divided into four types: Wan-chang (evening ceremonies), Zao-chang (morning ceremonies), Zuo-qi (rites for the deceased for seven seventh days) and Chulu-chang (soul-guiding ceremonies). Thus, Qian-wang-ge-zhen is with a double function: a performing art and a funeral ritual, which plays a very important part in the funeral service and folk rituals in Taiwan.

There is no consensus about the origin and conformation of Qian-wang-gezhen, the important and meaningful performing activity in Taiwanese society.

This paper will begin by organizing relevant researches on Qian-wang-ge-zhen in Taiwan, discussing local researchers' ideas of the origin and conformation of Qian-wang-ge-zhen, which emphasizes more on the little traditions of folk literature and art transmission, including various theories on the root of the art, such as perceiving Mainland China as the starting place; the chanting, Xiqu (drama) or Yi-zhen (artistic formations) being transformed into funeral ceremonies, or regarding the Taosit rituals and folk tales as the origin. Later, I will propose my idea of the origin and conformation of Qian-wang-ge-zhen. I believe it has been strongly influenced by the interior spirit of traditional funerals in Chinese culture,

apart from inheriting performing elements of little folk traditions. Thus, I will begin by discussing the diachronic etiquette and ceremonies, and then organize the elegies in traditional funerals, including the origin of elegies, the poetic forms and contents of elegies. Also, I will explore further the Nuo ritual, the Ullambana (deliverance) Festival, Jian-wang (the mortuary ritual) in the religious ceremonies, to analyze the records that are similar to Qian-wang-ge-zhen, and then look through the elegies in Xiqu to locate any record with similar forms and contents of Qianwang-ge-zhen. In conclusion, I'd like to propose that Qian-wang-ge-zhen takes its root from folk beliefs and Taoist funeral etiquette, then combining with Laoyin-ge which has been derived from Fujian, and has absorbed Taiwanese ballads, Taiwanese opera, and Che-gu Array. The form was originally in the chanting style, but now it has been developed into a combination of religious ceremonies and Che-gu dance gestures mainly, as well as folk dance movements and acrobatics, to make it as a Yi-zhen performance full of singing and dancing.

The methods applied in this paper are doing literature reviews and conducting interviews through field investigation, and observing the Qian-wang ritual's contents, performing styles and so on, in order to propose the origin and conformation of Qian-wang-ge-zhen in Taiwan. Hopefully, this paper could be a sufficient reference for researchers in related fields.

Keywords : Yizhen, Chegu Array, Chequ Xi, Xiaoxi, Xiaoxi Music