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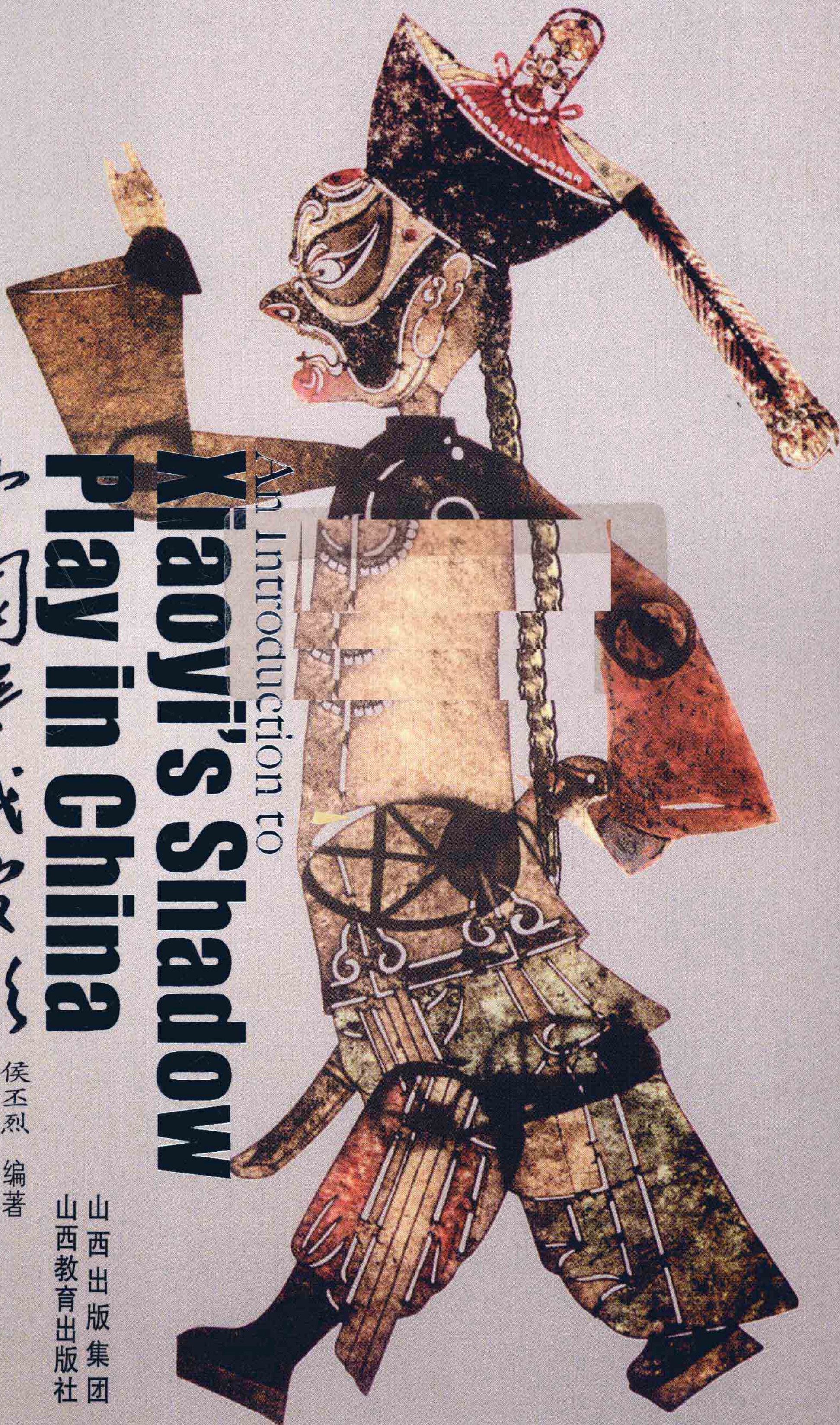
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An Introduction to Xiaoyi's Shadow Play in China

中国孝义皮影

侯丕烈 编著

山西出版集团
山西教育出版社





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中國老皮影

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The Introduction to Chinese Shadow Play ◆◆◆

中国皮影戏的流变



中国皮影戏的流变

皮影的造型艺术同中国其他传统的造型艺术形式一样,有着特殊的表现力和形式美感,在艺苑中有着特殊的存在价值。

在影戏的发展过程中,皮影形成了可独立存在的造型艺术形式,以二度空间观念作为造型基础,用坚硬锋利的钢刃在兽皮上雕镂运行,留下了别致的、具有自身韵律节奏感的件件艺术品,使我们看到或粗犷奔放、或质朴古拙、或精巧秀丽的各具个性特征的画面。它们反映着民情风俗,饱含着民族的感情、愿望和审美取向。



武将·北京皮影 (作者 路连达)

Beijing's leather figure of a military official
carved by Lu Lianda

随着改革开放进程的推进,中华民族的古老文化经历着外来文化强烈的冲击,我们必须寻求自己在艺术天地中应该站立的位置。近年来,众多艺术家发现民间艺术凝聚着中华民族宽厚、不屈、向上的气质,蕴涵着雄强、博大、刚毅的民族魂魄,是中华民族艺术的根。伴随着世界文化的寻根热,发掘、整理和研究山西皮影艺术可以从一个侧面展现民间艺术在人类文化中的重要地位,使我们认识和学习民族、民间艺术的本源精神,从而开拓民族艺术的崭新明天。

当今多数专家学者著书立说说明影戏始于汉朝时,都会引用《汉书·外戚传》的一段记述:“李夫人少而蚤(早)卒。……上(武帝)思念李夫人不已,方士齐人少翁言能致其神,乃夜张灯烛,设帷帐,陈酒肉,而令上居他帐,遥望见好女如李夫人之貌,还幄坐而步。又不得就视,上愈益相思悲感,为作诗曰:‘是邪,非邪?立而望之,偏何姗姗其来

迟！’令乐府诸音家弦歌之……”设帐幕、夜张灯烛，让汉武帝另坐他帐观看影子，已构成影戏雏形。中国著名历史学家、社会学家顾颉刚先生早在60多年前已对此故事作了分析：“其所致者，自非鬼，亦非人，猜想之，乃即影戏之设备大同。而武帝所见之影，则更与影戏无异，如不能就视，如坐而步。最明显者，为其诗之所表现：‘是邪，非邪？’已有不全似李夫人形貌之感觉，正与影戏不合真像处相同。”

宋人高承《事物纪原》中也引用汉武帝和李夫人的故事，认为“由是后有影戏。……汉武帝以下无闻”。清人魏崧《壹是纪始》，亦根据这些记载认为影戏始于汉朝。

近年来，有多家报刊载文分析齐人术士少翁在幕后耍的是什么把戏，有人说是让宫中侍女装扮，有人说是用纸或皮剪成李夫人像，众说纷纭，不一而足。如要分析此问题，还得从戏曲的形成说起。王静安先生在《宋元戏曲史》中认为，歌舞始于古代巫术。实际上在春秋时期就有“优人”，如优孟。虽说巫与优并不能同现代戏剧比同，但视为戏剧之前身当无异议。

影戏是模仿人的戏剧，古时还有一种傀儡戏，也是模仿真人，与影戏“借灯亮影”的特点接近，多被后人混为一谈。傀儡，后人亦叫“宫戏”、“木偶戏”。唐人段安节《乐府杂录》曰：“汉高祖被冒顿围于平城，陈平探知冒顿之妻阏氏奇妒，乃造木偶人作伎女状舞于城埠间，阏氏见之以为真人，恐城下冒顿必纳伎女，乃解围去。”木偶人在汉初能有退兵的效用，一方面说明木偶人制作已到酷似真人的程度，另一方面说明木偶人不是陈平一时想到，仓促即可制成，必然已有甚久的历史。顾颉刚先生推测傀儡“周代已有，亦属可能之事”，那么汉武帝刘彻时的齐人术士少翁很可能是拿傀儡在幕后利用灯光所为。而能“立而



女子·四川皮影

Sichuan's leather figure of a lady



陀头僧·四川皮影

Sichuan's leather figure of a monk

望之”尤得其神，可见此时木偶戏已发展成为影戏，但可以想见此事是术士在帝王前播弄奇技，不可以公开对外，是在秘密的情况下进行的，所以又有“由是后有影戏。……汉武帝以下无闻”之说。

到了唐代，佛教极盛，为了宣传佛教教义，佛教经文通俗化成故事“变文”，以后又演进为“宝卷”，用“悬影宣教”的形式宣传佛法，释教名“椰子佛”，道教曰“悬影宣教”，又名“劝善金科”。

齐如山著《古都百戏图考》说到影戏的源流，和顾颉刚先生一样也认为唐时“虽无史籍明文可稽，而玄宗确有提倡影戏之可能也”，“再参以宋代影戏之盛，其不能突然而起，无源而来，必由于前代之遗留”。杜佑《通典》中《散乐》又云：“大抵散乐杂戏多幻术。……玄宗以其非正

声，置教坊于禁中处以处之。”唐玄宗所搜求的散乐杂戏，据《通典》所载只为大面、拔头、踏摇娘、窟儡子等，而不言及影戏。对此，顾颉刚先生认为：“窟儡子即傀儡与影戏，人多不能别其异点，是以多连带混称之，然则既有窟儡子，当亦即有影戏也。”北宋初年，京城汴梁（开封）影戏大成，并兴盛起来。据宋人孟元老《东京梦华录》记载，当时汴梁城内娱乐场所很多，这些场所称作“瓦肆”，演出的“百戏”也不可胜数，而且“不以风雨寒暑，诸棚看人，日日如是”，瓦肆中专有影戏演出，并且出现了著名影艺人董十五、赵七、曹保义等，可见当时的繁华景象。宋代记录影戏的书籍甚多。

高承《事物纪原》：“宋朝仁宗时，市人有能谈三国事者，或采其说，加缘饰，作影人，始为魏蜀吴三分战争之像。”

张耒《明道杂志》：“京城有富家子，少孤，专财，群无赖百方诱导之。而此子甚好看‘弄影戏’，每弄至斩关羽辄为之泣下，嘱弄者且缓之。一日，弄者曰：‘云长古猛将，今斩之，其鬼或能从崇。’请既斩而祭之。”此子闻甚喜。弄者求酒肉之费，此子出银器数十。至日，斩罢，大陈饮食，如祭者，群无赖聚享之。乃白其子，请遂散此器。此子不敢逆，于是共分焉。”

耐得翁《都城纪胜》：“凡影戏……乃京师人初以素纸雕镞，后用彩色装皮为之。其话



川南老妇人·四川皮影

Sichuan's leather figure of an old woman in the southern part of Sichuan Province

本与讲史书者颇同，大抵真假相半。公忠者雕以正貌，奸邪者与之丑貌，盖亦寓褒贬于市俗之眼戏也。”

吴自牧《梦粱录》：“更有弄影戏者，元汴京初以素纸雕镞，自后人巧工精，以羊皮雕形，用以彩色妆饰，不致损坏。”

孟元老《东京梦华录》：“崇、观以来，在京瓦肆伎艺……董十五、赵七、曹保义、朱婆儿、没困驼、凤僧哥、俎六姐，影戏。丁仪、瘦吉等，弄乔影戏。……其余不可胜数。不以风雨寒暑，诸棚看人，日日如是。”（“弄乔影戏”又名“大影戏”，以真人扮演，说唱均由后面的人担任，如同傀儡，实际和皮影戏不一样，不能混同。）又曰：“诸六门皆有宫中乐棚，万街千巷，尽皆繁盛浩闹。每一坊巷口，无乐棚去处，多设小影戏棚子。”

周密《武林旧事》卷六记杭州当日“诸色伎艺人”，其弄影戏者有贾震、贾雄、尚保义、三贾（贾伟、贾仪、贾佑）、三伏（伏大、伏二、伏三）、沈显、陈松、马俊、马进、王三郎（升）、朱祐、蔡谿、张七、周铤端、郭真、李二娘（队戏）、王润卿（女流）、黑妈妈等20余人，较之《东京梦华录》所记多出三倍，其盛况可知。又有记当时“社会”云：“二月八日为桐川张王生辰，霍山行宫朝拜极盛，百戏竞集，如绯绿社（杂剧）、齐云社（蹴球）、遏云社（唱赚）……雄辩社（小说）、翠锦社（行院）、绘革社（影戏）……”

南宋影戏随帝王从汴梁（开封）迁至临安（杭州），可见影戏在北宋时只在瓦肆中活动，而在南宋时已成为一种宫廷艺术了。

《武林旧事》卷二记载当时灯品中有影戏纱灯、羊皮灯；卷六又载食品中有鱼肉影戏，



神道·陕西西路皮影

Shaanxi's leather figures of immortals

与糟猪头等并列；同时还记录有专门从事雕镂皮影人物的“专业户”，称为“铤影戏”。

《梦粱录·瓦舍·百戏伎艺》还记录南宋官员仿照在汴梁时，在“城内外创立瓦舍，招集伎乐，以为军卒暇日娱戏之地”，“其杭之瓦舍，城内外合计有十七处，著名皮影艺人有贾四郎、王升、王润兴等”。文人墨客也有题作：“三尺生绡做戏台，全凭十指逞诙谐。有时明月灯窗下，一笑还从掌握来。”词人姜夔触景生情，写下了意味深长的词句：“灯已阑珊月色寒，舞儿往往夜深还。只因不尽婆娑意，更向街头弄影看。”可见影戏在宋代盛况空前。

元代，影戏随军传到了南亚。波斯历史学者瑞士德·安定（Rashid Oddin，约1248—1318）曾说：“当中国成吉思汗的儿子在位的时候，曾有演员来到波斯，能在幕后表演特别的戏曲，内容多为国家的故事。”此当是影戏无疑。

阿拉伯半岛上受中国影戏影响最大的是土耳其。17世纪，明万历年间，影戏传到土耳其。土耳其人吸收其演出形式，发展为本国的影戏，同时还创造了很多不同性格的人物，最有名的是卡拉格兹和哈吉瓦特。土耳其人很喜欢卡拉格兹这个人物，因此皮影戏在土耳其还有“卡拉格兹”的别称。现在在安卡拉等大城市里有时还举行皮影戏周专门演出。

18世纪中叶，影戏传到欧洲，各国的艺术家对中国的皮影戏表现出了浓厚的兴趣。1767



武将·孝义皮影

Xiaoyi's leather figure of a military official



年，法国传教士居阿罗德把中国皮影视为宝贝而带回法国。1774年，德国大文豪歌德曾在威兰博览会上把中国皮影戏介绍给德国观众，并在1781年8月28日他生日那天主持演出了皮影戏《米拉瓦的生平》。1927年，在德国举行的万国展览会上，中国留学生演出了皮影戏《喜相逢》，轰动一时。1975年，美国艺术家乔·享弗莱女士创办了“悦龙皮影剧团”。

在国内，约在明代正德年间（1506年左右），兰州影戏吸收了西北地区的“老虎调”、“碗碗腔”创出“兰州影调”，用丰富的唱腔充实了影戏艺术，初传到河北涿州，后传入京城，聚于西城一带，成为北京西派影戏。

正德年间，在北京举行过一次百戏大汇演，皮影戏也参加了演出，当时京城内的皮影戏班达50多个。陕西、山西南部不少县志也记载说，明清时，皮影戏班子多、名家多、演出多、流传广，在民间演出皮影戏已成习俗。明代文学家瞿佑有词云：“南瓦新开影戏场，满堂明烛照兴亡。看看弄到乌江渡，犹把英雄说霸王。”

北京东派影戏，是在明万历年间（1573年左右）形成的。河北滦县秀才黄素志，进京考试落第，把在北京看到的“兰州影戏”带到乐亭县，开创了“乐亭影”。后来“乐亭影”传入河北各地，尤盛于滦州一带，定名为“滦州影”。“滦州影”传入北京，聚于东城一带，成为北京东派影戏。

到清代，影戏的流向可以说是全方位的，全国除西藏、新疆少数几个省区外，各地都留下了影戏的痕迹。乾隆年间，陕西东路皮影、北京东派影戏崛起，并播散各地，其故事脚



西厢记·孝义皮影

Xiaoyi's leather figure of *The Romance of the Western Chamber*

本、音乐唱腔、表演技法、人物造型都表现出突出的艺术价值。

影戏的发展历程也充满了坎坷。翁偶虹先生《从路家影戏班谈北京影戏》一文有云：1796年至1800年（清嘉庆元年至五年）之间，白莲教各处起事，震动了清王朝，镇压之余，严旨搜捕。民间谣传白莲教徒善用纸人纸马，涂以人血即活，指挥驱使，以补兵源不足，有些贪功邀赏望文生义的御史，便妄奏影戏影人与纸人纸兵同，诬陷操影戏者为“悬灯匪”。于是朝廷严缉影戏艺人，迫使北京城内的影戏班子全部解散。嘉庆帝在位时曾五次颁诏禁戏，令禁毁戏箱，驱杀艺人，影戏在全国受到了极大的摧残，直至二十五年后（1821年）道光帝即位才渐渐恢复起来。

至今，学术界对中国皮影的渊源、发展流变轨迹并无一致定论。曹振峰先生认为，中国皮影戏的源流、脉络至今尚未理清，这有个断代、反向源流的问题。要想理顺中国皮影的发展轨迹，还需要我们共同努力！

The Introduction to Chinese Shadow Play

The design of the leather figures of shadow play, like the designs of other Chinese traditional art forms, shows its unique artistic value.

With the development of shadow play, the design of the leather figures evolved into a special art form. Bold, unpretentious, or delicate figures were engraved on hides with sharp knives and distinctive, special works of art were produced. Those works of art depict Chinese traditional custom and reflect the national aesthetic value.

With the advancement of the reform and opening to the outside world, traditional Chinese culture has been strongly influenced by western culture, and Chinese traditional arts are in need of redefinition. It is found recently by a number of artists that the root of Chinese national art is Chinese folk art which shows the national spirit of perseverance and leniency. While all the countries are searching for the roots of their own cultures, to study the shadow play of Shanxi Province could reveal the origin of folk arts and the importance of folk arts in culture; therefore, to develop folk arts in the future.

A number of scholars believe that shadow play originated from the Han Dynasty, and they would cite from *The Records of the Relatives of the Concubines of the Emperor of Han Book*, "Concubine Li died young. Emperor Wu of the Western Han Dynasty missed her very much. An occultist named Shaoweng said he could recall the spirit of Concubine Li. One night, he lighted a room with candles and put up a curtain, setting wine and meat on a table. Sitting afar, the emperor saw the shadow of a beautiful lady who looked like Concubine Li on the curtain. Unable to see her clearly, the emperor missed her more and made a poem: 'Is it she or not? I wait for her to come, but why doesn't she come?' Then the poem was sung by the musician of the imperial palace." The emperor's watching the shadow projected on the curtain lighted by candles is similar to the watching of a shadow play. Gu Jiegang, a famous historian and socialist, commented on this story 60 years ago, "What Emperor Wu saw was neither the shadow of a ghost nor a human being. It was the same as that in a shadow play. 'Is it she or not?' This line of the poem shows that the shadow was not totally the same as that of Concubine Li. In a shadow play the shadow is not totally identical to the real figure either."

Gao Cheng of the Song Dynasty also cited the story of Emperor Wu and Concubine Li in *Shi Wu Ji Yuan* — *The Origin of Things*, "Shadow play originated from the Han Dynasty." Based on these records, Wei Song of the Qing Dynasty also wrote in *Yi Shi Ji Shi* — *The Source of Things* that shadow play originated



武將·北京皮影 (作者 路海)

Beijing's leather figure of a military official carved by Lu Hai



穆桂英·黑龙江皮影 (作者 傅作仁)

Mu Guiying—Heilongjiang's leather figure carved by Fu Zuoren



杨任·黑龙江皮影 (作者 傅作仁)

Yang Ren—Heilongjiang's leather figure carved by Fu Zuoren

from the Han Dynasty.

Recently, many articles in newspapers have been commenting on the tricks the occultist played. Some say the shadow was that of an imperial maid, and some others believe that the shadow was that of a piece of paper or hide cut in the shape of Concubine Li. To solve this problem, the origin of the opera is helpful. Mr. Wang Jing'an wrote in *The History of the Opera of the Song and Yuan Dynasties* that singing and dancing originated from witchcraft, appearing as early as in the Spring and Autumn Period, which is believed to be the predecessor of the opera. In shadow play the shadows of the leather figures play the role of actors. In Kuilei Xi (puppet show) of old times, the puppets also played the role of actors. Therefore, shadow play is wrongly confused with Kuilei Xi by many people. Duan Anjie of the Tang Dynasty wrote in *Imperial Music*, "the first emperor of the Han Dynasty was once surrounded by the army of Mo Du in Ping City. Chen Ping—a civil official of the Han Dynasty learned that Mo Du's wife Yanzhi was very jealous. Then he proposed to play a puppet who acted as a beautiful dancer on the wall of Ping City. Mo Du's wife took it wrongly as a real human being. Fearing that Mo Du would take the "beautiful dancer" as his concubine, Mo Du's wife asked Mo Du to leave Ping City. Since the puppet helped to dispel the enemies, it is clear that puppet show must have had a long history since the puppet was so vivid that it could not be manufactured in haste. Gu Jiegang surmised, "It is possible that puppets existed in the Zhou Dynasty." In the story of Emperor Wu and his Concubine Li, the occultist probably played a puppet behind the curtain lighted by the candle lights.

During the Tang Dynasty, Buddhism flourished. To disseminate Buddhism, the classics of Buddhism were transformed into stories called Bianwen—a kind of rhymed essay, and finally evolved into Baojuan—one genre of Bianwen. Those stories were performed in shadow play which were called by Buddhists as Singing Classics of Buddhism.

Qi Rushan believed in his book *Gu Du Bai Xi Tu Kao—The Evaluation of the Pictures of Operas Playing in the Capital* that, “It is probable that Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty advocated shadow play even though no written records exist...Shadow play could not flourish in the Song Dynasty without a reasonable period of development.” Du You, a historian and politician of the Tang Dynasty wrote in “San Yue—All Kinds of Plays” of *Tong Dian—The Study of the Policies of Chinese Governments* that the plays Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty advocated included: Big Face—a kind of play in which the actor wears a mask playing the role of a soldier fighting on the battle field, Head Lifting—a kind of play in which the actor wears a mask with the hair uncombed playing the role of a man fighting with a beast, Dancing Women—a kind of play in which the actress dances and sings telling the story of his husband beating her and puppet show and so on. Shadow play, however, was not mentioned as one of those plays. Gu Jiegang surmised that, “Puppet show actually includes puppet play and shadow play. Since common people couldn’t tell the difference between the two kinds of plays, so they call both of them puppet show. Thus the existence of puppet show certified the existence of shadow play.” During the early years of the Northern Song Dynasty, shadow play flourished in the capital city—Bianliang (Kaifeng of today). According to *Dong Jing Meng Hua Lu—Comprehensive Study of the Capital City of the Northern Song Dynasty* by Meng Yuanlao of the Song Dynasty, in the capital city, there were many entertainment places called Wasi where all kinds of plays were staged. “The audience went to Wasi every day in spite of the bad weather.” Shadow play was heartily welcomed and staged in Wasi as a special program by famous players such as Dong Shiwu, Zhao Qi, Cao Baoyi and so on. In the Song Dynasty a number of books recorded shadow play.

It is recorded in *Shi Wu Ji Yuan—The Origin of Things* by Gao Cheng, “During the reign of Renzong of the Song Dynasty, based on the story of the Three Kingdoms, the leather figures of the shadow play of the Three Kingdoms were designed.”

One story about shadow play is told in *Ming Dao Za Zhi—Instructing Stories* by Zhang Lei. “In the capital city there was a rich young man whose parents had died when he was still young. Rogues tried all kinds of tricks to cheat him out of money. This young man liked watching shadow play very much. When watching the shadow play of the Three Kingdoms, every time when it came to the scene of Guan Yu (a very famous military official) being killed, he would shed tears and ask the player to stop playing for a moment. One day the player of the shadow play told him ‘Guan Yu was a very ferocious military official. If today in the shadow play he would be beheaded, the ghost might hold grudges. Please pay sacrifice to the ghost when Guan Yu would be beheaded in the shadow play.’ This young rich man agreed. Then the player asked for money for the sacrifice—meat and drink for the ghost, and the young man also provided scores of silverwares. When it came to the moment when Guan Yu would be beheaded in the shadow play, the sacrifice was set out and some rogues enjoyed it. Afterwards, they told the rich young man that the silverwares should be distributed to show the respect to the ghost of Guan Yu. Being afraid of being

avenged by the ghost, the young man distributed the silver-ware unwillingly.”

Shadow play is also recorded in *Du Cheng Ji Sheng* — *The Encyclopedia about Lin' an City* by Nai Deweng. Lin' an City was the capital of the Southern Song Dynasty. “In the capital, the figures of shadow play were first cut with white paper but gradually with development they were engraved on colored hides. The upright persons have graceful appearances and the wicked persons have ugly faces. The story of one shadow play is the combination of real history and legends.”

Shadow play is also recorded in *Meng Liang Lu* — *The Catalogue of the Customs and Beautiful Scenes of Lin' an City* by Wu Zimu. “At first, the craftsmen of shadow play cut the figures with white paper, and then with the advancement of the skills the figures were engraved on sheep hides which are easier to be maintained. Colors were also applied on the hides.”

It is recorded in *Dong Jing Meng Hua Lu* — *Comprehensive Study of the Capital City of the Northern Song Dynasty* by Meng Yuanlao of the Song Dynasty that “In the Wasi of the capital city, there are a lot of famous shadow players such as Dong Shiwu, Zhao Qi, Cao Baoyi, Zhu Po'er, Mo Kuntuo, Feng Sengge, Cu Liujie. Another kind of play is called Nongqiao Shadow Play (also called Bigger Shadow Play in which the real persons, instead of the cut figures, played on the stage to the accompaniment of the singing of the singer behind the stage. Thus Nongqiao Shadow Play is different from shadow play.)... Other kinds of plays are countless. Despite the bad weather, every day every Wasi is full of audience. ... In almost every street of the capital city there are imperial sites for all kinds of plays. Even in very narrow streets where there are no imperial sites, there would be a small shed for shadow play.”

Book Six of *Wu Lin Jiu Shi* — *The Encyclopedia of the Capital of the Southern Song Dynasty* records performers of all kinds of plays among which there are a score of players of shadow play such as Jia Zhen, Jia Xiong, Shang Baoyi, Jia Wei, Jia Yi, Jia You, Fu Da, Fu Er, Fu San, Shen Xian, Chen



武士·河北皮影

Hebei's leather figure of a military official



女子·河北皮影

Hebei's leather figure of a lady