

作者簡介

黃啟瑞
Aits Butal



踏足花蓮田野開始，匆匆過了十餘年。修習民族學，用影像與文字交織記錄，期間與朋友共組Orlip生活旅人工作室，並參與多本書籍企劃撰寫。和環境資訊協會的團隊合作是一場美麗的意外。

黃嘉隆
Huang Chia-Lung



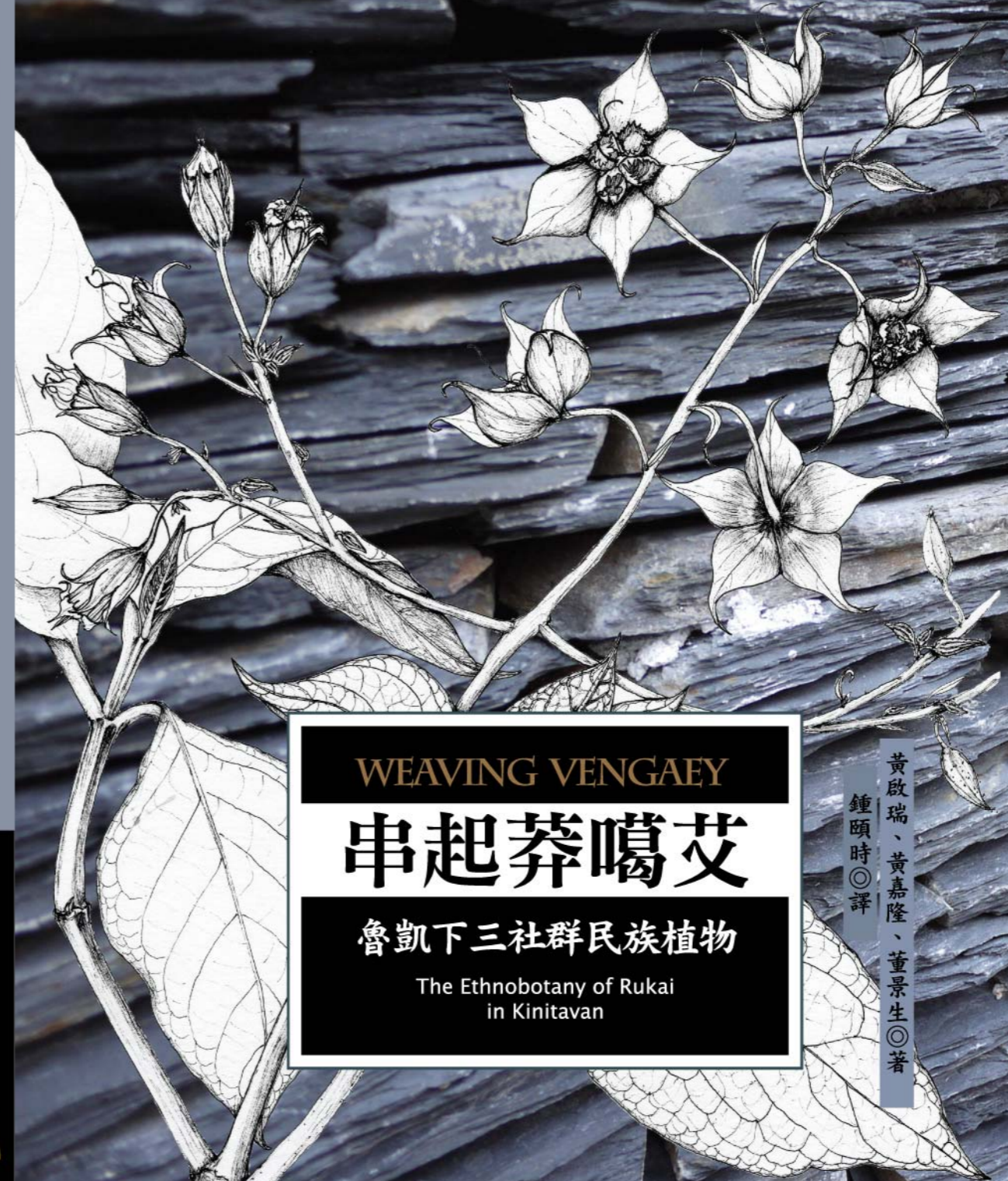
植物與自然科學系所畢業，熱愛攝影，平日活躍於數個生態保育團體，並在多所社區大學擔任講師。生活忙碌而充實，緊鑼密鼓的調查過程中，下三社開拓了自己的民族植物視野。

董景生
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台灣環境資訊協會理事，現任職行政院農業委員會林業試驗所。年少喜愛山林行走，身為背包客往返不同國度，卻只見台灣傳統文化逐漸消失，決心回饋早年中央山脈打獵的震撼與感動。本書是繼「綠色葛雷爾」、「走山拉姆岸」、「邦查米阿勞」後的民族植物新文本。

黃啟瑞、黃嘉隆、董景生◎著
鍾頤時◎譯



WEAVING VENGAEY
串起莽噶艾
魯凱下三社群民族植物
The Ethnobotany of Rukai
in Kinitavan

WEAVING VENGAEY 串起莽噶艾 魯凱下三社群民族植物 The Ethnobotany of Rukai in Kinitavan

行政院農業委員會林務局

莽噶艾在多納語，是花環的意思，本書藉由魯凱族下三社族群的生命故事與生活場景，引領讀者遨遊綿延曲折的山谷地帶，串起部落族人傳統生態智慧的美麗花環。

Vengaey means "wreath" in Rukai (Kungadavane dialect). It is here used as a metaphor for connecting the botanical lives of Rukai in Kinitavan.



台灣環境資訊協會

致力於台灣環境資訊的交流與普及，促進人與自然之和諧；每日發行環境資訊電子報，追蹤台灣生態、環境、保育事件；我們相信，關懷來自於真實的瞭解，也才能引發改善環境的行動與決心！



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WEAVING VENGAEY

串起莽噶艾

魯凱下三社群民族植物

The Ethnobotany of Rukai in Kinitavan









Preface

局長序

2009年莫拉克颱風侵臺，挾帶破紀錄雨量重創南臺灣，使得原本蒼翠的山林一夕之間變色，高雄茂林敏感的地質禁不住土石崩落及滾滾洪水侵襲，舊稱下三社群的魯凱族原民部落的聯外道路及住屋嚴重崩塌毀損，瞬間成為缺水斷電的黑暗孤島。大地反撲的力道如此驚人，顯現面對今後激烈的氣候變遷，我們必須有別以往的防災觀念為之因應。審視當地住民村落遷址的歷史，不難發現如今村落的所在是歷經了連串長期的環境適應與政治妥協，以及面對自然的嚴苛考驗。我們更發現較為古老的多納村反而較遷村過的萬山村安全，這讓我們不得不正視原住民傳統社會的睿智，以及永續生存的邏輯。

身處生物多樣性蔚為顯學的現代，透過新思維反觀舊傳統，可知過去社會依循神話、宗教信仰，採取禁忌、部落規範等手段，謹慎使用山林資源，以達到族群與自然的共存共榮。在迎向新時代的文明當下，人與環境之間，卻為追求著經濟效率，大面積耕種、大量獵捕，反而導致資源枯竭，人類甚至逐漸失去賴以維生的物種多樣性。

民族植物學，是人類利用生活週遭植物所衍生的文明，透過探討記錄原住民的食物、衣著、住屋建材，解析先民對民族植物的使用智慧，構成更宏觀更永續的民族文化，唯有人類與環境相應相生才能成就永續的族群，反璞歸真不啻為現代文明的一劑解藥。

本局與台灣環境資訊協會合作推出一系列的原住民族植物書籍，有2005年獲行政院優良政府出版品獎的「綠色葛香扇—南澳泰雅的民族植物」；2008年獲第一屆國家出版獎的「走山拉姆岸—中央山脈布農民族植物」；2010年獨獲第二屆國家出版獎特優獎的「邦查米阿勞—東台灣阿美民族植物」。以上光榮獲獎紀錄未讓研究團隊們因此而自滿或沉醉駐足，反而再接再厲花更多時間投身於部落訪查工作，本書藉由田野調查採集部落耆老的生命故事，詳細加上註解後，引領社會大眾走進並深入部落，聆聽耆老智慧的傳授，真正體認民族植物文化，湧生對山林崇敬的心情，本局很榮幸能四度與團隊合作，藉由「串起芒葛艾--魯凱下三社群民族植物」的出版，希望大家都能珍惜上天所賜予的自然資源，尊重並致力維繫部落的傳統文化而樂於為序。

行政院農業委員會林務局
局長

李桃生

謹識



Foreword
作者序

作者序

萬山。多納。茂林

Foreword: Oponoho, Kungadavane, and Terdreka

過去探討魯凱族下三社的資料著實闕如，究其原因除物質文化、社會制度，乃至體質特徵等，均與隔鄰的排灣族群難加區辨；再則範圍不大的濁口溪流域，卻展現高度歧異，也是令研究者卻步的原因之一。語言學者根據詞彙比例與語法分析，嘗試指出萬山、多納、茂林各自為一個語言分支，而萬山語最接近古老的魯凱語源，故推測三社可能是魯凱族最早分化的部落；民族學則指出，如今萬山乃至茂林、多納，所展現的平權社會特質，有別其他魯凱或排灣社群嚴格的階級層屬，毋寧是頻繁通婚與周邊異族互動而展現的高度文化包容，塑造出今日下三社的特殊與歧異。

相類似的觀察結果也出現在繽紛多樣的頭飾植物上，在霧台等魯凱部落，百合花等種神聖植物的使用與社會階級脫離不了干係，惟獨下三社群，可能通婚與開放，使得編織花環的植物充滿創意並失去禁忌，與此同時，為了花環用途以及裝飾石板屋群所闢建的園藝植物，竭盡所能的爭奇鬥妍，形成一幅魯凱特有的家庭園藝風景，各式各樣的外來植物，從原生地美洲、非洲、印度…飄揚而來，透過早期的行船人甚或平地漢族的花卉市集購得，組合出花開燦爛的魯凱園藝生活。

近期風災災損，對多納而言，遭土方覆沒的溫泉，無疑嚙斷了對外重要的經濟命脈，族人期盼溫泉新露頭，乃在掩埋達數公尺深的塌崩地域全面開挖，顯得不切實際。多數村民深刻記及，那段日子缺水沒電，與外界維持最少的連繫（有的只是每日1-2次的直升機空投），斷電導致冰箱無法運轉。風災對大地的破壞，一度阻絕了族中獵人們的獵區地圖，儘管家人抱怨少吃了點肉，但那段日子卻意外成為回歸祖先生活模式的特殊時光，彷彿宮崎駿《神隱少女》裡誤闖的山村湯屋，村內田圃雞犬相聞，田間菜蔬、野菜不虞匱乏，族人彼此守望相助，人與人，人與自然間回復到互敬和諧的純粹生活。這樣的感受，投映在現實的多納，小斜巷、石板牆、優雅的園藝，亦或是茂林正著手的紫斑蝶復育，萬山的藝術部落營造等，石板屋與現代生活，編織出曾有的悠遠穩定的人文風景。

*本書前半部重組不少族人的訪談，包括部落史、變遷移動、傳統習俗、自然資源知識等，據此重新進行角色設定，藉由四個生命過程的八段故事，輔以相關註解，並以多納語主述，意在引領讀者透過故事情結的鋪展，進入下三社族人的生存情境，如有雷同祈請見諒。

Oponoho, Kungadavane, and Terdreka

The publications about Kinitavan group are rare. The researchers might be stopped by the ambiguities between Kinitavan group and Paiwan, or the high cultural diversity within such a small area. Some linguists suggested that each of Oponoho, Kungadavane and Terdreka is independent language in terms of differences in their vocabulary and grammar. Oponoho dialect is closest to the ancient Rukai language, so that Kinitavan is inferred the earliest tribe of Rukai.

Moreover, the anthropological studies indicate that unlike the strict hierarchy in other Rukai and Paiwan, the unique culture of equal rights and inclusiveness in Oponoho, Kungadavane, and Terdreka might come from their frequent interracial marriages and interactions with surrounding tribes. It is manifested in their diverse head accessory plants. For example the Taiwan lily is a holy plant of the nobles' privilege in Wutai tribe, while it can be freely used with no taboos in weaving wreaths in Kinitavan area. For weaving wreaths and decorating stone slab houses, almost every Kinitavan family do their best to manage a splendid yard garden of various plants, endemic or introduced, resembling a colorful Rukai gardening lifestyle.

Recently, this area has been struck with typhoons badly. The hot spring tourism resource which was Kungadavane's economic lifeline was destroyed by the landslides. Though it might seem unrealistic, the villagers are conducting a whole-area digging towards the hot spring area striving to retrieve the hot spring. Most villagers deeply remember the isolated days when typhoon cut off the traffic, electricity and tap water. Though it is inconvenient and lack of foods, that moment reminded them of the ancestors' good old days, where the lifestyle was simple, people cared for each other, and were in harmony with nature.

Facing the reality, Kinitavan people are now striving to rebuild their subsistence and lifestyle from a basis of their traditional values. The mixtures of traditions and modern tourism could be seen in the peaceful stoneslab lanes and delicate gardens of Kungadavane, in the Purple Crow Butterfly Conservation of Terdreka, and in the stoneslab houses of Oponoho.





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Part 1

The Winding River



上卷

蜿蜒曲折的流域

萬山語 **Lrangale**

連杯

Wooden Joint Cups
in Oponoho dialect



昔日孤巴察峨

Kopacache Legend



男主角 Baro： 出生於多納部落

女主角 Elen： 出生於舊萬山部落，嫁到多納部落

坐在深褐色襯墊著漢布的搖椅上，Elen 的視線跟著身體搖晃著，一瞥桌旁黝黑光澤的陶壺，搖著搖著，陶壺似乎慢慢變大，浮雕從黝黑色調中脫離漂浮空中，虛影碎片一如石板屋的節理，恍惚間，Elen 的思緒飛越了群山，回到自己在 Oponoho（舊萬山部落）的少女時期，想起小時候mumu（姆姆，祖母的意思）曾經告訴過她的古老 Kopacache（孤巴察峨）傳說。

歲月可倒流的話，Elen 想追問姆姆，故事中來自北方，嫁入 Oponoho 頭目 Lapangulai（拉巴巫賴）家的布農女子 Ese，是不是也經歷過自己與多納丈夫 Baro 一樣彼此言語不通的處境？

當年的姆姆，是邊刺繡邊訴說這則故事，事實上 Kopacache 字面指的就是刺繡，同時也是石頭上花紋的意思。故事中的女主角，相傳是來

自北方「塞伊茂」部落（布農或南鄒地區）的女子Ese，美麗的她嫁給了Oponoho頭目家的男子Retage。兩人婚後過著恩愛的日子，也會在農忙時節，陪同全家一起上山耕種。

新成員的加入，為Lapangulai家帶進了勤勞的生產力，只是Ese有個特殊習慣，她總在家人焚壘忙碌時，搶著趕回家燒飯提水，煮好飯菜後，則不與其他人共餐，甚至與自己丈夫Retage獨處，也不在一處吃飯。漸漸地，家人覺察Ese做的飯菜，有股說不出的怪味，心生懷疑的Retage父親，於是利用全家下田工作的時機，命令小兒子潛回爐灶附近，察看嫂嫂煮飯做菜的情形。

結果，躲著的Retage弟弟，瞧見Ese在石板燒烤前，先是連吹幾次神奇的口哨，剎那間，好幾條百步蛇從四處鑽出擁到跟前，並且乖乖纏伏在Ese身邊。只見Ese不慌不忙地挑了隻百步蛇放入灶上鍋內，蓋好石片後掩上泥土，這才動身前往溪邊提水，而原先聚集過來的蛇，則循原路四處散去。

Retage的弟弟等Ese走遠後，趕緊撥開石板確認，發現鍋裡燜熟的除了地瓜芋頭，還有剛才那尾百步蛇，訝異之餘趕忙跑回田裡告訴父親。氣急敗壞的父親召集家人回去工寮察看，當眾人掀開土窯石板，也揭露了媳婦吃蛇肉的行為，由於百步蛇與魯凱族祖先有許多傳說淵源，神聖特殊性不容褻瀆，頭目指責觸犯禁忌的媳婦Ese，Ese自知理虧，只好將烤熟的百步蛇收入衣襟，臨走回頭詢問丈夫Retage：「我要走了，你呢？要不要跟我一起？」，Retage未曾作聲，也不敢跟Ese走，Ese只好落寞地獨自離開。

仍然深愛自己丈夫的Ese，依依不捨地離開Oponoho，餓了就吃衣襟中的百步蛇肉，神奇的是她所吐出來的蛇骨，落到地面後，沿路變成一條條小百步蛇遊走。傷心的Ese不禁又想，Retage應會追尋來帶她回去，路上她既慌亂又傷心，直到走到Kopacahe時停下，期盼丈夫前來的她開始漫長的等待，在這裡，她邊哼著哀傷的曲調，邊用手指隨意畫著石壁，奇怪地當Ese手指一碰到石頭，石頭就變得如年糕般柔軟，於是她畫了一個又一個的圖案，每當一個圖案畫完，石頭又恢復硬化，整片山壁Ese畫到密密麻麻，但是始終不見Retage蹤影。等不到而失望的Ese伏靠一塊大石頭上痛哭，至今大石頭上還留有她哀傷的身形。



Kopacahe legend

Baro: a Kungadavane man
Elen: Baro's wife, from Oponoho

In a peaceful Kungadavane afternoon, while Elen is lying on a swing chair, the dizzy atmosphere brings her back to her Oponoho childhood memory. She recalls once grandma (mumu) told her the ancient legend of Kopacahe when mumu was embroidering, which happens to be the meaning of "Kopacahe".....

If she could travel back to the past, she wants to ask mumu whether the Bunun girl in the story had language issues as she did at the beginning of her marriage to her Kungadavane husband.....

Once upon a time, the beautiful Ese from the northern Bunun tribe was married to Retage, son of Oponoho chief Lapangulai. At first, they had lived a happy life. Ese would help on the farm with the whole family in busy seasons, and had increased the working force significantly. However, she had a very strange habit-when her family were busy slashing and burning, she would always hurry back home to prepare foods. What was even stranger was that she never ate with them, not even with her husband when they were alone. Later, her family discovered some odd smells in her cooking. Retage's father thus had his youngest son spy on Ese.



In the kitchen the youngest son witnessed something scary. After Ese made some magical whistles, several moccasin snakes came to her and peacefully rested around her. She gently picked several moccasins and put them into the pot, covered it with stones and mud, and then went to the river for water while the rest of moccasins slipped out right away. After she's gone, the young brother opened the pot and found the moccasins were simmered with taros and sweet potatoes. The son went tell his father. The father then lead the whole family home and revealed the moccasin-eating behavior of Ese's. The moccasin snakes had deep connections with Rukai ancestors and was a holy creature. Ese, who violated the sacred snake had to be expelled. Ese wanted her husband to go with her, Retage was not brave enough to follow. Sad Ese then took the cooked moccasins and left alone.

On the way, she ate the moccasins when she was hungry. It was amazing that when she spat out the bones, those bones became small moccasins and slipped away. Ese, who was so in love with Retage, had wished he could come and take her back home so she stopped at a place called Kopacahe, and kept waiting there. She sang sad tunes and used her finger to paint on the stones on the cliff. Magically, when her finger touched the stone, the stone turned soft as cakes, yet after one painting was finished the stone would become hard again. Finally, the cliff was full with thousands of paintings, but Retage never showed up. Ese, deep in melancholy, cried her heat out leaning against a big rock. Even now, the echo of her sad weeping can still be heard at Kopacahe.

BOX 重巒疊翠 I-I Deep Mountains



日治時期的魯凱族居住在高雄州屏東郡境內的山地，包括高屏溪上游的濁口溪、隘寮北溪和隘寮南溪所迂迴流經的區域，以及台東支廳的大南溪（今利嘉溪）上游。範圍囊括了中央山脈南南段，北起卑南主山，南接霧頭山和大武山。

濁口溪發源於中央山脈南端的卑南主山，彎曲的河流一路蜿蜒而下，由於地質多屬粘板岩，並夾雜黝黑色石英質砂岩或硬頁岩，這類岩層對河流沖蝕的抵抗力弱，極易造成河蝕地形，加上地盤運動影響，常截斷蜿蜒流域間的凸出山腳，形成高約百米的環流丘。河道下切，曲流遺跡的河階地形，海拔高約50公尺易遭洪患之處，便成部落選定的位址。全長50公里左右的濁口溪，匯聚上游縱谷的馬里山溪以及溫泉溪，沿河多為易崩落的岩屑地，不過卻也造就各式瀑布、溫泉等景觀，以及眾多可供農墾的富庶河階區。

由於屬夏雨型、冬季較為乾燥的氣候，下三社領域的林相為中海拔暖溫帶到低海拔亞熱帶的山地闊葉林，其中低海拔闊葉林格屬以及楠櫛林帶的歧異度高而多樣，至於乾季氣候條件，則導致落葉樹

種及藤本植物的普遍分佈。山坡地陡峭，成就獵人能力，但受限坡度，僅在人力能及的山間成為獵區，也因此主要獵徑雜沓，獵區亦難免交疊，獵人秩序仰賴所發展的高度社會規範和共識維持。拔立高聳的岩山，成為不同部落的天然屏障，保護了各自安全卻也同時造成孤立，致使發展成各自語言和文化差異，下三社獵人及婦女也因各自環境，因而得善用不同山谷間的植物。

河階肥沃，豐收族人農作，各式作物因雨量充沛、土壤豐盈而生長飽滿；族人就地取材，利用普遍可得黏板岩造屋，在溪流圍石並利用魚藤捕魚；到溪邊吸水的多樣蝶種，更為居民帶來心靈與實質的收穫。富饒收成，部落因而擴張，族人到新的河階台地展開新階級、新生活。然而，河階坡地也潛存氾濫及崩塌危險，因此只有最安全的河階腹地，能夠發展成穩定的大部落，擁有更細緻的社會階層分工。



BOX Deep Mountains



During the Japanese colonial era, Rukai people resided in the upstream mountain valleys of Zhuo-Kou river, Ai-Liao-Bei river, Ai-Liao-Nan river, and the Li-Jia river.

Originated from the Bei-Nan-Zhu mountain, the geological feature along Zhuo-Kou River is mostly argillite with black quartz sandstone or hard shale, which is apt to erosion and hence results in river erosion terrain. The eroding and deepening effects at the river bents even create hundred-meter deep incised meanders (Umlaufberg). Terraces of 50m high above the river are good sites for building a tribe without being affected by the flood. Though most terrains along Zhuo-Kou River are unstable screens, it gives birth to various scenic waterfalls and fertile river terraces for farm land.

The summer is rainy with winter dry in Kinitavan area. The forest is formed with warm temperate forest at medium elevation while broad-leaf forest occupies lower elevation. The elevation gradient contributes to high biodiversity, while the dry weather makes deciduous trees and vines prevailing. The steep mountains are tough training grounds for hunters and stand like natural defense protecting and isolating tribes, which results in different dialects, habits and the unique utilization of plants in their own valley.

The fertile river terraces bring them good harvests. People here utilize surrounding natural materials quite well, like using clay slates to build houses, trifoliate jewel vines to catch fish, and collecting butterflies to sell for money. When a tribe expands, a new established tribe creates new life and new social class. However, most terraces are small and fragile, only if on a broad terrace could a big tribe develop stably with exquisite hierarchical differentiation.





BOX 下三社群 夾縫中的族群

I-2 Kinitavan Group – Rose among Thorns



茂林 (Toruluka、Maga、芒仔)、多納 (Kongadawan、Tona、墩仔)、萬山 (Oponohu、Mantauran、萬斗籠) 三社，由於座落在濁口河流域，海拔兩千公尺以下山區，因此有時又稱為魯凱族濁口群。至於下三社蕃的稱呼，首見於日治時期警察本署1916年出版的《蕃社戶口》資料，當時是為對應地理位置北方的南鄰沙阿魯阿群上四社 (Gani、Biran、Haisen、Tararu社) 的「四社群」。在這之前，由於社會制度、文化特質與鄰近的排灣族極為類似，清領時期兩者普遍被鳳山縣 (今屏東縣) 漢人混稱為「傀儡蕃」，日治初期伊能嘉矩進行台灣高砂族群分類時，則以Tsarien (澤利先) 含括兩族，之後不同學者依照各自見解，有區分開Tsari sene和Paiwan者 (烏居龍藏1910)，也有將魯凱、排灣、卑南三族合併於Paiwan之下的論點 (森丑之助1912)，到1936年台北帝國大學淺井惠倫依據語言差異，則將魯凱族下細分三群，包括東魯凱Taromak群、西魯凱Rukai本群以及下三社群。下三社群所使用的語言極為特殊，當中

約六、七成與魯凱語相通，但各部落又自知與魯凱語不同，甚至三社間彼此也存有許多差異。

1939年，鹿野忠雄提出排灣族與魯凱族在文化上的幾項區別，包括排灣族擁有易於識別的五年祭傳說及祭典執行認同（但這項差別，在鄰近下三社群及隘寮群的排灣Raval亞群則明顯又無），墓葬形式排灣族以蹲踞屈肢葬，魯凱族則採直肢葬、側身葬的形式。鹿野進一步指出兩者語言雖然有所差異，體質特徵卻無明顯不同，因此認為毋須獨立魯凱族於排灣族外，當屬於排灣部族底下的魯凱亞族。地理位置的相近、社會制度及物質文化的相似，不難理解過去學者致力族群分類的探討，為何經常將兩者歸於同一族群之內。

下三社的傳統領域，北方和布農族接壤，南方和排灣族連接，東方緊鄰布農和卑南族，西方幾乎被排灣所包圍，自來即為各族群間的戰略要地。事實上，除了語言不同及少數地方性文化差異，頻繁互動、通婚往來、戰爭媾和，圍繞在這些不同族群、不同部落之間的實際利害，反而是部落 / 聚落的認同，更為切身相關。





底圖參考：《原住民部落起源及部落遷移史-以魯凱族下三社群為例》p4

| 分類年代 Classification | 魯凱族Rukai | 排灣族Paiwan | 卑南族Puyuma |
|---|--|---|-----------------------------|
| 清朝 Qing Dynasty | 傀儡蕃 Kale | | 卑南蕃 Puyuma |
| 1899伊能嘉矩 Kanori Ino | Tsarien | | Puyuma |
| 1910鳥居龍藏 Ryuzo Torii | Tsarisene | Paiwan | Pyouma |
| 1911台灣總督府〈理番報告〉 Government of Formosa 〈Report on the control of the aborigines in Formosa〉 | Tsari sen | Paiwan | Piyuma |
| 1912森丑之助 Ushinosuke Mori | Paiwan | | |
| 1916警察本署 National Police Agency | 下三社蕃 Kinitavan | 傀儡蕃 Kale Rukai Ravar | -- |
| 1922台灣臨時舊慣調查會 Temporary Investigation Committee on Taiwanese Old Customs | Calisian | | Piyuma |
| | tsaisya calisian (上 calisian) qer calisian | d ro b ai (rukai) ravar wuculj | |
| 1935移川子之藏 Nenczo Utsushikawa | Rukai | Paiwan | Puyuma、Panayan |
| 1936淺井惠倫 Erin Asai | Original rukai | Paiwan proper | |
| | 下三社群 Kinitavan Group | Rukai 亞 群 Rukai Group | Tanomai Tanomai Group |
| | | Original paiwan | |
| | | 北方方言 Northern dialect | 中部方言 Central dialect |
| | | 南方方言 Southern dialect | |
| 1941鹿野忠雄Tadao Kano | Paiwan | | Puyuma |
| | 魯凱亞族 Rukai sub-ethnic group | 排灣亞族 Suqaroqaro sub- ethnic group | |
| 1948台灣大學民族學研究室 Institute of Ethnology, Ntu | 魯凱Rukai | 排灣Paiwan | 畢瑪Puyuma |
| 1954內政部Ministry of the Interior, R.O.C. | 魯凱Rukai | 排灣Paiwan | 卑南Puyuma |

Kinitavan Group

Rose among Thorns

Kinitavan group consists of Terdreka, Kungadavane and Oponoho tribes. They are distributed within the watershed of Zhou-Kou river under 2000 m high, thus sometimes named as the "Zhou-Kou" group of Rukai. Another name "Shia-San group" (which means down three group) was first seen on the Japanese police population record in 1916, which might be named in contrast of the "Shang-Si group" (which means up four group) of Tsou people. Earlier in the Qing era, for their culture and social structure were similar to Paiwan, they were both ambiguously called "Kale". In the early Japanese era, Kanori Ino classified Rukai and Paiwan as Tsanien, while at the same time Ryuzo Torii suggested that Tsanisene and Paiwan should be separated. Ushinosuke Mori had an argument that Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma should be integrated into Paiwan. In 1936 Erin Asai according to their language differences classified Rukai into 3 groups: Taromak group (Eastern Rukai), Rukai group (Western Rukai), and Kinitavan group. Kinitavan group used a unique language which was only 60-70% in common with Ruaki language. Tribes within Kinitavan groups knew their language different from Rukai, and they even used different dialects between each other.

In 1939, Tadao Kano proposed that Rukai and Paiwan had several differences in culture that Paiwan possessing a recognizable 5-year festival and flexed burials while Rukai using extended burials. Tadao Kano also suggested that though they differed in language, their physical attributes were the same so Rukai should not be separated from Paiwan but as a sub-ethnic group of Paiwan. Due to their similar geographic location, social structure and material culture, it is not hard to understand why those scholars in the past had so many arguments in their classification, and why they often put them together.

The traditional territory of Kinitavan group is bounded by Bunun in the north and adjacent to Paiwan in the south and west, while the east side is Bunun and Puyuma. It has been an important military strategic area in history. Though there might be some language gaps, conflicts, co-operations, intermarriages among these tribes, what is more important shall be the identity of their own tribes/communities.







多納的春天婚禮

Kungadavane Wedding in Spring



Oponoho (萬山) 與Kungadavane (多納) 兩地的語言其實差異甚大，新郎Baro一同長大的幾位年輕人，正站在斜坡上已削去基部的drilese (九芎) 樹下，七嘴八舌討論從何下手，好砍出12根漂亮紮實的drilese作為聘禮木材。



這是當初Baro所屬的Kungadavane家族，前往Oponoho的Elen家裡懇談婚事時，婚約確認後，女方提出的要求。依照傳統，男方必須上山砍伐足夠數量的drilese作為聘禮，於是新郎Baro和家族裡其他年輕力壯的青年，仔細挑選了中等大小且粗細、長短一致者，相中的枝幹先於頭尾各砍一刀後斜削，小心翼翼地不要留下第二刀痕跡，免得被女方認為能力不足而有所失禮。

男子們捆綁十餘把drilese後，連同所扛聘禮，徒步前往Elen家下聘，女方親屬這時於家門前唱起Oponoho傳統歌曲，迎接男方的到來…

na lu wan ha na i ia na ia o,
na si lu va lu me de ja e,
ha i ya na iu iu ing hai ia,
hai iu na i he yo ya ni,
na ni a na yo a ne in hai ja.
ho i ya na ho i yo in hai ja.

-魯凱族民歌散會時之歡樂歌



歡迎歌聲中，男方逐一放下聘禮，大鐵鍋、琉璃珠、陶甕、頭飾、紅包、青銅刀等，擺放在女方家準備好的嶄新saba（月桃蓆）上，這象徵未來家庭，新婚夫婦將有一個安適的休憩之所。此時親友們陸續站起圍住聘禮，牽起手來跳舞，當聘禮調整擺設告一段落，尚須等待女方長者進一步確認查驗，只有完成此一步驟，訂婚儀式才算獲得認同。檢視聘禮的老人家說，drilese由於材質堅硬、木紋美觀，因此是族人公認最上等的燒火木材，平時野地裡看到，通常會被保留，等到家中有人訂婚才隆重取用，綁紮整齊drilese這動作，目的則為考驗男方的心意和技能，村人們普遍認為，如果男人連木材都砍不好，將來養家活口也會有問題。

一般而言，聘禮除了drilese，男方還須準備贈予女方雙親的傳統服飾，另外包括琉璃珠、陶甕、頭飾、男女新衣各一套、紅包、青銅刀、整串香蕉、帶梗檳榔、甘蔗、橘子、年糕、豬肉等等，樣樣幾不可少。其中兩顆繫著紅絲繩的古琉璃珠，意義尤其重大，一顆是提親必備，另一顆則由於男方Baro屬於平民家庭，必須透過增加聘禮以提高身分。這樁婚事，當初也是因為女方家族考量自身貴族背景，在Oponoho並無合適未婚的貴族男子，才認真考慮隔鄰





Kungadavane部落Baro的求親，Baro因為年輕勤勞，獲得擅於打獵和耕種的讚譽，最後，Elen家長者才同意Baro下嫁鄰村平民家族。

當Elen家族長者逐一檢視聘禮，卻因不滿意而沉默不語，此時氣氛略顯凝重尷尬，最後還是Elen的父親起身說了些稱讚Baro善於打獵的話語，邊指地上鋪滿的豐實小米，讚賞Baro的勤勞能幹，長輩們眼見Elen父親已為未來女婿說項，雖對貴族與平民這樁婚姻仍有意見，終究決定成人之美，同意了婚禮往下進行。男方眼見提親任務成功，如釋重負。雙方家長發言後，Baro母親旋即將陶甕、佩刀和聘金等聘禮轉交Elen母親，接著逐一分送花環給參與的親友，歷時二小時多的收聘儀式，總算告一段落。

當晚Elan家宴請雙方親友，分送女方親友的聘禮，則由男方負責送到各自家中，是夜，眾人圍舞祝賀，直至天明方歇。

ita lo-a-ljo-sa-lje-e o-i-la-si-i-ta lo-a-ljo-sa-lje-e are
no-sa i-dje-lje mi-mo no-sa i-dje-lje mi-mo
大家活潑快樂，就依照你們的心意了。

va-lji-gi ca-nge-a-e-ka-re o-i-la-si va-lji-gi ca-nge-ka-re
i-a-e

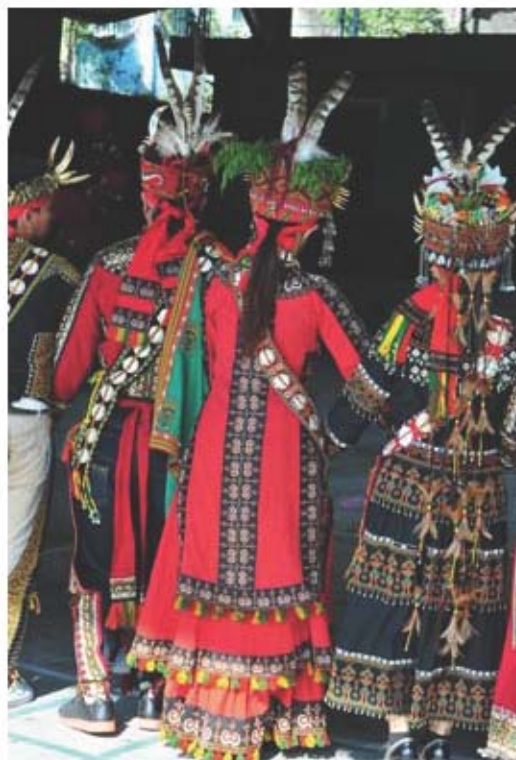
mo-ka ve-le-ngi mo-oa-ne mo-ka ve-le-ngi mo-oa-ne
我的頭飾配件是cangeaekare（華八仙花），cangeaekare已遮
蓋著你們。

i-ta ti-pa-sa-gi-li o-i-la-si ta-ti pa-sa-gi-li i-a-e
re-dje re-dje so-po-ngo re-dje re-dje so-po-ngo
我們就好像嫩葉一樣重新開始。

-Sakaavaava多納交友歌

第三日，雙方迎親與伴嫁的隊伍，移駕至男方家前廣場，待進行另一場歡宴與歌舞，訂婚才算是告一段落。Elen想到，接著將面對的問題，是與新婚丈夫語言的溝通，幸好兩人當初念過幾年日本學堂，初步應可以簡單日語應付，餘者只好重新慢慢學習。





The language gap between Oponoho and Kungadavane is quite troublesome. Baro and his friends are discussing beside a subcostate crape myrtle tree (drilese) about how to make 12 drilese woods as the betrothal gift which was requested by Elen's Oponoho family when Baro's Kungadavane family proposed the marriage. In tradition, the groom must prepare a certain amount of drilese woods as gift. In order to let his ability recognized by Elen's family, Baro carefully prepares drilese woods of good quality: appropriate size, even length and clear cuts.

When Baro presents these drilese woods and other betrothal gifts to the bride's family, Elen's family are singing a traditional Oponoho song to welcome the groom...



Kungadavane Wedding in Spring

*na tu wan ha na i ia na ia o,
na si tu va tu me de ja e,
ha i ya na tu tu ing hai ia,
hai tu na i he yo ya ni,
na ni a na yo a ne in hai ja.
ho i ya na ho i yo in hai ja.*

-The Rukai Song of Joy



In the joyful singing, Baro's family put the betrothal gifts on a shell ginger (saba) mat, which is as a metaphor blessing the new family a comfortable and stable family. And then both families dance around the gifts happily. After the elders of the bride's family examine the gifts, then the engagement ritual is accomplished.

Drilese, for its solidness and beautiful texture, is considered as top woods and usually would be reserved for family's next wedding. The cutting and binding of drilese woods bundle is deemed as a test of a man's ability to raise a family. Other than drilese, usually the betrothal gifts must include glazed beads, potteries, head accessories, red envelopes, bronze knives, a whole bunch of bananas, betel nuts, sugar canes, tangerines, rice cakes and pork. Among them the "2 ancient glazed beads attached by a red thread" has a significant meaning that one bead is for the engagement and the other is to add the value of the gifts since Baro is from a lay people class while Elen a noble class. There was no appropriate noble class young man in Oponoho tribe, so Elen's family sincerely considered the proposal of Baro's family. They reluctantly accepted the lay people Baro because he is diligent and excellent at hunting and farming.





The elders are not satisfied at the first place when examining the gifts and the moment suddenly drops into nothing but the embarrassing silence. It was Elen's father to break the ice praising Baro's excellence in hunting and farming. Due to Elen's father approval, though other elders are unsatisfied with Elen being married to a lay people, they finally allow the wedding to continue. After the speeches of both family leaders, Baro's mother hands the pottery, knife and betrothal money to Elen's, and delivers wreaths to everyone at present. Then the 2-hour long betrothal ritual finally comes to an end. The gifts prepared for the bride's relatives are delivered by groom's family to their home and in the night. At that night, all people danced together celebrating the new family till next morning.



i-ta lo-a-ljo-sa-lje-e o-i-la-si i-ta lo-a-ljo-sa-lje-e a-e
no-sa i-dje-lje mi-mo no-sa i-dje-lje mi-mo
We are all happy, let's follow your will.

va-lji-gi ca-nge-a-e-ka-re o-i-la-si va-lji-gi ca-nge-ka-re
i-a-e
mo-ka ve-le-ngi mo-oa-ne mo-ka ve-le-ngi mo-oa-ne
My wreath is cangeaekare (Chinese Hydrangea) , cangeaekare is covering you.

i-ta ti-pa-sa-gi-li o-i-la-si ta-ti pa-sa-gi-li i-a-e
re-dje re-dje so-po-ngo re-dje re-dje so-po-ngo
We now have a new beginning like young shoots.

On the third day, both family have another feast and dancing party altogether in Baro's home and complete the whole wedding process. Then Elen is thinking about the language gap problem, but fortunately they both studied a few Japanese that the rest are left to be learnt afterwards.



BOX 家與家名

1-3 Family and Names



魯凱族社會，是以「家」或「家屋」為中心，理想狀況下，各家屋擁有永續存在的「家名」。傳統上以男性長嗣為家屋的主要繼承人，旁系則另外分出，這點與隔鄰的排灣Raval群類似，而不同其他排灣Vuculj群，是採不論性別的長嗣繼承制度，不過這並不表示魯凱族或排灣Raval群是屬於單系（父或母系）繼嗣社會，在無男嗣時，家與家名仍由長女繼承，至於居住在同一家屋中的成員，皆享有家屋共同的榮耀與地位。

每個家屋的成員，會在其名字後面冠上家名，透過家名的辨識，可以確認其在部落階層社會中的地位所屬。社會成員中的個人只能透過出生、分家、結婚、死亡等生命歷程，在家屋的地位階序間進行有限的移動。正因家名的榮耀與家屋的持續至為重要，也因此婚姻關係的締結，在傳統魯凱族社會裡也就特別被看重，貴族家與平民家屋的階級分野，有時可透過「越級婚」的途徑來稍作拉近，雖然越級婚只能從下一代子女的社會位階改變起，但仍是不少低階者的努力目標，至於其難度除必須獲得高階者同意外，通常必須付出相當的聘禮代價，這些「攀升禮（sapatoagane）」內容，以象徵和經濟價值均高的物品為主，包括有禮刀、琉璃珠、陶壺，有時也附帶熊鷹羽毛、連杯等等，以補償高階者認為的階級降低損失。



Family and Names

The traditional Rukai society is centering on "family" or "family house". Theoretically, each family house has an ever-lasting "family name". In tradition, the house is inherited by the eldest son, unlike most Paiwan by the eldest son or daughter. This doesn't mean that Ruaki possess a unilineage system (patrilineage or matrilineage). If they have no son, house and family name will be inherited by the eldest daughter. Every member in a family house shares the same glory and social status.

The family name (last name) represents one's social status in the tribe. Every member in the tribe can only have a limited movement between social status/class through process of birth, family-expansion, marriage or death. Because family class has significant effects, marriage is seriously considered in Rukai tribes. Cross-class marriage is a good pathway for lay people to be upgraded to noble class. Though it will be effective only in their children's social status, cross-class marriage is still a goal for lay people. The hardness of a cross-class marriage for lay people is not only that they require the noble family's

acceptance but also the high value betrothal gifts, such as glazed beads, gift knives, pottery pots and particularly mountain eagle feathers to compensate the loss of the noble family.



BOX 階級制度

I-4 Hierarchy



在魯凱族社會，通常部落多數土地，是屬於少數特定家屋所持有，這些少數特定家族階級，是屬於「地主」或「領主」的身份，通常為最先到達該社域範圍的先驅開墾者，由此掌握絕大多數生存資源。地主在魯凱語稱Dalialalai，亦即頭目，頭目與其親緣範圍相近或其指定允許的特定家族，共同組成貴族階級，之後凡有新的入墾者想在該區域內建構家屋、擁有獵場及耕地，則須經過地主或貴族階級的同意，繳交足夠sualupu（賦稅），繳交賦稅的屬民稱lakawkaolo（平民階級），頭目、貴族、平民階級遂按照這樣的原則鋪展開來，成為魯凱族及排灣族社會重要的階序特色。

追溯部落沿革歷史，有些部落可能擁有一至數戶的頭目家屋，先佔權決定後來的位階與權力。過去學者的調查，下三社群較沒有明顯的頭目及貴族制度，茂林部落流傳一則dalalememema（大頭目）誕生，因為孤單以大亮草打結插於地上，接著於四周撒下沙子後向

天神祈求，這些沙子遂變成後來茂林部落裡為數眾多的boccka（中間人）階層。在多納部落，雖然二家taliyalay（頭目家系）傳統上擁有收取農作物賦稅的權利。但是土地仍屬於開墾的家族所有，貴族或平民自有的「水芋田」可自由交換或餽贈，頭目階級沒有權力干涉，表現部落平權的趨勢。至於在萬山部落，由於越級婚經常發生，頻繁的階級流動以致於全部落族人幾乎都有貴族血統，tongoso（頭目）及augaolo（平民）皆須自行耕種以獲得食糧，萬山後來幾乎取消農耕賦稅制度，甚至augaolo階級也不復存在。



在其他魯凱群或排灣族貴族社會，另擁有特別的裝飾權，某些圖案和百合花配戴只有頭目階層才具資格擁有，一般平民家系想使用的話，必須透過餽贈頭目階層包括豬、酒等財物，才能獲得同意的權利，不過在下三社群中，這類的特權讓予賦稅幾乎不存，刺青與百合花飾，只要是貞潔的未婚女子為美觀均可施用。在多納，有些裝飾權雖然為頭目階層擁有，但頭目階層經常基於平民家系的情誼，而主動借與暫時使用的權利。



BOX Hierarchy

I-4



In Rukai tribes, the lands belong to a few specific families, who usually were the pioneers to the new territories and thus have the resources privileges. They then possess a social status as lord or chief (dalialala). The chief family and his relatives or certain selected families together resemble the noble class. The following inhabitants will become lay people class (lagaugaulu) who need to pay taxes to build house, farm or own a hunting territory. Chief, noble class and lay people class thus construct the hierarchical social structure of Rukai

Tracing back the history, some tribes might have more than one chief family. However, there is no obvious chief or hierarchical system in Kinitavan. In a legend of Tendreka tribe, the big chief Dalalememema was

bom alone. Later he felt so lonely and prayed to God for more people. He put a knotted bulrush in the ground and sprayed the sands which becoming numerous middle class people (bccka). In Kungadavane, chief families (dumusu) have the tax privilege, but the lands still belong to the cultivators. Taro fields of noble people and lay people can be freely exchanged without any chief's permission, presenting equal rights in



tribe. While in Oponoho the cross-class marriages are so frequent that all people in tribe have some noble blood. Chief and lay people families all need to cultivate themselves to obtain foods. Noble class and tax have vanished here.

In the hierarchical Rukai or Paiwan, only noble class people have certain decoration privileges. Some totems and lily flowers can only be owned by the chief. The lay people can have only if they present gifts like pork or wine to have the permissions. However, decoration privileges are obscure in Kinitavan area. The chief families have somewhat decoration privileges in Kungadavane, but due to their equal relationships, they usually actively share the rights.







多納語

Kamolo

工作

Work
in Kungadavane dialect



茂林夜獵

Midnight Hunting of Terdreka



Tatulane: 茂林獵人

Tatulane是Baro在Terdreka（茂林部落）的好友，由於兩人都喜愛打獵，因此經常相約上山。

這天他們相約前往Talopane獵區（東方的獵區），入山前，Baro順手拔了兩片laodripi（鴨跖草葉）輕輕拋起，順勢掉落的laodripi剛好呈一正一反，Baro忍不住微笑，因為這在Kungadavane傳統，代表著此次出獵將有美好的收穫。Tatulane則跟Baro提到，在茂林的話，獵人們較常依鳥占判斷，若出發時遇到ido（又稱為gaowgon，繡眼畫眉）往右飛或是在獵人的右方鳴叫，代表著獵獲吉兆；相反的話，是告誡獵人不宜出發，但若kokoa（大彎嘴畫眉）不尋常亂叫，可能有不吉利的事兆將發生在部落內，此外出發當下，若有同伴打了噴嚏，或是放屁，這也是不祥預兆，表示應該折返。

出發前兩人先進行了簡單的入山儀式，那是在山路或獵徑入口的石板上，擺上檳榔、菸及酒，祈求山神和祖靈的庇祐，通常小石板的祭台上會放置七顆檳榔，Tatulane按次將每顆高舉過頭，以示敬獻，接著用酒杯盛酒，以右手食指點酒灑向空中祭祀，嘴裡喃喃禱告神靈，為出獵祈福。

由於此行是前往水源較缺乏的Talopane獵區，Baro與Tatulane特地多帶二隻節間打通的麻竹筒，好多準備飲用水。途經小溪時，順手割了一片芭蕉葉，利用葉片舀水進竹筒內，兩人背上的gabaze（大網袋），則塞了好些cabo（魯凱粽子）與kwai（芋頭乾），作為上山幾天的食糧。

往獵區的叉路口，Tatulane以pelege（五節芒）打結，用以祈福並指示方向。當Baro發現一窩虎頭蜂，同樣在蜂窩前利用pelege打結，提醒後來的獵人注意前方。春末夏初，山上的talomo（杜英）開滿了白色小花，依據兩人經驗，talomo開花會吸引許多喜愛啃食其花和果實的飛鼠等動物，此時附近設下陷阱，捕獲獵物的機會也會大增。之後，Baro與Tatulane循著獵道前往各自獵區，並相約隔天傍晚碰面，在山裡，獵人經常獨自行動，分頭在各自



laodripi





選定的獸徑上架設吊陷。這次，Baro在獸徑旁拉起一段caylabe（猿尾藤），作為吊陷的彈力來源。他深諳放置陷阱或腳吊時，儘量不要破壞原有環境，且避免留下太多氣味，以免野生動物不敢靠近。資深的獵人，喜歡在梅雨季前後設置陷阱，因為雨水將洗去獵人的氣味，增高獵物的捕獲率。當捕獲獵物卻無法馬上取走時，則捆绑pelege加上分岔的樹枝作為upurhungu（標記），一方面示意同伴支援，同時告知別人不得任意取走，通常標記處壓上石頭的話，表示

獵人捕獲的是山豬，壓上木頭，則代表獵獲有犄角的動物，諸如山羌、山羊等。而在捕獵動物的地方折上枝葉，則是標明獵人之後的去向。這一晚，Baro已在天色暗下前，事先砍取了三株agegece（柃木）作為臨時獵寮的支柱及橫樑，他還順著山坡地勢，省去後端支柱的麻煩，直接用蕨類葉片鋪設好屋頂。山林的另一隅，Tatulane則選用傳統的4根支柱作為獵寮的支架，採用kawkodra狗骨仔，獵寮屋頂也是就地取材，砍了幾把pelege，交錯鋪平在獵寮的屋頂上。



相約數天後碰面的兩人，雖是好友，獵人們私下較競的情緒，仍難免驅動彼此的腳程，到了黃昏，在約好的岔路口碰面，此行Baro扛回三隻山羊大勝，

Tatulane僅捕獲一隻山羌及飛鼠。在簡易的休息獵寮裡，兩人用烤過的merlermerler(芭蕉葉)作碗，剝下一旁的油桐樹皮製成湯瓢，就著滿天星光喝點帶來的小酒，煮了一些獵肉先吃。





Midnight Hunting of Terdreka

Tatulane: a hunter from Terdreka

Tatulane is a good friend of Baro in Terdreka. They both enjoy hunting and usually go hunting together.

Today they go hunting at Tatulane's hunting territory at Talopane. Baro uses two dayflower leaves (laodripi) to do a Kungadavane augury, and gets a good one (one head one tail) which tells that they will have a good harvest. Tatulane tells Baro that in Terdreka tradition they use bird augury instead. If a *Pomatorhinus erythrogenys* (ido or gaowgon) flies to the right, it signals a good one, while the opposite direction is a don't-go warning. If an *Alcippe morrisonia* (kokoa) makes extraordinary loud noises, it means something bad will happen in the tribe. Moreover, if at the beginning, a member sneezed or farted, it is also a bad sign.



Then they have an entrance ritual, in which they put seven betel nuts, cigarettes and rice wine on the slate to pray for the protection

from mountain god and ancestral spirits. Tatulane upholds each betel nut above his head in sequence to show his respect, and drips some rice wine outwards with his fingers while saying the prayer for their good luck.

Because there is lack of water at Talopane, they bring two extra bamboo bottles for drinking water. When crossing a creek, they use a banana leaf to ladle water in the bamboo bottles. They carry a big bag (gabaze) with some cabo (Rukai's zongzi, wrapped by beautiful galangal leaves) and dried taros (kwai) as their foods in the next few days.

At a fork in the road, Tatulane ties a knot on silver-grass (pelege) for orientation and good luck. Later on, when Baro comes across a hornet nest, he also ties on silver-grass for warning other hunters. They set up traps around elaeocarpus trees (talomo) because their little white flowers will attract flying squirrels. They then separate to set more traps until they meet in a few days later. In the mountains, they usually act alone. Baro uses a bengal hiptage vine (caylabe) as the elastic force for his trap. The good hunters know so well that animals will keep away if they disturb the surroundings too much or leave human smells. If a prey is trapped and left at site, he would tie a Y-shape twig to the silver-grass knot as a mark (upurhungu) expressing his ownership or a call for companion's help. Usually they will put a stone at upurhungu for indicating the prey is a horned animals like mountain deer and goats while a wood for wild boars. In the first evening, Baro builds a temporary lodge with three Taiwan eurya (a gegece) for structure and uses ferns for roof. On the other side of the mountain, Tatulane uses a Terdreka way to build his lodge - with false coffee (kawkodra) woods and silver-grass.

Although they are friends, the hunt is still somewhat competitive. Baro shows up with three goats on his back, while Tatulane only gets a flying squirrel and a Formosan barking deer. In a temporary lodge, using the baked banana leaves as bowl and tree bark as spoon, they enjoy the meat soup and millet wine under the starry night sky.



BOX
2-1

馳騁山林

Running in Forests



與部落休戚相關的土地，包括聖地、耕地與獵區等。

聖地包括聖湖Dalropalringane（他羅瑪琳，又稱大鬼湖）、Tiadigul（巴油池，又稱小鬼湖）、祖靈地、舊社遺址等，屬於神祕不可侵犯的區域，也是族人認知中神祇、精靈、祖靈的佇留之地，通常獵人或勇士會盡量避免侵擾這些禁忌的區域。除此之外，鄰近部落的範圍尚有聖山、聖潭等，這些禁地平時亦不得隨意出入，某些地方甚至必須舉行傳統祭儀才能通行，因此野生動物得在聖地範圍內繁衍不息。

而耕地則照部落的土地倫理，通常開發先墾者即具備先佔權，水田或旱地一旦公開獲得，除非棄耕、交換、贈與或賠償，否則土地可永續傳承給子孫。至於獵區更是充滿各種權力交換、規則與禁忌關係，過去下三社的獵區北達高雄桃源、東到台東延平、南抵屏東霧台、西臨屏東高樹，獵區土地原則為創立部落的大頭目確立範圍後所轄，有些是後來經歷爭戰或交換取得，之後再分配給所轄家族，因此獵人們每有獵獲，按例必須sualupu（贖貢）給頭目，各家族所屬的獵場雖不像耕地擁有田壟界線，但透過傳承，成員總是能明確知道範圍包括哪區地名到哪座山巔，並可參照何者稜線、河川、甚至樹木以作辨識，家族所擁有的獵區，可能是祖先移入部落定居時獲得，也可能透過sualupu給頭目或管理貴族而增加。

獵區擁有者，通常竭盡心力保護並管理自己的山林及土地，他人不得狩獵或採取其區域內的資源，獵人僅允許在自己的家族獵區內狩獵，他人獵區上的獵寮、陷阱、獵物則屬別人的財物。若經過他人獵區發現其陷阱內有所獲，獵人可協助將其帶至該獵人獵寮，回村後再轉達知悉，遇到這種情形，主人上山揸回的獵獲，一部分 *sualupu* 給頭目外，也會另取一小份贈與發現者以表達謝意。

各家族獵區的所有權極為明確，傳統獵人努力守護所屬獵區，並在區域內規劃固定獵路。有時為了增加獵獲，獵人們會商議施行集體獵團或分組獵團，集體獵團參與者眾，主要是採取 *mayabus* 集體燒獵的形式，此方法風險較高而須小心謹慎，通常選定區域範圍，擁有豐富經驗的獵人共同討論地形、風向、天候等，以分配各自工作，當燒獵行動展開，山林很快密佈濃煙，此時擔任驅趕者大聲喊叫以逐趕逃竄的動物，這時守候在下風處，稱為 *ya bubuz* 的獵人，則早已備好矛、刀、箭等蓄勢待發。*mayabus* 行動，必須在砍出防火線，確認火苗完全熄滅才算告終。

分組狩獵則通常由4-10人的獵團所組成，過去基於社與社間的出草與仇隙，獵團出獵成員常得彼此照應，好面對時刻可能的危機，因此出發前烏占、夢占就顯得重要，其他狩獵規範諸如禁止喧嘩、打噴嚏、放屁等也被獵人嚴格依循。分組獵團除可採 *ualhe pelhe penge* 聲東擊西法、*palealeabe* 狗獵法等狩獵方式外，到現代還有小組獵人設 *obon* 陷阱，埋 *wasi* 吊子以及 *wataki ci* 夾子等，隨著時代演進，*wasi* 已從早期 *savi* 柚葉藤編吊索，換成尼龍繩或鋼索，*guw* 獵槍也早是魯凱獵人的重要工具。在山林裡，大型哺乳動物—水鹿、山羌、山羊、野豬是主要獵物，過去有能力獵獲雲豹、熊鷹、熊、大山豬的男子，在部落內則獲得眾人一致的讚揚。

下三社亦有漁撈文化，濁口溪於屏東大津附近匯入荖濃溪，此交會點以上到龍頭山，傳統上是屬於茂林部落的傳統漁區，龍頭山以上河段及多納村的支流，則屬多納頭目管轄，其他上游支流則歸萬山所有，每個部落漁區的河段，明確再切分為各家族所有，別家族不得隨意越域漁撈或是毒魚，通常各家族只利用自己所有的河段，只在每年節慶前例外，這時部落會視河裡的魚況，舉行wadrapalo（團體毒魚；茂林），warhapolhu參加者幾乎是全部落男女，其作法是具資格的男子搗碎taolisi魚藤汁液後，混入溪水毒魚，其他族人則在下游處排列圍石，或是徒手或用網袋、手撈網，撿拾捕撈翻肚昏過去的魚。特別一提，目前多納部落還承傳著特別的wawuculu（石屋漁法；多納），係有效利用當地頁岩石板捕魚的方式，堆疊石屋時得選定水深及膝、石頭較少的水潭，參與者以石板堆疊成塔狀魚屋後，在其周遭另鋪設小石頭及樹葉等，效果等同現代的人工漁礁，數月後待石屋長了青苔、各種魚類聚集，所屬的家族即擇定日期以ashio漁網（萬山語）蓋住石板魚屋，接著逐塊抽掉石板取魚，魚屋的所有權相當明確，一旦有人刻意侵入，經常演成流血衝突，部落恪守漁撈倫理，河川資源才得長保永續。



BOX 2-1 **Running in Forests**



There are three forms of land deeply related to Ruaki life: cultivation farm, hunting territory and the sacred ground.

Sacred grounds including the sacred Dalropalringane Lake and Tiadigul Lake, sacred mountains, the ancestor spirits ground and old tribe sites, are all mythic and sacrosanct places where the Gods, genies and ancestor spirits live in. These sacred grounds are forbidden where the hunters would avoid and thus results in the abundance of wildlife.

According to tribal land ethics, cultivation lands belong to the pioneers. They could pass the ownership to their off-springs from generation to generation unless the land is abandoned, exchanged or bestowed. As to the hunting territory, there are many power exchanges, taboos and ethical relationships. The hunting territories in Kinitavan, in principle, are belonged to the pioneer Big Chiefs and later allocated to other families so that hunters need to pay tribute (shualupu) to the chiefs. Though not as obvious as the ridges between fields, hunters can always tell the boundaries of each family's territory and know the names of every piece of landscape by rivers, peaks or even trees. One family's territory might be inherited or obtained from paying tribute to the chief.

Usually, hunters will protect their own territory and are only allowed to hunt within. But if one pass by other's territory and discover a prey

trapped, he should bring the prey to the owner's lodge and inform him after returning to the tribe. Under this circumstance, the owner will share a portion of it as gratitude.

To increase the harvest, sometimes hunters will hunt together in collaboration. A group of hunters might be gathered and perform a burn-hunting (*mayabus*), which is very risky. After selecting a certain area and allocating member positions according to the topography and wind direction, they will chase the animals with fire, smoke and the hunters shouts. The down-wind side hunters (*yabubuz*) will attack the preys with their spears, knives or arrows. They will build fire lanes and make sure the fire is extinguished before ending a burn-hunting.

Group-hunting is held by hunting squads of 4-10 amity hunters. These squads will hunt in collaboration using methods like shout-and-chase method (*ualhe pelhe penge*) or hunting-dog method (*paaleabe*). Besides, they would set up traps (*obon*), hanging traps (*wasi*) or clamp traps (*watakici*). Hunting gun (*guw*) is another important weapon. The wild boars, goats, Formosan muntjac and Formosan sambar are the main preys, while the bears, big boars, mountain hawk-eagles and especially clouded leopards are seldom caught thus are glorifying preys.

There is fishing culture in Kinitavan as well. Above the junction of Zhuo-Kou River and Lao-Nong River is Terdreka's fishing territory. Going upstream from Long-Tou-Shan to the boundary of Oponoho tribe is Kungadavane's fishing territory. Oponoho then owns the upper creeks. In tribal fishing territory, each family owns their own specific river section. In some special festivals, all people in tribe will poison the fish altogether (*wadrapalo*), in which a qualified man will pound up trifoliate jewelvine's (*taolishi*) poisoning juice into the river, and others will catch the fainted fish with hands, nets or piled stones downstream. In Kungadavane, there is another unique stone-house fishing (*wawuculu*). They use slates to build the tower-like shelters for fish in the quiet water pools about 1-m deep. It takes several months for fish and other creatures to inhabit the stone-houses. Then, they will set up a net (*ashio*) to cover the stone-house, and then withdraw the slates to harvest the fish which live in. The ownership of the fish houses is strictly enforced, so if some violation happens, it might result in bloody clashes.



農事女力

Women in the Fields



Elen已經能講流利的Kungadavane語，一如其他魯凱女子，下田是她每天必須操持的勞務，農事佔據她絕大多數時間。出身貴族女兒，Elen不忙學習tyamemane織布的技術，反倒閒暇時，跟著鄰居婦女輕鬆編織一些sali月桃、balebalebale竹等編器，作為家中日常用具的補充。

在下三社地區，通常選在一、二月間播種小米，這之前田裡砍除雜草、新闢土地，繁重的工作仰賴男人肩膀，Elen則忙準備播種用的becenge小米，強健留種的小米平時收在穀倉內室陶甕，取出後要置放到tangeapane（繫於腰際，盛裝種子的小竹筐）上，小米播種前會有宣告儀式，當天則全家出動，由帶領的人先以掘棒挖洞，尾隨其後者，陸續從tangeapane內抓一撮小米撒入，旋即覆蓋上泥土。

播種小米完，勤勞的魯凱族婦女會接節氣陸續再種下高粱、黑米、玉米、紅藜、地瓜……。好幾年下來，Elen還待地在靠近溫



泉不遠的家族水田，種下tay水芋，Kungadavane這裡的水田得天獨厚，原來不同其他魯凱部落，先人們利用了難得的溫泉溪畔地形，開闢了一大片和緩tacila（梯田），日治期間日人鼓吹族人用傳統tachilan種植水稻，成功推廣了稻作，由於Kungadavane這片田地及水稻的栽培歷史，多納一度增拓了黑米的種植，伴隨口傳神話，「黑米收穫祭」如今成為該地重要祭典。

事實上Elen家的水田，距離部落仍有段距離，因此每次下田，Elen會事先準備一些cabo或芋頭乾，煮熟的cabo可儲備數日，食用前時僅需用小刀切下小段即可。遇到需要2-3天忙碌的農事，為減少往返部落田裡時間，Elen會和先生就待在田邊搭蓋的矮小石板工寮過夜休息。魯凱族老人根深蒂固的傳統價值，認為白天休息是懶惰行為，受此影響，Elen只要到田裡總是停不下來，許多時候總是簡單解決午餐，其結果是Elen家田園，長滿了各色菜蔬，甚至連周圍冒出的野菜，如tamo'oso（紫背草）、tabalangato（山柚）等，也一片欣欣向榮。

對耕種的要求嚴謹，生活細小環節圍繞農事運作而生生不息。農忙期間，Elen需時時留心避免觸犯禁忌，否則可能遭惡靈侵擾影響穀物收成，甚至連累家人遭受災害。好在Baro及家內其他成員同心協力一找地、選地、整地、焚壟、播種、趕鳥、收割、入倉、用糧，甚至祈雨等一連串祭儀，在長輩的帶領下，Elen畢竟是聰慧的女子，耳濡目染幾年，漸漸也學會不同儀式的祝禱唸詞。盛夏晌午時分，Elen佇立環顧這片浸潤自己和家人汗水的金黃田間，閉上眼睛感受偶而吹拂而過的熱風以及遠處鳥叫，一呼一吸之間，彷彿嗅到了大地蓬勃循環的氣息。





Women in the Fields

Elen now speaks fluent Kungadavane. Farming occupies most of her time, just like all other Rukai women. For her noble origin, Elen is not hurrying to learn about weaving cloth (tyamemane) but enjoying some easy weavings of shell ginger (sali) and bamboo (balebalebale).

Sowing usually takes place around January and February in Kinitavan. Before sowing, men are in charge of heavy digging and weeding while Elen's job is to prepare the seeds for sowing. Strong millet seeds (becenge) are usually selected and preserved in a pottery. When sowing, the millet seeds are put in bamboo baskets (tangeapane) which are carried at people's waists. After the sowing ritual, all people will follow a leader who digs those who follow will spread the seeds into the land then cover them with soil.

After sowing millets, the diligent Rukai women will plant sorghums, black rice, corns, quinoa sweet potatoes and so on. in the right seasons.

They grow taro (tay) paddy on terraced fields (tachilan) near a hot spring creek. In the Japanese era, they were taught to grow rice. The black rice harvest festival (Tabagerauvan) has become an important cultural event in Kungadavance.



The Baros' paddy is far away from their house, so Elen usually prepares some Rukai's zongzi (cabo) or dried taros which can be stored for days and easy to eat for her family to carry with them. In the busy days, Elen and Baro would live in a slate-lodge on the farm. In the traditional values of Rukai, it is sinful to take rest in the day, so Elen seldom stops on the farms. They always have a quick lunch using those edible plants around the farm such as sowthistle tassel flower (amo'oso), Manila champeria (tabalangato) and so on.

Farming constitutes the center of their daily life. On the farm, they also need to behave carefully

in order not to violate the taboos, or else their harvest or family well-being will suffer from the influence of bad spirits. Baro and his people always follow the motto to be co-operative in all aspects: finding lands, land selection, land preparation, slashing, burning, seeding, bird-expelling, harvesting, storing and sharing. Following the teaching of elders for years, Elen is also capable of saying prayers in several rituals. This afternoon, when Elen is standing on the golden paddy of their sweat, she feels so fulfilled and deeply moved by the warm breeze blows which are just like the tender breath of the mother earth.



BOX 田間與居家勞動

2-2 Farming and Housekeeping



為適應河階坡地及亞熱帶闊葉林環境，族人採山田燒墾、輪耕方式農作，此方法主要是挑選合適的地形位置，砍伐其上林木並靜候時日乾燥，之後在設好防火線的範圍內點火焚燒，草木、枝幹所遺灰燼正好用作栽培肥料。通常燒墾所得土地約可耕作2-3年，地力將盡時再重新挑選，棄用的耕地則任雜木生長，大約6-10年後可再輪回使用，這種農耕形式以旱作為主，屬於融入原有生態體系的適應方式。

一般山田會種植butseg（小米）、bagai（旱稻）、tai（芋頭）、玉米、番薯、紅藜、樹豆（其中玉米、番薯為早期引進種）等，另外還有南瓜、葫蘆、豆類及其他各種菜蔬。過去，小米在文化上佔著主要儀式作物的地位，年度重要祭儀，幾乎圍繞其生長週期展開，只不過地處南台灣，小米產量不高，有時會以其他物品與北方

南鄰或布農族處交換。日常生活中，族人只好以芋頭為主食，小米則成隆重節慶或款客的餐食。

芋頭雖不如小米耐貯放，卻有生長快速且更能抵禦風災的優點，相對穀類作物的栽培風險較低，且芋頭一旦種下，幾乎終年可採而不虞匱乏。陳奇祿先生曾記載了每年冬天族人烘烤保存芋頭的方式—「利用坡地，疊石為竈以供烘芋。大約三尺見方，高可齊胸，上有竹樞，以納生芋，樞下焚火，芋以木棍攪之，約一晝夜而熟，然後置於搖籃形竹筐中，搖震之以去皮則成「芋乾」，芋乾為魯凱族重要而具特色的食物，烘好後能耐貯存，前往山林或田裡工作攜帶也稱便利，日常家居有時與其他食物同煮，嚼起來頗具風味。



一般而言，下三社族人在性別分工，凡舉部落防禦工事、開路、架橋、鋪設石板等工作，主要由男子負責，其他諸如上山狩獵、參與集體行動，亦負責家中或田裡較為粗重的勞務—開墾、砍伐林木、田間整地等。至於播種、除草、驅鳥等農事，則由女子負責，平時在家，女子亦負責炊事、洗衣、編織等事務。



BOX Farming and Housekeeping

2-2



In order to adapt to the sub-tropical broad-leaf forests and terraces, Kinitavan people live on a slash-and-burn agriculture, in which they burn the pre-slashed dry woods as fertilizer on selected lands. Usually they can harvest from the burned land for 2~3 years, and then move to new ones and waiting for the land to recover in 6~10 years. This kind of slash-and-burn method, usually dry farming, is quite eco-friendly.

They usually grow millet (butseg), upland rice (bagai), taros (tai), corns, sweet potatoes, quinoas, tree beans, pumpkins, calabash and other greens. Millet has long been a significant ritual crop. All the important annual festivals are related to its life cycle. Yet due to the production shortage, they often exchange with Tsou or Bunun people in the north. They eat taros as staple foods, and millet remains a food in feasts or festivals.

Taro endures shorter storage than millet, but it is less risky for its fast-growing and typhoon-resistant attributes. Once the taro is planted, it can be harvested all year round. In winter, they will prepare baked dry taros for longer storage. The making of dried taros takes a whole night long stir-baking above their traditional slate oven. The dried taro is an



important food of Rukai, which is dry and light to be easily stored or carried. Besides, it is delicious when cooked with materials.

The labor division for the Kinitavan men is mainly on constructing (defense works, roads, bridges...), hunting, cutting woods, soil preparation and etc. Other than these tough jobs, they are also responsible for participating in public affairs. As to women, they not only cover the laundry, cooking, weaving and so forth at home, but also help in the fields with sowing, weeding and expelling birds.



BOX 生活美學
2-3 Aesthetics of Daily Life



部落中，常可見魯凱女子、婦人在家屋窗口或簷下，鉤織各類麻纖維作成各式網袋、背帶、額帶；或是細心地以食指點算十字繡格數，拿遠端詳後再執近，密密起落又縫起華麗的圖紋；再不然，就是炎熱太陽下屋前石板，才翻捲好曬曬的月桃壺鞞，正準備俐落抽繡成一張單人用的臥席。

擁有高度的美學素養的魯凱族，無論是潔淨整齊的石板家屋、家屋楣樑屋柱的講究雕刻、乃至住屋周遭爭妍鬥麗的園藝植栽，再到個人身上所穿著的服飾、以及日常各項使用器具等，穩定的社會階級制度及長期安定的部落處境，提供生活工藝某一定程度發展的條件。衣飾工藝的作法，常見有刺繡、十字繡、貼布繡、珠繡等，所縫製衣物因其繁簡各有適當的穿戴場合。其中刺繡多選橙、黃、綠、白顏色細線，以直線繡、緞面繡、鍊形繡的技法繡於黑色布

上，主要紋樣包括菱形、三角、花葉形文等；而十字繡則是更繁複的繡工，必須事先構思好圖案才下針進行，至於貼布繡及珠繡，顧名思義是在原來的斜紋布匹，再縫繡上剪好的圓形色布或小琉璃珠串，形成豐富精采的半立體視覺呈現，其圖紋包括百步蛇、陶甕、百合花、人頭紋，有時甚至表現祖先創生、人與動物情誼的神話傳說。刺繡的橙、黃、綠基本三色，經常可見族人融入生活當中，包括近年下三社道路常見的護欄與電線桿塗繪，另外生活其他小地方，像綑綁小米束（geri）的細繩，也會使用到這三種顏色。



族人常用的植物纖維有苧麻、瓊麻、lobo（山芙蓉）等幾種，其中苧麻由於需求較大，會被刻意種植，lobo則幾為野生。不同的植物纖維因特性差異會各有用途，樹皮剝下打製的lobo纖維因為韌性極佳，常用來綑綁、作弓弦、陷阱等功能。苧麻過去需經一連串繁瑣工序精製成線，待染好所要顏色後整齊排於織機，以編織成為布匹。染料通常搗碎植物的根莖枝葉，取其汁液作成，常見的染色植物有薯榔、薑黃、九芎、山鹽青…等，可染出褐、黃、紅、綠色等顏色。到現代，過去的麻布幾乎為外界方便購得的布匹取代，漸漸族人發展出華麗的織繡方法，麻線則只用來鉤製網袋、魚網及編繩材料等。

鉤織常以金屬或山羊、山羌獸角接上木柄所製成的鉤網棒，來回勾編麻線織成網袋，一般而言，網袋分有男、女，樣式及使用情境稍有不同，男用網袋的魯凱語稱kadhai或kabace，主要揹於肩上到田裡或狩獵時使用，女用網袋則稱talhababai、kadhai，還分上山工作或放置嬰兒功能兩種，比起男用網袋，其線條較細緻，並且多仰賴額部負重。當農忙稍閒，婦女有時會到附近找尋生長良好的sali月桃，砍回後邊處理、邊曬乾用以編製saba（月桃蓆）或其他簍子、搖籃、針線盒等用具，月桃編物的製作，乾淨整齊俐落是基本要求，月桃蓆鋪在石板上使用，更是相當得宜。



BOX Aesthetics of Daily Life

2-3



Walking in the tribes, you can easily come across a woman weaving net bags, back belts or forehead belts with ramie fibers. Sometimes they also make beautiful cross-embroidery.

For their good aesthetic literacy, Ruaki people develop neat stone-houses, exquisite beam carvings and gorgeous gardens around the house. In the individual aspect, they have delicate quality clothes, accessories and housewares. This might come from their long history of stable hierarchical structure and peaceful development. The embroidery of Rukai might be needle embroidery, cross-embroidery, quilt-embroidery and bead-embroidery. They usually embroider orange, yellow, green or white threads on black clothes, with patterns like diamond-shape, triangle or flower/leaf shapes. The cross-embroidery is more complicated, which requires fine designing. In quilt and beads embroidery, they sew small cloth patches and beads on the cloth presenting

a colorful outlook, with totems of moccasins, pots, lily flowers, human heads or symbol of mystic tales.

The embroidery plants include sisal, ramie and Taiwan hibiscus (lobo), among which the ramie is mostly used thus widely planted. The making of ramie threads requires a series of procedures, and then threads will be dyed before being weaved on a loom. The dyeing agents (brown, yellow, red, green and etc.) are usually from the roots, stems or leaves of *Dioscorea matsudai*, turmeric, subcostate crape myrtles, and Roxburgh sumacs. Because modern textiles are easily acquired to develop more sophisticated embroidery nowadays, so ramie are now only used in weaving bags, fishing net and ropes. The embroidery hooks are made



with animal horns on a wooden stick. The net bags are of masculine or feminine according to its usage. The masculine bags (kadhai or kabace) are for men carrying on shoulders in hunting or farming, while the feminine bags (talhababai or kadhai) are for women to carry baby or use in the fields. The feminine bags are with finer lines and usually carried by forehead belts.

In spare time, women sometimes use shell ginger (sali) to weave boxes, baskets and mats (saba). The saba mats are very useful on their slate floors.







多納語

Satetalekane

豐收

Harvest

in Kungadavane dialect



戶戶炊煙的石板部落

Curling Smokes



Calebake：貴族家庭的小男孩

Baro和Elen的兒子Calebake已經小學畢業了，每當節慶，Calebake最期待的，便是家裡或是鄰居準備製作abay年糕，只要聽到咚、咚、咚搗小米的聲音傳來，就代表某家媽媽開始要做abay了。由於得先將小米去殼，此時大型杵臼就派上用場，Calebake聽awmo（祖父）說過，臼通常會選co'o（白肉榕）的樹幹挖空製成，杵則是選用像tiebese（台灣欖）等質地較硬的木材。規律搗杵後將小米去殼，接著需要泡水半日然後放到鍋內蒸煮，Calebake從小愛跟進跟出，他知道烏炭thawkathiki是很好的火種，其次 lanyika（白籠子）也很適合。



蒸好的小米，有些媽媽會酌加kungadavane（黑稻米）一起搗搗，黑稻米的特性接近平地的pagay（糯米），搗搗時攤出由 tiebese台灣欖製成，方形或圓形盆臼使用，到這個階段小米的香味、規律的搗米

聲、嘹亮的歌聲慢慢迴盪在石板屋的巷弄間。聽著、聞著，好動的Calebake想到abay拆開時香氣肆溢的剎那，吞了口水忍不著跑回家催促。

這樣的場景在Tapakarahvae時最普遍，家家戶戶搗米聲此起彼落，好製作abay用來款待慶典賓客，此時小孩則邊幫忙，邊呼朋引伴玩耍，Calebake小時候最喜歡tawmo做給他的高蹺、竹槍。所謂高蹺其實和平地小孩玩的樣式差不多，tawmo找來兩根pae meme（密花白飯樹）的木頭先做成支柱，接著按上支架好支撐雙腳，會選用pae meme是因為其材質較輕，用作七歲小孩的高蹺提起來較不費力。至於竹槍，Calebake老早就學會用balebale（莎勒竹）竹管自己製作，只要在揀來libatase（土密樹）的種子，槍跟子彈就備齊射擊。



祭典的夜晚，常也是聽tawmo和mumu說故事的時間，就著火塘，tawmo的思緒經常飄到日治時代，這時他邊吐著煙斗，邊訴說當時日本政府要求部落青年成立「男子青年團」及「女子青年團」的故事，那是一個有著「太平洋戰爭」的年代，好些多納男子受徵召加入了高砂義勇軍，tawmo提起當年送行的族人齊聚會所前，明知南洋打仗是一趟有去無回的旅程，日本人卻塑造光榮出征的假象，悲悽及激昂的氛圍影響，族人們還是殺了豬，並以釀好的kabavan（小米酒）歡送，最後送行者依依難捨地走過多納吊橋……。Calebake總是手撐著腮幫子坐到腳都麻了，在貓頭鷹叫聲中，既興奮又暈的聽故事。





Curling Smokes

Calebake: a boy from nobel family

Elen's son Calebake is 12 a year-old boy. He is always expecting the 'tong tong tong' pounding sounds of abay-making occupying the tribe when the festival is coming. Calebake remembers grandpa (tawmo) taught him that mortars are made of white fig tree (co'o) and pestles are made of Taiwan zelkova (tiebese). After shells pounded, these millets need to be soaked for 30-minutes before being cooked. From watching the adults preparing abay, Calebake also learns Sphenomen's chusana (thwkathiki) and paniculate-flowered mallotus (lanyika) are good tinder. The steamed millets, sometimes with black rice, will be pestled and then put into a big bowl made of Taiwan zelkova. At this moment, the smell of the millet flushes out in the happy singing and pounding sounds. All these make Calebake too impatient to wait for the day.

This kind of scene is mostly seen in Tapakarhavae festival. Every household makes abay to welcome guests. While the pounding sounds of making abay echo in the village, some kids, help their moms while

most of them plays nearby and wait for the food to be done. Calebake knows a lot of games. He loves the stilts which his grandpa made for him and bamboo gun. The stilts were made of fetid securinaga (pae meme) for its lightness is suitable for making kids' toys. The bamboo gun was made by Calebake himself, with climbing bamboo (balebalebale) and pikpoktsai bridelia (libatase) seeds as bullets.

The festival nights are also story-telling time for his grandpa and grandma. Grandpa smokes beside the fire while telling the story of Japanese tyranny. It was the Pacific War era, Japanese government asked young Rukai to assemble "young men group" and "young girls group". There were so many young men forcedly recruited into the "Takasago Volunteer Units" to join the battles in South-East Asia.

They knew they could hardly survive, however the Japanese made it as a glorifying illusion. Farewell party was full of sumptuous foods and millet wine in a sad and vehement atmosphere, and then their people saw them off at the Kungadavane Bridge This is usually the time Calebake could not resist his sleepiness and gradually falls asleep.



BOX 共食分享的社會

3-1 Sharing Culture



在峇凱族社會，地位最高者為頭目，屬於部落領袖，專責發號施令，掌握各種事務，由於擁有土地、自然資源的先佔權，因此同時也是被貢賦者。其次為貴族，貴族通常是頭目的直系或旁系血親，另外在頭目娶貴族女子、貴族娶頭目女子，乃至平民娶貴族女子的昇降級婚姻，其所生兒女則具備地位高低不同的貴族身分，有些貴族可使用頭目專有的圖騰紋飾，用在家屋或衣飾上頭。在多納與茂林部落，貴族之外還有一個beceakane（中間貴族，中間人）階層，這個階層的姓名既非貴族也非平民，屬於特殊的階級，有時中間人負責掌管部落特定諸如祈雨祭等事務。再接再來則為最普遍的平民階級，平民平時努力耕種，負責繳納收穫賦貢給頭目或貴族。

除此之外，部落還有不屬於在階層中的勇士及巫師，過去下三社群周遭幾乎都是不同的族群，異族環伺的情況，驍勇善戰的

palealeabe (勇士) 自然受到頭目及部落眾人的企盼，而具備與神靈溝通，幫助族人治病的巫師，也具有勇士一樣的地位，能與貴族階級平起平坐，受到一定的敬重。

事實上，過去在Kungadavane部落，貢賦除其一部分由頭目分給其家族，同時頭目也擔負照顧收成不好族人的責任，頗有集中資源再分配的意味，相較其他密凱族頭目或貴族的權力，下三社群無疑是較為平穩的社會，平民跟頭目家族的關係，雖然耕地和狩獵的賦稅仍得繳交，但卻是建立在共生和尊重的基礎上，彼此互相依存禍福同當，這樣的「社會共享制度」，甚至頭目常稱其屬民為ma-o (父親)。至於後來國家勢力介入，像是日治時代貴族所有權遭到強制廢止，1961年國民政府實施土地測量，土地權利更正式地被登記在當時耕作該地家戶的名下，這些種種原因，都加速了頭目與屬民間位階的消失。



多納社會階層關係表

BOX Sharing Culture

3-1



In the Rukai society, the chiefs are in charge of the tribe and possess the highest social status. Because they own the lands, so villagers need to pay tribute/tax to them. Below the chief are the nobles who basically are the chief's relatives. The nobles might possess different social status due to their cross-class marriages with chiefs, nobles, or commoners families. In Kungadavane and Terdreka, there is another medium-noble class (beceakane) between nobles and commoners, who sometimes take charge of specific affairs like rainmaking rituals. The bottom and the most are the commoners, who work hard in the fields and pay tributes to the chief or nobles.

Outside of the hierarchy, there are warriors (palealeabe) and shamans (abigi). The warriors are deeply respected by the chief and villagers for they can protect the tribe while the shaman doctors are respected as well for they have mysterious healing power and the ability to

communicate with holy spirits.

In the tradition of Kungadavane, though tributes are paid to the chief, the chief is responsible for the poor villagers as well. The chief's governing is like a resource collecting and re-distributing process. In spite of the contribution system, Kungadavane has somewhat more equal relationships based on mutual respect and sharing culture than other Rukai groups. The social class system of Kinitavan was gradually destroyed by the land reforms of colonial governments, including Japanese and the KMT governments.



BOX 石板在地造屋

3-2 Building Houses



下三社部落的家屋，多自山谷或河床就地取材，主要由石板疊砌而成，這些石板屬於當地容易取得的黑色板岩及含有雲母類礦物的千枚岩，因此族人自力造屋堪稱便利。

除了繼承原有家屋的長子，其他弟妹一旦決定成家，就會在家族其他成員的協助下興建新屋，其步驟為選定造屋範圍後，先測量立好屋柱，屋內樑柱的選材會用thaaoko（黃連木）、seve'e（茄冬）、tiebese（台灣欒）等，接著從底層負重的硬頁岩地基鋪設起，待地板鋪設告一段落，即著手牆面架構。牆面主要的材料包括易加工的硬頁岩、板岩或千枚岩，經過敲擊或切割成適當大小，依石板的性質、硬度分別蓋成屋柱、承重外牆或隔間內牆等，通常住屋正面牆壁是選用堅硬直立的板岩，側牆則由硬頁岩板疊砌，石板與石板間並無接合材料，沒有鋼釘也不用石灰水泥，僅靠重力作用，結構出堅固的屋牆，一旦兩側石牆架構好，這時即可安上主樑和其他次樑，主樑下方將銜接最重要的祖靈柱，由於必須考慮颱風

季節谷地受風風勢及風壓，因此興建過程儘早即決定了屋頂的方向和斜度，最後是在樑與樑間鋪上木板，待覆蓋上石板頁岩後大功告成。

講究的家屋會在石板屋內外充分雕刻，頭目屋宅門將石板，更是常刻有祖靈或百步蛇等傳統圖騰。蓋好的家屋由於堅固厚重的石板導熱效率低，能有效維持一定的溫度，夏天戶外儘管高溫，數層牆壁的阻隔加上山區涼風，石板屋內總是維持涼爽，到了寒冬，厚重的石板阻絕了屋外的冷氣團，加上屋內燃火維持溫度，因此石板屋冬季也能保乾燥溫暖。

傳統家屋的屋簷較低，開窗小，除前述颱風因素，還考慮了來敵的防禦，因此進出常必須低頭謙卑，而進到屋內，最醒目者為中軸線上的宗柱或親柱，宗柱通常由原木雕刻，屬於家屋內最神聖的區塊，若是在頭目或貴族家屋，宗柱常會雕刻男女裸像、蛇紋、人頭紋等，象徵其獨有的地位。

石板屋是魯凱人的家，親手搭建的石板屋投入了全家的感情，使得不論狂風驟雨，不管哪個季節，石板屋總是充滿家族的溫暖。目前多納部落仍保留了23間傳統石板屋，其中12間仍被居住使用，後來水泥、磚造、RC等現代材料的引入，餘者或有間雜水泥磚砌的改良式石板屋，不過整體而言，多納部落仍呈現豐富的石板屋群落樣貌。



BOX Building Houses

3-2



The family houses in Kinitavan are built mainly with stone slabs (black slate or phyllite) which can be easily collected from the river banks. The eldest son will inherit the original house, so when other siblings need to build new houses, all other members will assist them altogether. After site-selection and designing, they will start by constructing the pillars with Taiwan zelkova (tiebese), toog tree (seve'e) or Chinese pistache (thaaoko) woods and then pave the hard shale slabs for floor from the bottom. The walls are with slate, phyllite or the easy-processing shale slabs. The slabs will be cut into proper sizes and used as structural walls, partitioning walls or pillars according to its texture and hardness. There is no cement or snail between slabs, only relying on gravity to build the solid house. Once the structure walls set, they will put on the beams (with an 'ancestor spirit pole' under the main beam) and then pave the roof with shale slabs to finish the stone house.

Elegant houses will be full of stone carvings. The door of the chief house is usually carved with traditional totems such as moccasin or ancestor spirits symbols. The stone slabs can maintain the thermo-stability and thus give them a cool house in summer. In winter time, they will also make fires to keep the house warm and dry.



The old stone houses are with lower roofs and smaller windows. This might be in concern of the typhoons or as defense against intruders. On the axis is a carved wooden clan pole which is the holiest space in the house. The clan poles of the chiefs' or the nobles' are usually carved with totems of nude male/female body, moccasins or human heads representing their superior status.

Nowadays, there are 23 traditional stone-slab houses reserved in Kungadavane, of which 12 are still in use. Other houses are influenced by the modern materials like cement, bricks and RC steel, so some mixture or refined stone houses are often seen. In general, the landscape of tribe is still filled by the stone-slab houses.



BOX 裝飾藝術與園藝

3-3 Decorations and Gardens



除家屋主體結構，部落中最具特色的當屬家屋前的前庭，幾乎每一家屋前都會保留一供納涼、工作休息的前庭，並在遮蔭的樹下砌設石桌、石椅。而頭目家的前庭，更是豎立代表身分地位的石板雕刻標石，以象徵其在部落獨一無二的地位。



居住環境的乾淨整潔是其特色，若再細心觀察，不難發現家家戶戶對園藝植栽的用心，魯凱是極度講究裝飾的民族，尤其在節慶或婚禮時，繁複華麗的衣著、珠串、項鍊、鈴鐺叮珮、鷹羽、獸角毛皮，總令人目不暇給，而利用各種植物編製的花環頭飾更是琳琅滿目，用在花環的植物多使用其莖葉、花朵或種子等，取其色彩鮮豔、遮陽、清香、或象徵意義等，終年常見的有萬壽菊、腎蕨、蕨蘿、小米、紅藜、溼蘭等，當令季節的頭飾植物則有百合花、金鳳花（紅、黃蝴蝶）、黃水茄、梔子花……，講究者有時會特別到野

外採摘排香草、揚波、玉葉金花、龍船花等來使用。

頭飾材料的需求，上述植物逐漸被栽植於家屋或是田園旁，隨著時代演進，傳統原生種植物頭飾也加入外來植物材料，形成獨特而具特色的魯凱族園藝。而或許因為編製時常因數量不足而必須與他人交流，因此家戶婦女對鄰居乃至部落其他家戶的植栽也瞭若指掌，久而久之，園藝上的用心除了炫耀、榮譽，還有分植、讓度、交換的社會功能。引進栽培的植物越來越多，改良園藝種有些甚至比起平地苗圃不遑多讓，各色彩葉草、印度紅竹、橙色野薑花、黃花粉花曼陀羅、白色翠蘆莉等，爭妍鬥豔一如族人聚會時華麗服飾的場合。



特別一提的，多納部落家戶另外會將黑米與小米整齊排列後，緊紮編製成束，吊掛在屋內客廳，或用在特殊場合時相贈傳情或是代表祝福。但近來，不知是源自於過去的傳統，亦或日本人遺留的過年門松習俗，還是豐厚溫泉及景觀資源開放後，衍生出的觀光主意，目前常以橙、黃、綠三色棉線緊紮編製成束。時至今日，這類裝飾在族人的認知裡，已有了豐收富足的寓意。



BOX Decorations and Gardens

3-3



Besides the characteristic stone houses, the most eye-catching are the garden yards in front of their houses. Almost every house has a yard for relaxing at the stone table under tree shades. The chief would set a carved landmark slab in his yard signifying his exclusive identity.

Their living surroundings are characteristic for the remarkable neatness, while their beautiful gardens are also attentively managed. Rukai people are aesthetic and fastidious about decorations. This can be observed through the beads, necklaces, eagle feather, horns and furs on their splendid and complex festival clothing. The headdress wreaths

(vangaey) are particularly dazzling. A wreath might consist of colorful or fragrant flowers, seeds, stems or leaves of plants like marigold, sword fern, cypress vine, millet, quinoa, Formosan eupatorium, and such year-round plants. In certain season they also use Taiwan lily, peacock flower, nightshade, Cape jasmine, and so on. If one is especially fastidious, she would collect *Lysimachia capillipes*, Asiatic butterfly bush, downy mussaenda, and paniculate glorybower from the wild.



They use all plants available in weaving wreaths, no matter native or introduced. They grow these plants materials in their own gardens and frequently exchange or even compete with each other which becoming an important social process. They use more and more introduced plants and also improve the breed themselves, sometimes even better than professional nurserymen.

In Kungadavane, they make black-rice-millet bundles, wrapped by orange, yellow and green threads, to be hanged in the living room as decoration or given as blessing gifts. It is not sure whether this comes from the tradition or influenced by the Japanese customs, or maybe a fashion of new tourism business. However, Kungadavane people deem these black-rice bundles as a message of good harvests.







秋之豐收祭儀

The Harvest Festival



下山念高職的Calebake，期中考一結束，就滿心期待回家，他想念嚴肅的Baro，也想念溫柔的Elen，更重要的是家鄉Kungadavane各種大大小小的祭儀。不但家中從種田到收成都有各種祭儀，尚未收割完成前，還須進行 Syapodrongo（保平安祭），祈使一切都蒙受神明保佑。

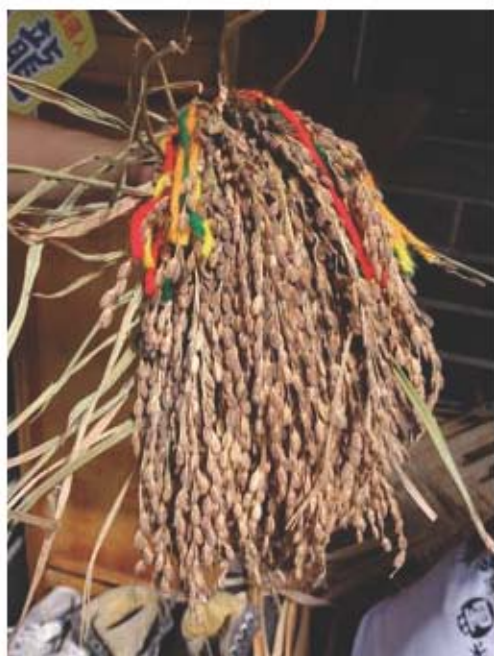
秋末的十一月初，稻米與其他作物開始收割後，全村慶祝豐收的 Tapakarhavae 祭典，是為了慶祝歲末前的豐收，以及感謝神靈的眷顧等，全族共同分享食物的盛大祭典，就連平常不製作的小米酒，也在此時解禁共飲。

Calebake 剛剛交了女朋友，因此更期待 Tapakarhavae 的到來。記得還住在家裡時，每當收割稻米（黑米）與雜糧並曬乾後，部落的頭目及長老便會協商好祭典日期，然後由長老呼喊，大聲向部落族人報訊 Tapakarhavae 祭典的來到。一連串忙碌的活動，首先由族中

男人上山圍獵打獵以及下河捕漁展開序幕，此時Elen和其他婦女則在家準備祭儀所需物品，同時製作abay。正如先前Calebake舅舅的婚禮，慶典期間有意結婚的男女青年剛好可以一併舉行婚禮，整個部落充滿祝福與歡樂。

Tapakarhavae重點在感謝神明一年來的保佑，讓族人與農作不受災害咒詛，一切順利平安。而整個農耕以及部落生活中的各種禁忌，也在這一天向神明請求解除，這樣的氛圍，所邀請的賓客在家人之間更會被輕鬆接待，Calebake心中打的正是這個如意算盤。

終於等到Tapakarhavae當天，Calebake騎機車載女友回到部落，跟著母親和其他鄰居帶著稻米（或者黑米）、地瓜、芋、溪魚、獵物、五穀雜糧等貢品到大頭目家貢賦，大頭目和世交群協商後，平均的分給頭目的兄弟姊妹和今年沒收穫的族人，部落讓大頭目治理重要的是使大家都能共享豐收。祭典時主祭者手持tapakadrawwane竹葉製裝水竹筒，為族人祈福，使族人來年也能富足平安，祭典中巫師的施法，同樣也為族人消災解厄。祭典結束，大家邊跳舞邊吃吃喝喝，烤肉是免不了的，在大家歡樂慶祝的同時，Calebake的女友邊和Niyaw(母親)Elen聊天，一邊學著將小米與芋頭粉包裹肥肉，外面則鋪裹上兩片交叉的alabo' o(假酸漿)葉片，最後則用薄葉身的五節芒葉包住，經過水煮後就是香噴噴的cinabu，Niyaw也很欣賞Calebake女友的勤快與健談，而Calebake覺得他的女友似乎很享受這樣的熱絡，心中不禁放下石頭。





The Harvest Festival

Now Calebake is a vocational high school student in the city. He can't wait to go home after midterm exam, because he's been missing his family so much and all those cultural affairs in Kungadavane. From seeding to harvesting, there are various farming rituals. In the late autumn November, they will hold a harvest festival (Tapakarhavae) to celebrate and thank God for their abundant harvests. Tapakarhavae is a big event that all villagers will happily join and share foods together, including the millet wine which is banned in the normal days.

Calebake has just started dating a girl, so he is much more eager for Tapakarhavae. He cannot get rid of the joyful memories when the elders were shouting through the tribe to inform everybody of Tapakarhavae. It usually starts by men's hunting and fishing, and at the meanwhile, women are preparing ritual material and making abay. Just like his uncle's wedding, they usually hold the wedding during the festival period, so that's a wonderful moment the whole tribe is filled with blessings and joyfulness. In a happy and relaxing atmosphere, the guests including his



girl would be kindly welcomed by his family... that's what Calebake is expecting for.

Finally the Tapakarvae is coming. Calebake takes his girl back to the tribe on his motorcycle. They go with Elen and other villagers contributing (black) rice, sweet potatoes, fish, preys and other crops to the big chief. After discussing with his fellows, the big chief shares the tributes with relatives and those villagers who didn't have good harvest this year. The governance of the chief makes everybody share the harvest altogether. In the ritual, the leading worshiper, handing tapakadrawane bamboo leaves and bamboo water bottle, prays for good luck and a peaceful fullness year while the shaman uses his magic to clear out all the bad luck from the villagers. After the ritual, everybody is happily dancing or enjoying the foods and wines. Calebake's girl is very happy to join them. While chatting with Calebake's mother (niyaw), she also assists Elen in making cinabu (a kind of Rukai Zongzi). She learns how to wrap up millets, ground dried taros and pork with two Khasya trichodesma leaves (alabo'o) and then envelop with silvergrass leaves. Simply water-boiled, then it makes the delicious cinabu. Elen likes the diligent and cheerful girl and Calebake is so contented that his girl seems to have a good time here.



BOX 農事祭儀

3-4 Farming Rituals



下三社部落的許多大小祭儀，由於是對自然山川神靈的崇敬與對話，在過去許多是家戶或個人自行舉行，比方說獵人入山狩獵、到漁區捕魚，或是家族開荒墾地、播種小米等，都會進行一些祭祀的活動，不過較少集體舉行的祭儀。

以墾地過程來說，通常家族選擇好荒地（有的是過去棄墾現已雜木叢生的田地），會由家長帶著豬肉到場祭拜，回家後等待當晚的夢占，藉此判斷開墾後農作收成的吉凶，一旦夢占為吉，才會決定接下來的農事，之後訂下播種日期，這時會邀集親戚一起幫忙，播種完畢則舉行Tasubwane祭典，Tasubwane祭典當天，男子會入山打獵，女子們則準備年糕等，是夜徹夜跳舞並一同歡樂享用。

播種後，主人會有更多必須遵守的禁忌，包括在某些時候禁止吃

鹽，以免小米枯萎，這一切都在謹慎的心情下往前推展。

部落集體的祭儀，按時間先後主要有 Syapodrongo 及 Tapakarhavae 兩種。其中 Siaporongo 約在每年七、八月收成前舉行，作法是由主祭者手持 abake（竹葉束）及裝水的竹筒，帶領各戶家長一同祝禱，最後將手中的竹葉插在穀倉桶的稻米或雜糧中完成，Siaporongo 的主要目的是向神靈祈求收成豐盈。而 Tapakarhavae 祭典，傳統是在冬季時舉行，如今漸漸固定於每年的 11 月 25 日左右舉辦，過去 Tapakarhavae 是各家戶完成稻米（黑米）及雜糧收割曬乾後，就由頭目及貴族協商日期，接著公布 Tapakarhavae 的慶祝時間，在 Tapakarhavae 開始前幾日，男子們紛紛上山團獵或是下河捕魚，此時婦女則在家準備祭儀所需的食物，這段期間若有青年男女想結婚的，婚禮通常也會一併舉行，全部落在 Tapakarhavae 時進入歡樂慶祝的境界。

月份 主要田間工作與祭儀

| | |
|-----|------------------------------|
| 1月 | 整田 |
| 2月 | 小米播種、Tasubuane 祭儀、芋田開墾 |
| 3月 | 小米田除草、稻田整田 |
| 4月 | 旱田播種 |
| 5月 | 小米田趕鳥 |
| 6月 | 小米收穫、稻田除草 |
| 7月 | 小米豐收祭、稻田除草 |
| 8月 | 稻田除草、芋田收穫 |
| 9月 | 稻田趕鳥 |
| 10月 | 糯稻收穫、芋田收穫 |
| 11月 | 旱田收穫、烤芋乾、多納 tabagerauvan 黑米祭 |
| 12月 | 田地開墾、小米田整地 |



BOX 3-4 Farming Rituals



In Kinitavan, there are various rituals with respect for the holy spirits of nature. Most of them are conducted by individuals or by a family alone, such as the rituals of hunting, fishing, millet-seeding or land-preparing.

In the land-preparing process, after a family selects a wilderness land, the family leader will worship with pork and then wait for the dream-augury of that night. If the dream tells a good one, then the following farming practices could be executed. Once the seeding date is decided, they will invite relatives to help them. After finishing the seeding work, they will hold Tasubuane ritual. On that day, men will go hunting and women prepare sticky millets, and then at night they enjoy the feast altogether and dance all night long.

The collective rituals are Syapodrongo and Tapakarhavae.

Siaporongo is held in July or August. The leading worshiper, with bamboo leaf bundle (abake) and bamboo water bottle in hands, prays for good harvests and then finish the ritual by putting the bamboo leaves into the stored rice or millets.

Tapakarhavae is held in the winter, while nowadays is usually fixed around 11/25. In the past, Tapakarhavae was negotiated by the chief with the nobles for the date after (black) rice harvest. A few days before Tapakarhavae, men will go group-hunting or group-fishing, and women will prepare the ritual related foods. Weddings are usually held in the same period, so the Tapakarhavae days are full of joy and celebrations.

Month Main work or ritual

| | |
|-------------|---|
| JAN. | Land preparation |
| FEB. | Millet seeding, Taro field preparation, Tasubuane ritual |
| MAR. | Millet field weeding, Rice field preparation |
| APR. | Upland rice seeding |
| MAY. | Millet field bird-expelling |
| JUN. | Millet harvest |
| JUL. | Millet harvest festival, Rice field weeding |
| AUG. | Rice field weeding, Taro harvest |
| SEP. | Rice field bird-expelling |
| OCT. | Sticky rice harvest, Taro harvest |
| NOV. | Upland rice harvest, Dried taros baking, Black rice festival(Kungadavane) |
| DEC. | New land preparation, Millet field preparation. |









Bova na dadarane

茂林語

新人生

New Life
in Terdreka dialect



出走・遙遠的夢

Exploring a Faraway Dream



退伍的Calebake，踏出社會的第一份工作是在林班育林，其實早自他國中時候，就常利用暑假跟著父親到處打工砍草，最遠即曾遠征過桃源區的老濃溪山頭，當時半大不小的他，只覺人工林裡的草長得比人還高，爬滿鉤刺的蕨葉和懸鉤子更是惱人，至於許多爬得比樹還高的蔓藤，得爬上樹奮力砍除，那更是煩不勝煩。國中畢業後，他打工的工資從20元增加到60元，相對的工作負擔也增加了。回想起當年父親上下坡早來回砍了兩、三趟，他仍氣喘吁吁停在半山腰的往事，嘴角不禁微微上揚，忍不住吆喝這次央求上山卻遠遠落在後頭的外甥，「I bu lro! I bu lro! (快點!快點!)」，看著山腰間努力移動的小小黑點，Calebake氣定神閒的唱起林班歌來。

林班的工作Calebake做起來得心應手，歲末領完工錢的耶誕夜，Calebake邀集了幾位成長友伴烤火同樂，人越長大，這樣的相聚夜晚更顯彌足珍貴，原因是山上工作機會不多，大夥各有不同的滄

桑跟羈絆。就拿坐Calebake對面，正拿著樹枝撥弄火苗的Legeay來說，家境因素Legeay國中後沒機會升學，退伍便離開部落跑船，很早就娶了菲律賓籍妻子，因此講得一口菲律賓腔英語，他的臉龐透露著不相稱的風霜，最愛在酒醉時講述他跑船的經歷，包括在各國港口的停泊乃至遇過海盜的驚險，像Legeay一樣在1970-80年代離開部落外出工作的族人很多，不少人是就近遷了高雄漁港投入近海漁業工作，只是進入1990年代，近海漁業收入銳減，已不足維持家計，Legeay這時猶如鱈魚洄游，帶著妻小回到故鄉，重新學習墾地與狩獵，閒暇之餘則用獸角製作一些鉤棒賺點外快，好償還除在雜貨店的酒錢。至於其他人的經歷，有人是到建築工地做板模或水電工，但思鄉的情愫以及平地高消費的經濟壓力，又讓他們選擇回到山上老家。

篝火閃動，一旁負責烤著肉的童年玩伴Ubang相對來說比較順利，護專畢業的她，實習才結束就在屏東市區找到護士職缺，工作了好些年，這次回山上，主要是她住茂林的父親，由於健康情形不佳，索性選擇暫時離職回鄉照顧，雖然如此，Ubang會在週日的教會禮拜過後，順便到衛生所幫忙。

如同其他透過國教體系進入各行各業的青壯族人，他們都曾經對都市和未來懷抱捉摸不著的夢。最近的Ubang迷上電視選秀節目，未婚卻已不年輕的她，對自己的歌喉深具信心，就是這樣的好歌喉，幫助她在辛苦的大夜班照護工作後釋放壓力。喝酒烤肉時有了Ubang的歌聲相稱，遠在山下或海上的如煙往事，彷彿不再那麼悲傷，Calebake這時默想，或許有一天Ubang的歌聲會被聽見，可以有屬於自己的舞台吧？





Exploring *a Faraway Dream*

Calebake has just left the army and takes afforestation as his first job. He has been joining Baro's afforestation work since his was a junior high school student. He remembers the grass was taller than him and the annoying thorny vines like round-leaved greenbrier and Taiwan raspberry. He recalls those old days working with Baro. Often times, his father would have finished slashing up and down hill more than 3 rounds, when he was half way to the hill, panting. He smiles on the thought of the memory and yells " I bu lro! I bu lro! (Hurry up! Hurry up!)" to his nephew, who pleaded for joining him but now falls far behind. Calebake feels so peaceful and carefree, he starts singing the forest working songs.....

Calebake is rather capable in afforestation work. The Christmas eve after getting his payment, he invites his friends to have a BBQ party together. Gatherings like this is becoming more and more precious, for there aren't many job opportunities at home, and his friends are going to

go separate ways for their future careers.

The man in front of Calebake fiddling with the frames is Legeay. He dropped off school after junior high and worked on pelagic fishing boats after serving his military service. He married a Philippine girl at a very young age and thus speaks fluent Philipplingish. When he gets drunk, he always loves flaunting his pelagic stories, such as the harbor romance in different countries or the encounter with pirates. In 1970-80, there were a lot of villagers leaving the tribe to work in offshore/pelagic fishery for they were close to Kaohsiung harbor. But since 1990, the fishing business declined, so Legeay went back to the tribe and learnt how to cultivate and hunt. In the leisure time, he also makes some horn handicrafts to increase his income. As for others, some of them leaved the tribe and worked in the construction like masons or plumbers. But due to the high expense and economic pressure in the city, most of them eventually went back to their home tribe.

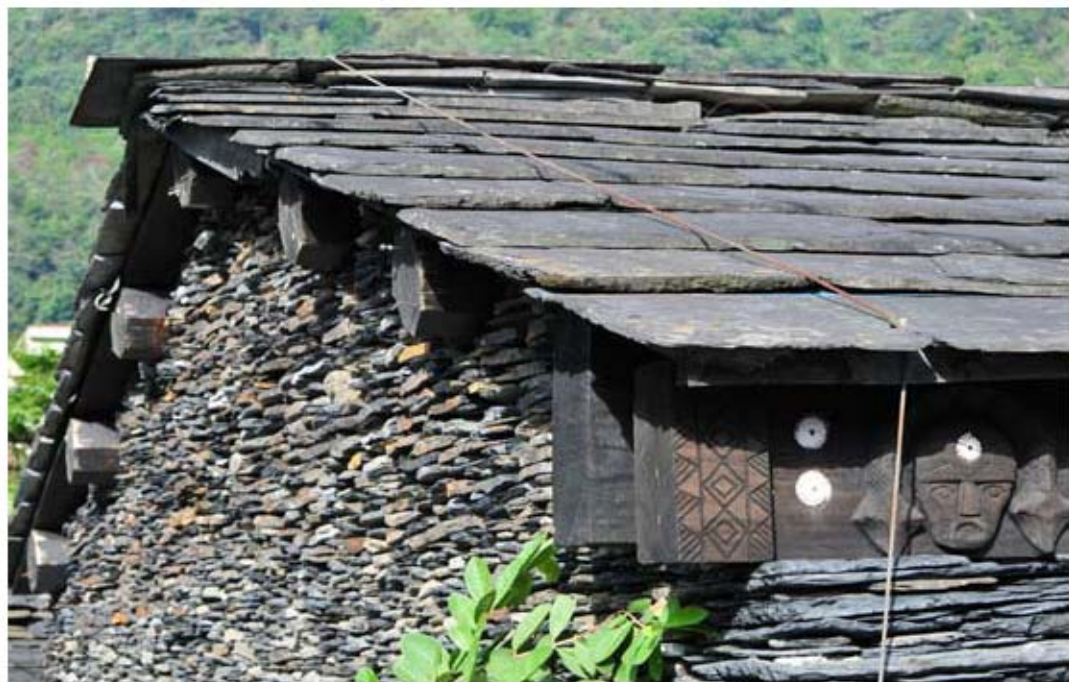
The girl grilling by the fire is Ubang, who seems to have a somewhat relatively smooth path. She worked in the hospital for many years soon after she graduated from the nurse school. Due to her father' s health issue, she has just quitted her job and comes back to care for her father. Right now she sometimes helps in the governmental clinic in the tribe or works as a short-term contract caregiver.

Just like all those young people who work in all walks of life through educational system, Ubang has had a blurry dream towards future and city life. Lately, Ubang is addicted to reality-competition show. She is very confident of her singing and it is a great relief of the huge pressure from over-night nursing. Accompanied by her beautiful singing in the party, those distressing memories seem to fade out with the smoke. Calebake is thinking that maybe someday her singing will be heard and bring her a brand new stage for her life.....



BOX 適應與流失

4-1 Adapted or Lost



過去對於下三社部落的調查訪談，提及部落的起源和遷徙總在現居地一帶，語言學的詞彙分析，更顯示自成一格的萬山語，及比較接近的多納和茂林語，甚至在南島語言的分化過程，佔有古老而舉足輕重的地位，這些證據在在顯示由於交通阻隔、較晚接觸現代變遷的下三社群，其與現存環境的深厚淵源，聚落在過去沿著山勢而建，交通不便卻動植物資源豐富，族人與自然界的關係密不可分。

日本人統治期間，施政首重造橋鋪路，1910年開通的對外道路開啟了族人的對外管道，國民政府1950-60年代，茂林村首當其衝接受了當時的多元移民，許多當地女子與當時的退伍軍人結婚，並多在村內開設商店維生，漸漸地山地現代化政策，國民教育、土地丈量及私有化，加速了日常生活的貨幣使用，水電、學費、建屋貸款等支出層出不窮，迫使許多年輕人基於生活需要，不得不移居到都

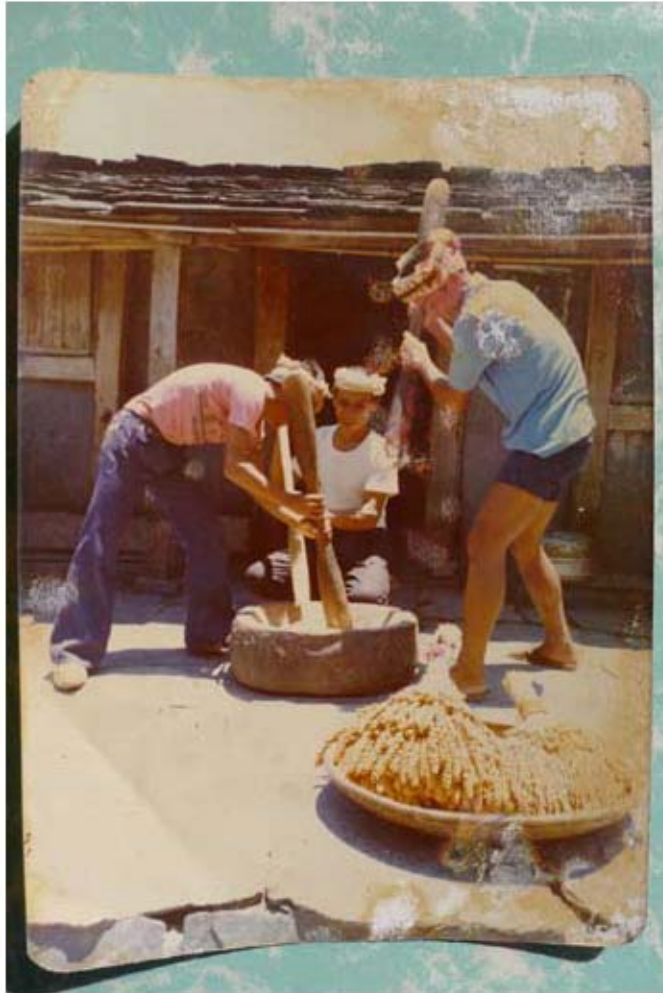
市，現代生活型態的改變，同時也疏離了人與傳統文化及自然之間的關係。

出走的部落年輕人，到都市後多只能從事粗重的勞力工作或是跑船，留在當地的族人則到各林班砍草或育林。1980年代溫泉及觀光資源的開發，一度帶動位處最深山的多納村的經濟發展，此時吸引了一些部落族人回流，但畢竟山上的工作機會還是有限，有一段時日，部落的新生代，男生多以投身軍警，女生則以擔任護士為主要的升學職志。



BOX Adapted or Lost

4-1



In anthropological studies, the tribe people always refer to Kinitavan area as their origin and migration. Linguistic analysis shows that the languages of Oponoho, Kungadavane and Terdreka play an ancient and decisive role in Austronesian language development and differentiation. All these evidence shows that the relatively isolated and late-modernized Kinitavan group has a close relationship with the nature.

In 1910, during the Japanese era, the new roads and bridges opened a door to modernization and when 1950~60 the KMT government brought Chinese emigrants into tribes. Many Chinese veterans married Rukai girls and open shops for them. The aborigine-modernization policies brought them education, water, electricity, and such things of a new monetary economic, all of which forced many young

people leaving for more money in the city and meanwhile broke their bonding to the nature.

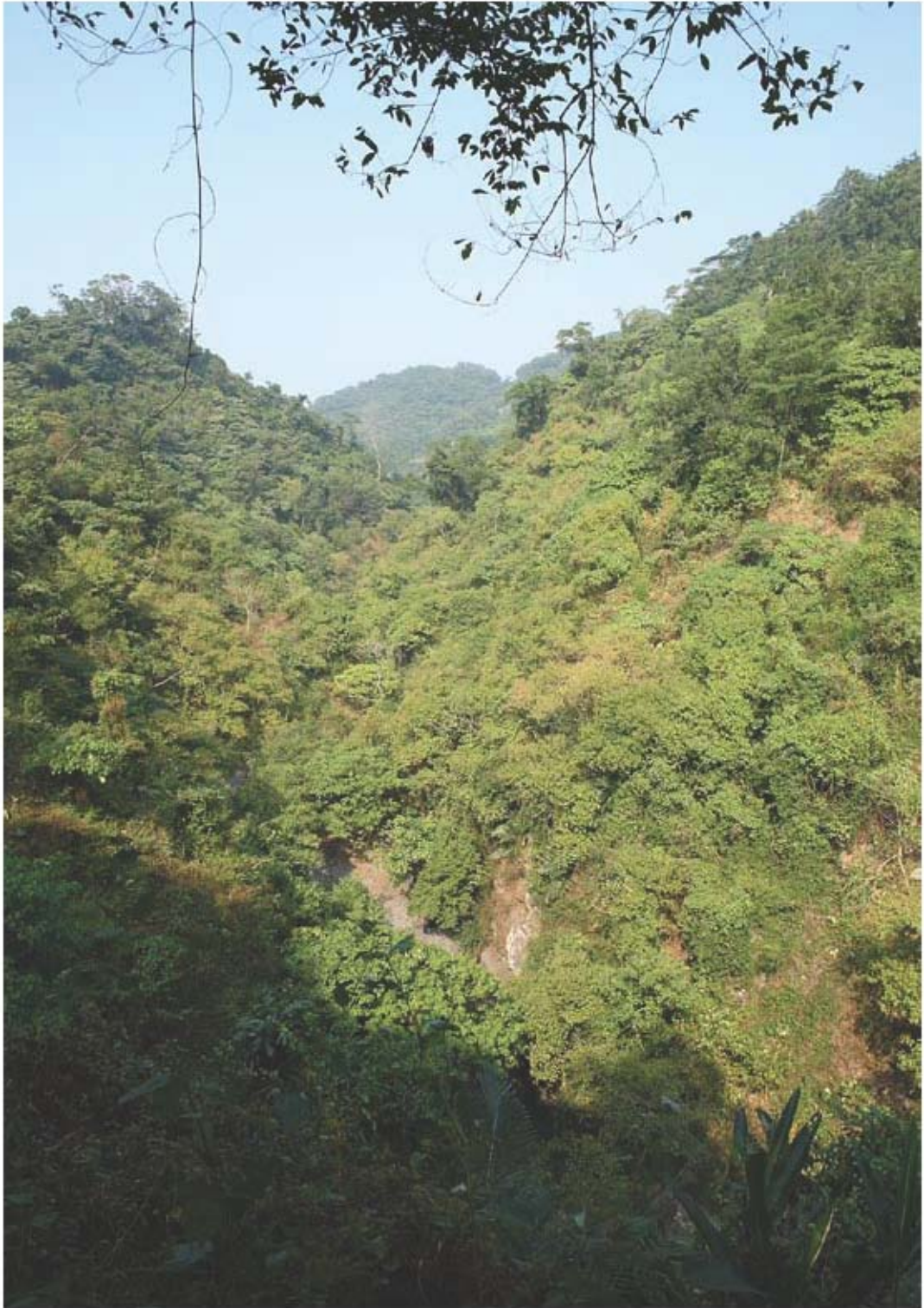
Most young people away from the tribes worked in construction or fishery, while those in the tribe mostly worked in the forestry. The hotspring tourism started in 1980 has once brought Kungadavane a good



economic development and attracted a few people back home. While the work opportunities were still limited, there was a fashion of governmental careers that the young males as policemen or soldiers, females as nurse or officials.







山谷新生活

New Life in the Valley



石板上焦香的烤肉泛著油光香氣四溢，Elen陪著孫子坐在棚下，而Calebake的妻子—布農族的Abus正調整著石板下的瓦斯火侯，三五成群的遊客，剛從中型巴士下車，在導遊的帶領吆喝下，正朝村裡的老石板屋走去。

為了這次祭典，多納村民已反覆開了好幾次會，提議、討論、分工，大夥決議預備年底結婚的部落青年搭上便車，同時讓來部落參觀的遊客沾沾喜氣。

百步蛇的子民兀自繁衍，山林的智慧引領祖先尋覓與判斷出適合族人世代居住的場所，日治時期展開的強迫遷村及之後政治利誘的外遷，終究敵不了激烈的氣候變遷，八八風災後，許多人比對位於舊址的多納部落影響甚微，但是新遷的萬山部落（日治時期以後強迫遷村）卻遭逢野溪掏蝕村落西側，祖先長眠處所沖毀的災變，甚至部落一度岌岌可危。至於最靠近平地的茂林首當其衝，風災後交通一度中斷，由於部落族人無法到達獵區，被迫中段獵捕取得食

物。這些都是萬山和茂林部落的族人回到祖居地，看到完好無損的舊部落石板屋，不由得佩服起過去祖先部落的選址智慧。

莫拉克風災重創下三社，災後道路中斷達一個半月，住在深山的多納部落族人必須徒步到萬山，再翻過稜線到山下補給，其實下山是為背負大桶汽油，生活在村裡除了斷水斷電，菜蔬卻不虞匱乏，來回的直升機空投物資有米、泡麵、罐頭等，要抱怨的話就是沒有豬肉可吃，不過那段日子，消除淤泥後，每天的休閒就是串門聊天，大家彷彿回到過去的時代。漫長的復原期後，居住及現代生活機能逐漸回復，



但過去好長一段時日族人仰賴的溫泉命脈卻已消失，這無疑埋去了大半族人的經濟命脈，下三社幾家民宿轉成租給災後橋樑、道路修復工程的工人居住。許多村民尋找風災專案的零工，但畢竟是臨時性工作，僧多粥少的緣故反而擠壓了彼此工資，每日工作津貼甚至比平地少二成。

種種緣故，因此重新舉辦的Tapakarhavae，寄託了族人振興部落經濟的期待，大夥花許多時間準備，在短短的樂舞表演、園遊會、小米編織、月桃編織、農事解說，甚至入口的迎賓花環上，都用盡心力，年事已高的Elen，被一群參觀教學的高中生簇擁，雖然無法流利表達漢語，但還是在Calebake翻譯協助下，興致高昂地回答來訪者對部落故事的提問，每個人所做的一切，都是為了讓來訪者，能夠在很短的時間內，認識到並了解部落的活力。

事實上，除了多納的黑米祭努力，下三社其他部落也有很多努力認真的人，比如一位排灣嫁入魯凱的媳婦，她就對於茂林獨特的蝴蝶生態充滿好奇與興趣，在保育團體和蝶類專家的協助下，結合年輕人成立了紫蝶保育協會，期許紫蝶能持續飛翔於魯凱原鄉，並帶動週邊的生態社區與民宿。也有返鄉的藝術家，希望藉由創作為原鄉帶來觀光商機，提昇當地就業機會，避免人口外流。而部落新生代中也已培育出新的學者，返鄉從部落觀點協助部落永續生機，期待屬於魯凱族下三社群的山林智慧，能夠永世傳承下去。



New Life *in the Valley*

Elen and her grandson are sitting nearby while a good smell emitting from the oily grills on the slab. Calebake's Bunun wife, Abus, is adjusting the gas power under the slab stove. Groups of tourists are guided towards the old stone-slab house in the tribe.

The Kungadavane villagers has discussed several times before reaching the consensus that some weddings will be held in the festival to share the happiness with those tourist guests.

Their ancestors selected suitable living place by traditional ecological knowledge. The tribes were forced to move by the Japanese colonial government and later economic incentives to places despite the ecological principles. Typhoon Morakot has heavily damaged the newly settled Oponoho and Terdreka (in Japanese era) where the roads and tribe lands were tumbled down by the floods. But when they found out that the unaffected stone-slab houses at the ancient tribes and the slightly affected

Kungadavane at its original site, they could not help but admire their ancestors' wisdom in site selection.

Typhoon Morakot has made a catastrophe in Kinitavan. The traffic was down more than one month. Though luckily they still had own-grown vegetables and the government helicopters would bring foods like rice, instant noodles and cans, they have to buy other goods, gasoline particularly, from the nearest city which takes hours of walk to reach. During those isolated days, the cut-off from modernity gave them a chance to slow down and get re-connected closely, just like their ancestors. Now the situation is recovering, but the profitable hot spring has been buried so that many people lose their jobs. Some hostels continue by accommodating the re-construction workers, the others can only take few some temporary but lower-paid (for there are too many workers) jobs in the re-construction programs.

The villagers here expect the revitalized Tapakarhavae festival to become a new tourism hotspot. They spend a lot time and resources in preparing traditional dance, millet-bundles, shell ginger weaving, story-telling and the vengay wreaths. Most of them cannot speak fluent Mandarin, but with Calebake's interpretation, all the visitors seem to learn and enjoy the tribal experiences.

Aside from Kungadavane's black rice festival, some Terdreka people have been working on the purple butterfly conservation tourism. With the assistance of other conservation organization and professionals, they wish this initiative can bring business to the local area. Some artists and young scholars, who were born and raised locally, also return home to contribute. It's their deepest desire that through their professions and creations that the subsistence and the ecological wisdom inherited from their ancestors can be sustained from generation to generation.



BOX 部落產業

4-2 Tribe Business



過去依靠耕種和狩獵的居民如何維生？遷居的過程，族人跟祖先世代生活其中的山林愈形隔離，下三社的情形不是首例，歷經數十年的遷村，部落耆老還常懷念著山上的紅檜香氣，言談中顯露對於山區植物的認識與運用，這些山林智慧似乎隨著耆老的凋零而逐漸消失？

發展觀光促進部落產業的前提下，下三社的傳統祭儀重新組裝與詮釋，多納部落的Tapakarhavae就是最著名的例子，因「黑米」是多納聚落特有的穀物，下三社群其餘兩個聚落均未種植黑米。多納便格外加強對「黑米祭」的宣傳，文化展演吸引了觀光客，部落青年則利用此時舉行結婚，祭典除了觀光同時也是生命的一部份，希望在文化展演過程也帶動部落其他相關的產業，甚至能為部落農作與手工藝尋找到新的商機。

而茂林部落因為是全台聞名的越冬型紫斑蝶棲息地，一年一度的紫斑蝶遷徙季，總會吸引上萬名遊客參觀，交通部茂林國家風景管理處以及林務局都視其為觀光資源而多所補助、輔導、行銷。台灣蝴蝶保育協會以及近期成立的台灣紫斑蝶生態保育協會，也都曾以此區為操作主軸，進行有系統的志工培訓與在地深耕，除繼續進行紫斑蝶的標放與生態研究，也因媒體的系列關注，逐漸凝聚起族人的共識，投入保育與巡查工作。此外，因應賞蝶人潮，也有居民經營起生態民宿，配合當地原有的藝術家，以紫斑蝶和部落文化為主體的藝術創作，也希望為部落帶來新的契機與生命力。



BOX Tribe Business

4-2



The wisdom of living in a slashing-burning/hunting style, which their ancestors seemed to possess, is lost slowly. This is a result of the tribe people living far away from the sites their ancestors had chosen due to the government policies over the past century. The wise elders are dying, and sadly their knowledge of the tribe and the nature might fade away with them.

In the process of promoting cultural tourism, the people have been rebuilding and re-interpreting their traditions. The harvest festival (Tapakarhavae) of Kungadavane serves a good example. The black rice is only planted in Kungadavane, so they heavily promote the idea of Black Rice Festival to attract visitors. The young people's weddings are

also combined into the new form of tradition, thus it is not only new hope for business but also part of their new living culture.

Terdreka has a valley which is a overwinter habitat for purple crow butterfly during their migration. It attracts thousands of visitors every year. Taiwan Forestry Bureau and Maolin National Scenic Area Administration subsidize many researches, promotions and marketing around purple butterfly valley. Two social organizations, Butterfly Conservation Society of Taiwan and Taiwan Purple Crow Butterfly Ecological Preservation Society, also organize volunteer groups assisting in mark-release-recapture researches or community empowerment projects. As it's becoming publicly well-known, Terdreka people gradually organize themselves to participate in the patrolling and conservation of purple butterflies. With the growing tourism business, some people start running eco-hostels in cooperation with local artists making creations of Rukai culture or butterfly eco-arts as a new strategy for tribal development.



BOX 部落保育區 (ICCA) 的可能性

4-3 The Potential of ICCAs



在基督宗教普遍成為族人信仰的今日，部落的大人物，除了傳統的頭目，還要加上教團的長老，國民政府以後的政治制度，使得部落裡還有一些經由選舉產生的意見領袖。部落結構畢竟相對單純，很多大事都可以在社區(或部落)會議決議後形成共識。

比如說吸引觀光客來訪的黑米祭或是紫蝶祭，就是部落意志的展現。以黑米祭來說，Kungadavane傳統兩大祭儀，七月中旬的小米祭與歲末的豐收祭，本來沒有如此盛大規模。2003年，社區發展協會為突顯聚落特色，便以 Kungadavane特有的黑米，結合歲末的豐收祭及豐收前已有祭儀的Syapodrongo保平安祭，創新成今日的黑米祭。而當時儘管社區發展協會提出構想，仍得經過頭目和部落族人的同意，緊接著則是面臨接個人專長分配工作的難度。當凱頭目都能言善道，由其主持會議自是不二人選，而部落青年以青年會為主

體，分工統派自然很快上手，加上公部門經費的挹注、教團的開場祝禱，黑米祭於焉盛大展開。

面臨祭典文化的保存，甚至是山林的保育，黑米祭經驗會是另一種可能？

真實的案例，在菲律賓、婆羅洲、印尼、印度、哥倫比亞、波利維亞等國，一個具體的國際行動已經展開，原住民族與社區保育區（Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas: ICCAs）揭發在地社群以及原住民部落對其周遭環境資源的自治與管理，由各地的原住民族或在地社區組成具有決策權的治理單位，以當地社群為主體，管理、維護與保育當地的生態資源。最終的目標是要確保當地族人的生存跟當地資源與環境的永續利用，族人要能有收益，森林溪流要能被保護下來。避免外來者對土地的破壞，同時確保生物多樣性能在山林中維繫，用傳統的生態智慧保護下來，因為我們深信，人類跟自然和平共存了這麼久的時光，透過勤勞聰明並且箇守土地倫理，深諳萬物運作的族人，傳統的生態知識也必能安然帶領我們走入下一個世代。



BOX The Potential of ICCAs

4-3



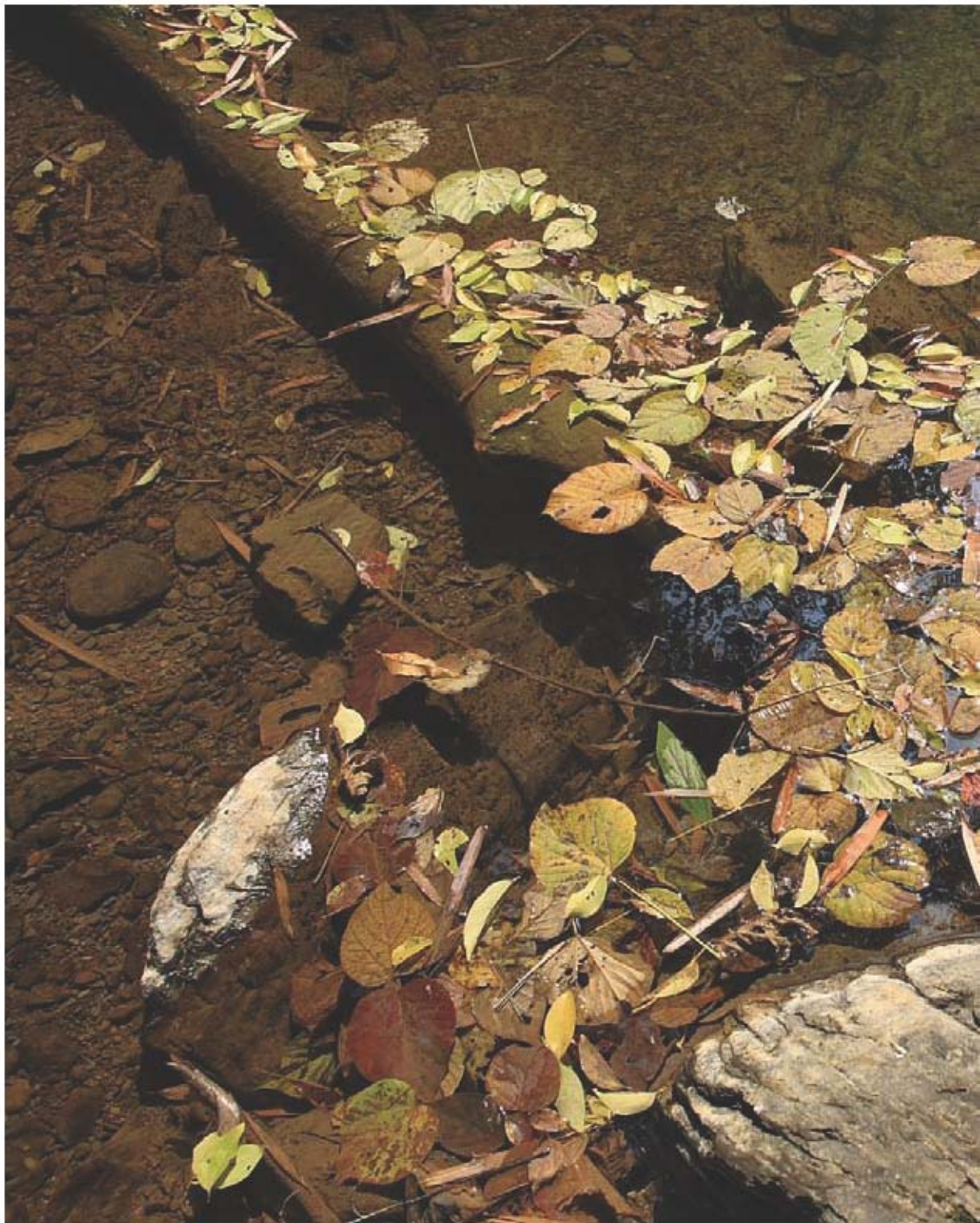
The social structure of tribes is less complex and most public affairs can reach consensus through community meetings. The leaders in tribe might include traditional chiefs, presbyters in Christian churches and the representatives through modern election system.

Black Rice Festival and Purple Butterfly Festival are good exhibitions of tribal governance. Take Black Rice Festival as example, the scale of millet festival in mid-July and harvest festival in winter was smaller. In 2003, the community association wanted to manifest their cultural characteristics, so they combined the black rice, harvest festival in the winter and the pre-harvest worship festival (Syapodrong) into a new Black Rice Festival. This idea was firstly proposed by the community association and then endorsed by the community meetings. And the following was possible owing to the chief's leadership, youth group, government subsidy and Church's blessing. All is done by considering traditional customs and modern practices.

Is the Black Rice Festival a possible way to help preserving indigenous culture as well as forest conservation?

Evidences have been found in the ICCAs initiatives in the Philippines, Borneo, Indonesia, India, Columbia, and Bolivia. ICCAs refers to the Indigenous Peoples' and Community Conserved Areas or territories, which aims to emphasize and respect the roles of local community and indigenous peoples in their community/territory nature conservation, in which they form their own governance body to make decisions about the conservation of habitats, species, ecological services, associated cultural values and livelihood. We believe that indigenous peoples have been living in peace with the nature for hundreds of years, and their traditional ecological knowledge shall be a guiding star for rebuild the relationship between human and the nature.









Part 2

Rukai Plants

植物本事

下卷









Food plants

食 用 植 物





食
Food

廣葉鋸齒雙蓋蕨

科名 蹄蓋蕨科 Athyriaceae

英名 lady fern

學名 *Diplazium dilatatum* Blume

多納語 ribolger



食用。葉片

廣葉鋸齒雙蓋蕨具外層褐色鱗毛，嫩芽食用前需先行刮除，熱水汆燙可去澀。涼拌、大火快炒或煮湯後食用。群落生長在林下的植株由於數量眾多，還可拿來鋪設臨時獵寮的屋頂。



It is frequently found on the forest floor. Young shoots are edible after scraping and the astringent taste can be removed after boiled in hot water. They can also be made into salad, quick fried or cooked as soup. Due to its abundance in the forest, it is often used as roof material for hunting lodges.



山柚

科名 山柚科 Opiliaceae

英名 Manila champeria

學名 *Champereia manillana* (Bl.) Merr.

多納語 tabalangato, taangothiyokane



食用。葉片

山柚嫩葉可食，多煮湯或搭配小魚熬煮稀飯，口感淡苦後回甘。

Tabalangato leaves are mostly cooked as soups, or sometimes in fish porridge. Its flavor is somewhat bitter but with a tint of sweetness.



假酸漿

科名 紫草科 Boraginaceae

英名 Khasya trichodesma

學名 *Trichodesma calycosum* Collett & Hemsl.

多納語 alabo'o



食用。葉片



吉拿富 (cinabu) 是魯凱和排灣族人節慶時常見的傳統食物，形式類似長型粽子，主原料為浸泡過的糯米或小米，肉、花生、芋頭粉等為餡料，由內而外分別用假酸漿、五節芒葉包裹，再以芒草莖繫緊，蒸或放入水裡，煮好後香氣四溢。

Cinabu is a traditional festival food of Rukai and Paiwan people. Wrapped by alabo'o and silvergrass leaves, a cinabu is consisted of sticky rice/millet, meat, peanuts and taro powder and tied up with silvergrass's stem. Cinabus are usually boiled or steamed, it makes a delicious taste.





食
Food

臺灣藜

科名 藜科 Chenopodiaceae

英名 Taiwan quinoa

學名 *Chenopodium formosanum* Koidz.

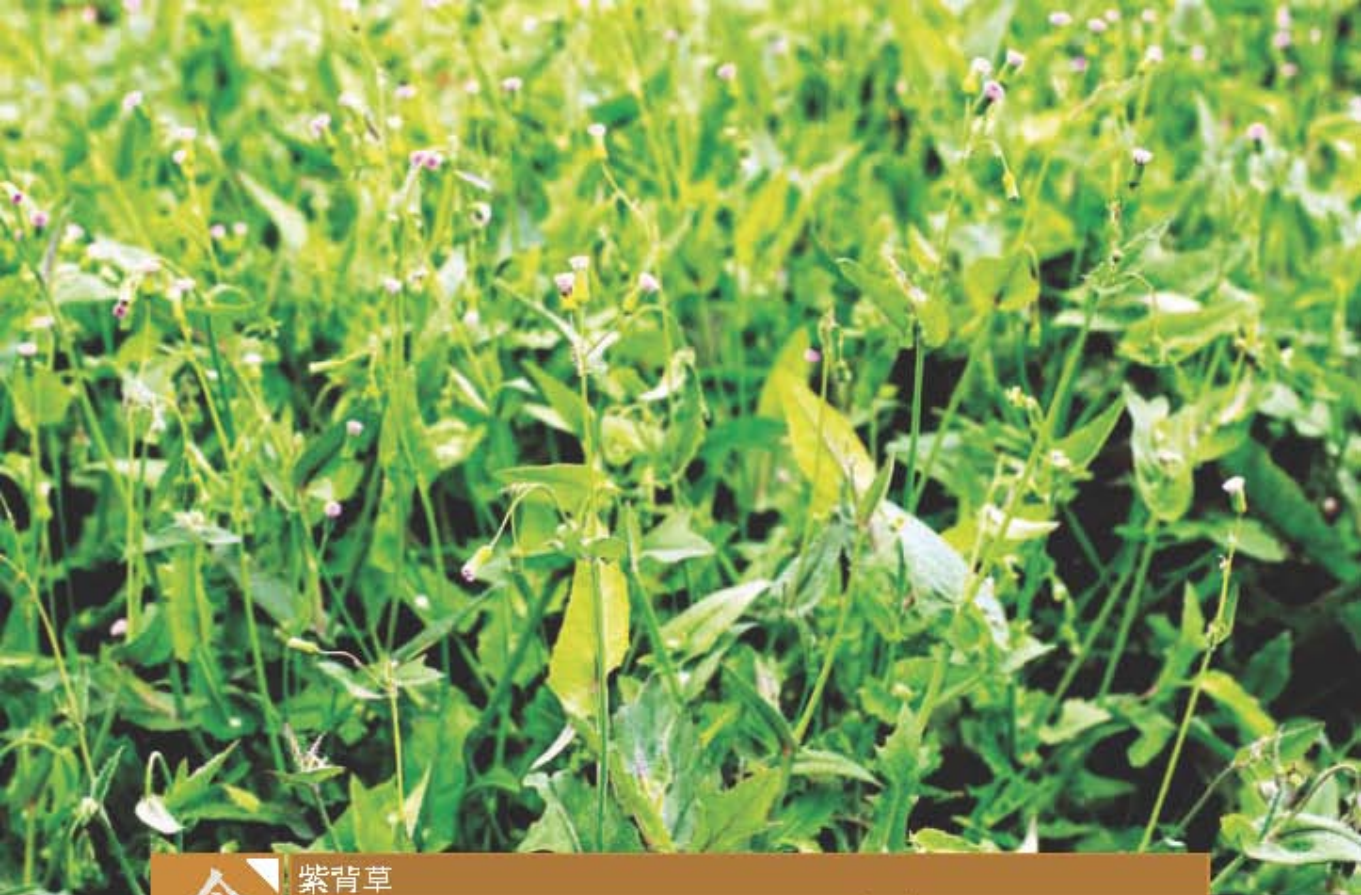
多納語 bawoozer



食用。果實

族人自古種植紅藜用以釀酒，通常紅藜開花入漿後，實穗由黃變紅，便是採收時機。除了釀酒，有時也會與小米一起熬粥。今日族人將紅藜製成更多樣的加工食物，如紅藜餅乾、米香、飲品茶包、飯糰等等。

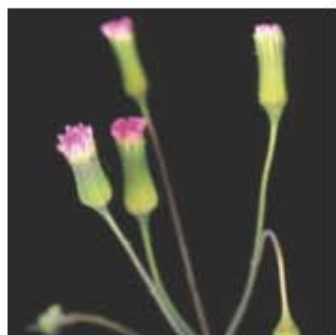
It has long been used in making wine or cooked with millets. Nowadays, it is used in many kinds of processed foods like quinoa cookies, tea bag, and puffed quinoa.



食
Food

紫背草

| | | | |
|----|--|-----|-------------------------|
| 科名 | 菊科 Asteraceae | 英名 | sowthistle tasselflower |
| 學名 | <i>Emilia sonchifolia</i> (L.) D.C. var. <i>javanica</i> (Burm. f.) Mattfeld | 多納語 | bawoozer |



食用・葉片

紫背草雜長於庭園、田間或野地，是族人心中的野菜佳餚，摘取嫩葉部分大火快炒，便能上桌。夏秋之際下三社地區聯外常因颱風影響中斷，此時紫背草等野菜便成為最佳蔬菜。

It grows in gardens, fields or in the wilderness. It is a delicious vegetable on a Rukai's table, usually simply stir-fried. When the traffic is down due to typhoons, this and many other edible wild vegetables become great alternative dishes.

芋 (里芋、青芋)

科名 天南星科 Araceae

英名 taro, eddoe

學名 *Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott

多納語 tay



食用。地下莖

芋頭烘烤製成的芋頭乾kwai，是族人喜愛的野外即食品，另可與蔬菜、肉類煮粥，或磨成粉後拌入肉塊包製吉拿富。由於耐長期儲存，在過去芋頭乾是族人上山打獵或飢荒必備食糧。

The baked dry eddoes are called 'kwai', which is a necessary food for hunting in the wild. Kwai is the main material in 'cinabu' and also can be cooked with vegetables or meat to make porridge.



稻, 黑米

科名 禾本科 Poaceae

英名 black rice

學名 *Oryza sativa* L.

多納語 papay



食用。果實



「黑米祭」近年逐漸發展成多納部落重要觀光祭典，老一輩擁有豐富口傳。追究黑米的來源，可能是早期南島祖先，互相貿易交換所流傳下來的品種，亦有可能是日治時期後推廣水稻種植，偶然孕育出的黑稻米，因其具備接近糯米的特質而被保留。

Black Rice Festival has becoming an important cultural tourism activity in Kungadavane. Regarding the origin of black rice, it could be exchanged by their Austronesian ancestors or bred in the Japanese era. It is reserved mostly for its stickiness which resembles sticky rice.







小米

| | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----|------------------------|
| 科名 | 禾本科 Poaceae | 英名 | millet, foxtail millet |
| 學名 | <i>Setaria italica</i> (L.) P. Beauv. | 多納語 | becenge |

食用、果實



小米是族人最重要的食糧，其次為芋頭。多納部落從祖先流傳下來的小米品種，多達十幾種，其中黑小米穗外觀是全黑色，但不管一般小米或黑小米，經舂打後米胚皆為乳白色。通常小米可以製作abay（小米糕）、cabo（粽子）、pepepe（湯圓）等，口感較黏。至於黑小米口感與粘性較差，無法製作abay等食品，只好直接蒸食。在多納部落，會將黑小米製成keayi（傳統的小米糖編製工藝，類似日本人的門松），用以贈送女友或世交家族。不過有時黑小米收穫量不足以編成一束keayi，主要原因是族人並未針對黑小米特別栽培，而僅是混種，據口述有時一分地僅得三公斤，雖然如此，黑小米在傳說中仍佔一席之地。

Millets is the most important staple food, followed by the taro. Traditionally, there are more than ten varieties in Kungadavane. Regardless of the colors of the grains Usually the glutinous millets are used to make millet cakes (abay), zongzi (cabo), and tangyuans/millet balls (pepepe). The non-glutinous millets, like black millets, can only be steamed. The Kungadavane people make black millet bundles (keayi, similar to Japanese kadomatsu gate-pine) as gifts to one's girl friend or family friends. The harvest of black millet.



Building & Tackle plants

建材與器具植物





住
Building

黃連木

科名 漆樹科 Anacardiaceae

英名 Chinese pistache

學名 *Pistacia chinensis* Bunge

多納語 thaaoko



建材。木材

黃連木耐貧瘠，在乾旱的下三社坡地生長繁盛。由於木材堅硬，族人常選用作為石板屋樑柱，而其橘紅色嫩葉可編為頭飾。

Chinese pistache can tolerate barren conditions so that they are prevailing in the dry Kinitavan area. The red young leaves can be weaved to make head ornaments. The trunk of the tree is hard and usually used as beam column when Rukai people build houses.

住
Baiqing

香楠

| | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|-----|------------------|
| 科名 | 樟科 Lauraceae | 英名 | incense machilus |
| 學名 | <i>Machilus zuihoensis</i> Hayata | 多納語 | biiyongo |

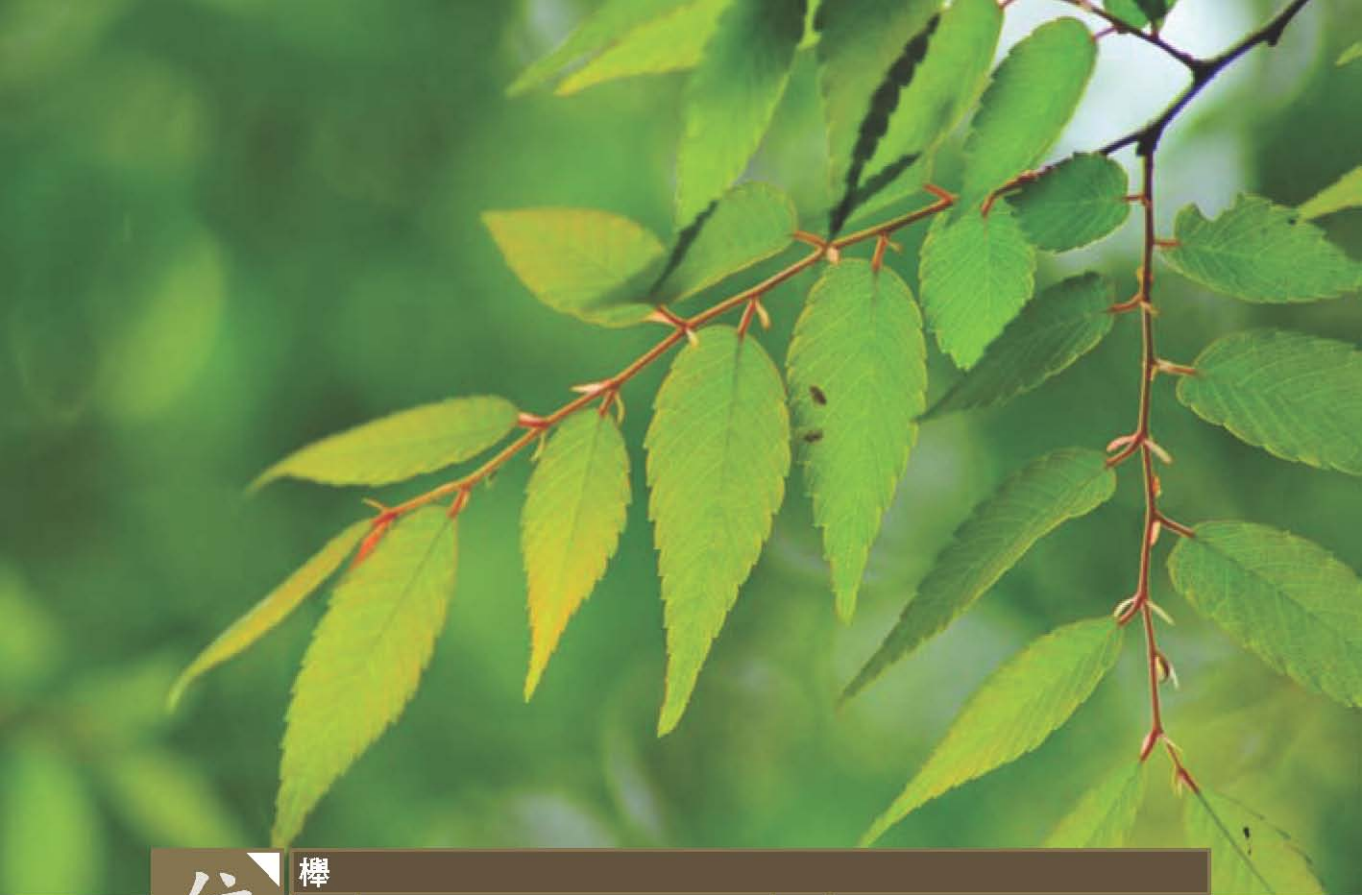


木材・木材

木材尚可，由於普遍分布，因此魯凱人蓋石板屋常會選用作為橫樑。

Its wood texture is not the top but due to its common availability, Rukai people use it as beams in constructing stone slab houses.





住
Building

櫟

科名 榆科 Ulmaceae

英名 Taiwan zelkova

學名 *Zelkova serrata* (Thunb.) Makino

多納語 tiebese



建材・木材

由於其巨大堅硬不易裂，是蓋石板屋時樑柱的最佳選擇。此外小徑木適合作為搗米時的杵，亦可作為鋤頭的柄。

Tiebese is big and strong, so it is the best wood for pillars and beams in stone-slab houses. The smaller woods are good for pestles or hoe handles.



住
BIAOHO

酸藤

科名 夾竹桃科 Apocynaceae

英名 sour creeper

學名 *Ecdysanthera rosea* Hook. & Arn.

多納語 talaang'nemane

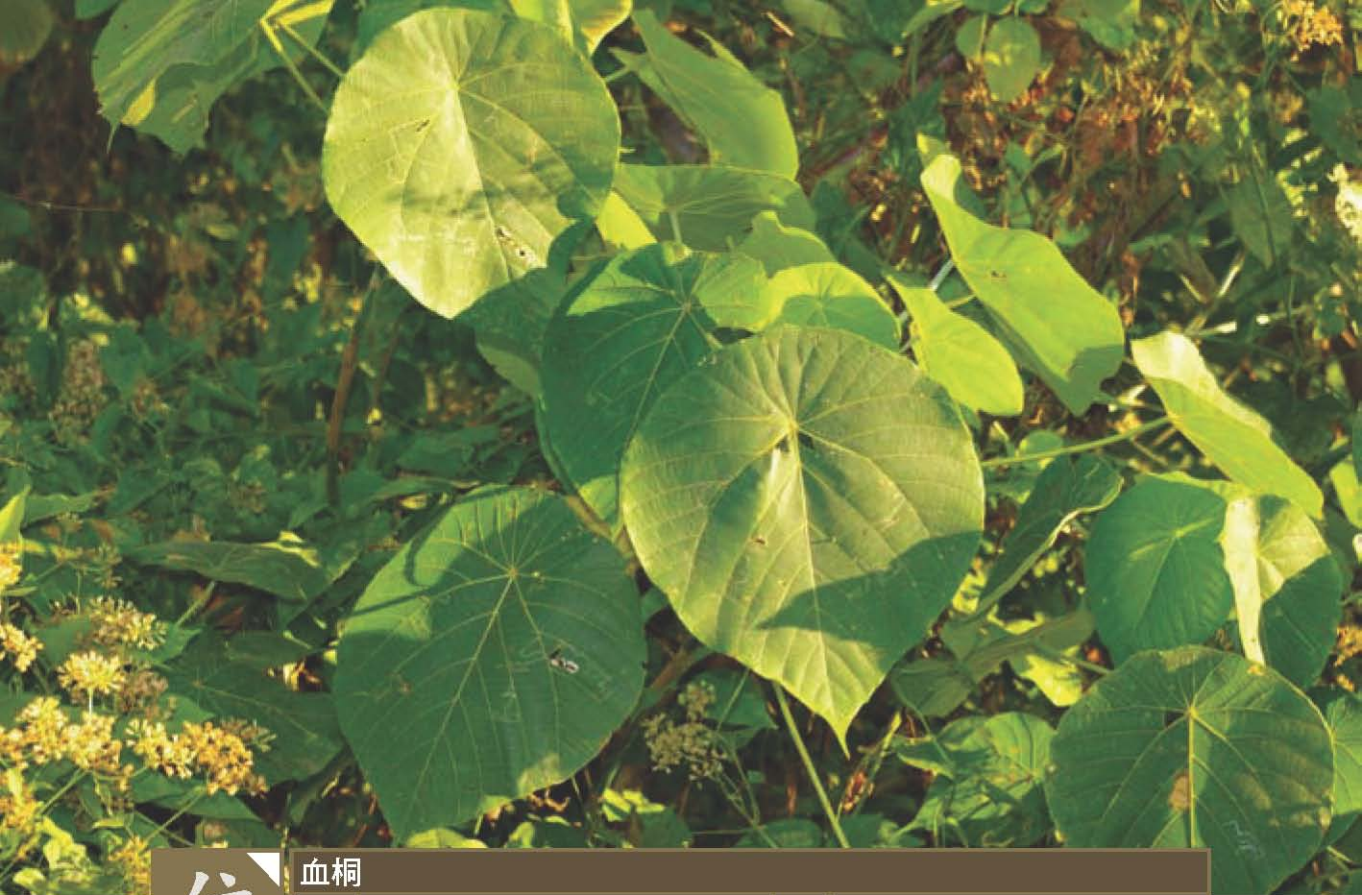


器具・用途

酸藤是南部地區常見的藤蕒植物，其質地粗且堅韌，乾燥後增加強度，族人常用來捆綁東西，從聘禮的木材束、獵寮的木樑固定，甚至吊橋繩索都可用酸藤。較小的酸藤環繞兩圈，即成鍋具或陶壺座下墊圈。

This vine is commonly found in southern Taiwan. It is very strong and thus is a good binding rope. It can be used for fixing woods in hunting lodges, or even main cords for suspension bridges. Smaller vines can be weaved into nice pot pad.





住
Building

血桐

科名 大戟科 Euphorbiaceae

英名 macaranga

學名 *Macaranga tanarius* (L.) Muell.-Arg.

多納語 ba'o



器具。葉片

常見而葉片巴掌大的血桐，在野外常被族人用來作為鍋蓋，有時也當襯底盤子、包裹魚肉在柴火上燻烤，或包覆熟食保存。

The big leaves are usually used as pot covers, foods pads or wrappers in the wild. Sometimes they will smoke-grilled fish wrapped by the leaves.

住
Baibing

石斑木

| | | | | | |
|----|--|----|--------------------|-----|-------|
| 科名 | 薔薇科 Rosaceae | 英名 | Tashiro's hawthorn | 多納語 | laino |
| 學名 | <i>Raphiolepis indica</i> (L.) Lindl. ex Ker var. <i>tashiroi</i> Hayata ex Matsumura & Hayata | | | | |



器具・木材

石斑木屬於小灌木，樹徑不大，但木材非常堅硬，因此可用來作為卡緊鋤頭刀柄的材料。

Laino tree is a small bush tree. Its woods are very hard, which can be used as tenons as fixation in knives and hoes.





住
Building

車桑子

科名 無患子科 Sapindaceae

英名 hop bush

學名 *Dodonea viscosa* (L.) Jacq.

多納語 lakaace



器具・樹皮

晒動物剝製皮革時，會用車桑子做的繩索繃緊拉平。此外漢人會向族人收購以為藥用。

When making dry leather, they tie up the animal skins with ropes made of lakaace. Outside merchants usually buy them for Chinese herbal medicine.

住
Baichang

臺灣芭蕉

科名 芭蕉科 Musaceae

英名 Taiwan banana

學名 *Musa basjoo* Siebold var. *formosana* (Warb.) S. S. Ying

多納語

merlermerler

器具・材料・葉片

芭蕉的葉片大且平滑、無毒，族人常用來鋪設地面以擺飾或包裹食物，取水時充當舀水器皿，也有人當作瓶塞使用。甚至可拿來當成包abay(小米糕)時的外層葉片。

Taiwan banana leaves are broad and smooth. They usually use it as foods pads or wrappers. Sometimes the leaves are made into spoons or bottle plugs. They are also used to wrap abay.





住
Building

土密樹

科名 大戟科 Euphorbiaceae

英名 pikpoktsai bridelia

學名 *Bridelia tomentosa* Bl.

多納語 libatase



器具、玩具、果實

其枝幹則為日常工具的木作材料。兒時玩竹槍，土密樹果實是極佳的子彈來源。

The trunks are good materials for making tools. The seeds can be used as children's bamboo gun bullets.

柚葉藤

| | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-----|----------------------|
| 科名 | 天南星科 Araceae | 英名 | orange-leaved pothos |
| 學名 | <i>Pothos chinensis</i> (Raf.) Merr. | 多納語 | singalo |



器具、藤籃

柚葉藤的藤莖細而柔韌，將其摺繞成小圈，可製作男背帶上要穿繞束繩的套圈。惟目前已漸被塑膠套圈取代。

Singalo wine is thin but tough. It is used to make the rings for fixing binding ropes on the men's bags, but it is mostly substituted by the plastic rings nowadays.





Carving & Craft plants

雕刻與工藝植物





藝
Craft

鵝掌柴

| | | | |
|----|--|-----|-------------------|
| 科名 | 五加科 Araliaceae | 英名 | common schefflera |
| 學名 | <i>Schefflera octophylla</i> (Lour.) Harms | 多納語 | a tho, ngaco |



工藝・木材

又名鴨腳木、江某的鵝掌柴，材質輕而色白，成為製舟或近代製作便當盒的材料，族人也用作為培養生木耳、原生雪菇的椴木。

The wood is white and extremely light. In the old days, they can be made into boats, but nowadays into meal box. Rukai people use it to grow mushrooms.

小梗木薑子

| | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| 科名 | 樟科 Lauraceae | 英名 | Taiwan actinodaphne |
| 學名 | <i>Litsea hypophaea</i> Hayata | 多納語 | eatheme |



工藝・木材

小梗木薑子的木材可製作刀柄、刀鞘、杓子。其材質即使雨天也可燃燒，是鑽木取火的好薪柴。

Its woods are food for making knife handles and sheaths. The wood texture is flammable even when wet, which makes it a good firewood.





藝
Craft

白肉榕

科名 桑科 Moraceae

英名 white fig tree

學名 *Ficus virgata* Reinw. ex Blume

多納語 co'o



工藝・木材

舂米時，杵以堅硬不易裂的材質為佳，臼則選用鬆軟材質以防米粒彈跳。由於白肉榕材質鬆軟，故適合用來製臼。此外，由於木材輕且耐用，也用作其他工具。

In the millet-pounding, the pestle woods must hard, while the mortar woods shall be soft to avoid bouncing. White fig trees are good woods for mortars. Besides, for its lightness and durability, it is also good in making other tools.

藝
藝
Art

月橘

| | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-----|----------------------|
| 科名 | 芸香科 Rutaceae | 英名 | common jasmin orange |
| 學名 | <i>Murraya paniculata</i> (L.) Jack. | 多納語 | balasisi |



工藝・木材

月橘又名七里香，其材質細緻堅硬，適合作為小型工具或是雕刻使用，如湯匙就常以七里香木材製成。

Balasisi has strong and fine texture, thus is suitable for carving or making small tools, like spoons.





藝
Craft

刺竹

| | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|-----|---------------|
| 科名 | 禾本科 Poaceae | 英名 | thorny bamboo |
| 學名 | <i>Bambusa stenostachya</i> Hackel | 多納語 | kavazhane |



工藝。枝條

刺竹的節間長，可取兩節竹桿製成趕鳥器：將其中一節剖開，另一節兩側削去部分，方便手持，拍擊發出聲響驅鳥。刺竹也可製做弓箭，或取水的竹筒。

They use thorny bamboos to make sonic bird-expellers. The thorny bamboos can also be used to make water bottles, arrows and bows.



莎勒竹

科名 禾本科 Poaceae

英名 climbing bamboo

學名 *Schizostachyum diffusum* (Blanco) Merr.

多納語 balebalebale



工藝·竹編

莎勒竹 (La'eLa'e) 的莖稈可編成篩子 (vetay)，以篩除穀粒的殼。另外可作為盤子 (balako)，用來放置釀酒過程中的米糰。用莎勒竹編製的盤子較藤編緊密，可盛呈飯粥狀的食物，其糜不會滲流。

The climbing bamboo can be woven into rice sieves (vetay) or plates (balako). The weavings of climbing bamboo are much finer than other weavings so they can be used to carry porridge-like food.







藝
CCT

山棕

科名 棕櫚科 *Arecaceae*

英名 Formosan sugar palm

學名 *Arenga tremula* (Blanco) Becc.

多納語 swape



工藝·葉

族人通常以山棕的葉片製成掃帚，摘採山棕的葉片將其綁成束後即可輕易使用。

Swape leaves are bundled and used as sweepers.



月桃

| | | | | |
|----|--|----|----------------------------------|------|
| 科名 | 薑科 Zingiberaceae | 英名 | shell-ginger, beautiful galangal | |
| 學名 | Alpinia zerumbet (Persoon) B. L. Burtt & R. M. Smith | | 多納語 | sali |

工藝·葉片



月桃的莖鞘逐層剝下反捲後曬乾，用來編製坐蓆或提籃等，是不分貴族或平民皆可使用的日常用具。另外也有編成嬰兒搖籃，可提可揹，魯凱嬰兒從小便在月桃的芬芳中成長。生長在山區的其他月桃（如島田氏月桃 kaSali）亦可作為月桃編織物的素材，但成品色澤較黑，且易斷裂，較不受族人青睞。

The stem sheaths of shell-ginger, when flattened and sun-dried, can be woven into baskets or mats. They can also be woven into cradles for carrying, so Rukai babies often grow up in the fragrance of shell-ginger. Other varieties, such as Shimada shell ginger (KaSali) are also used, but are not as popular for they are more fragile and with darker color.





賊仔樹

科名 芸香科 Rutaceae

英名 Japanese evodia

學名 *Tetradium glabrifolium* (Champ. ex Benth.) T. G. Hartley

多納語 batolongo



園藝、工藝、木材

材質較堅硬，可以用來做刀柄、刀鞘、槍拖等。賊仔樹也是鳳蝶類的食草與蜜源，為了生態觀光，已有許多族人開始種植。

Batolongo woods are hard so are good for knife handles, sheaths or gun butts. They are also good foods and nectar source for Swallowtail butterflies. For developing eco-tourism, it has been widely planted recently.







Hunting plants

狩獵植物





獵
Hunling

白白

科名 大戟科 Euphorbiaceae

英名 Taiwan tallow tree

學名 *Sapium discolor* Muell.-Arg.

多納語 ao-gogo



狩獵。果實

多納人稱白白為「沒有用的樹」，不過松鼠愛吃白白果實，有時獵人據此追蹤。

The Kungadavane calls them 'useless trees', but squirrels love to eat the fruit, hence becoming tracing traits for hunters.

臺灣魚藤

| | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|----|---|-------------|
| 科名 | 豆科 Fabaceae | 英名 | Taiwan millettia, trifoliate jewel vine | |
| 學名 | <i>Millettia pachycarpa</i> Benth. | | 多納語 | kadrapolane |



狩獵·根

多納人毒魚多為團體漁獵。族人採魚藤根部，以石頭打碎後，絞出汁液混入溪水，魚類受毒麻痺後頓失活力，翻白魚肚浮起，下游族人圍堵撈起。不久受影響魚類逐漸甦醒，由於汁液量有限，影響河段通常不長，魚藤的毒性對蝦類沒有作用。

Kungadavane people usually poison fish in groups. They smash the poisoning juice of Taiwan millettia. The fish are paralyzed and faint temporarily, while the others wait downstream to catch the fish. The amount of poisoning juice is usually small and only affects small area with no effects on shrimps.





獵
Hunling

山胡椒

科名 樟科 Lauraceae

英名 mountain litsea

學名 *Litsea cubeba* (Lour.) Pers.

多納語 oping



狩獵。果實

五月盛開的山胡椒，果實是藍腹鵝愛吃的食物之一，獵人常據此守株待鳥。

The mountain litsea flowers in May and its fruits are one of the favorite foods of Swinhoe's pheasant so that hunters often wait beside the trees to catch the bird.

獵
Hunting

猿尾藤

科名 黃櫨花科 Malpighiaceae

英名 bengal hiptage

學名 *Hiptage benghalensis* (L.) Kurz.

多納語 caylabe



狩獵、誘獲

捕抓中、小型獵物製作吊子陷阱，可用猿尾藤的莖蔓作為吊繩，用以套住獵物腿部。

The vine can be used as a hanging trap's rope to catch the animal's leg.





獵
Hunting

山芙蓉

科名 錦葵科 Malvaceae

英名 Taiwan cotton-rose

學名 *Hibiscus taiwanensis* S. Y. Hu

多納語 lobo



狩獵·器具·樹皮

山芙蓉樹皮纖維韌性極佳，因此被族人普遍利用，可用來綑綁、製弓弦、陷阱等，另外也有用來織布。



Lobo tree bark is very tough and thus used as binding ropes, bowstrings, and trap ropes. Sometimes it is used in weaving clothes.

獵
Hunting

狗骨仔

科名 茜草科 Rubiaceae

英名 false coffee

學名 *Tricalysia dubia* (Lindl.) Ohwi

多納語 kawkodra



狩獵、果實

狗骨仔果實貌似同屬的咖啡，成熟時，山豬等哺乳動物喜歡來吃，故獵人常在其附近置放陷阱捕獲。由於其材質堅硬，可作印章或鞦韆椅板。

Kawkodra looks like coffee tree which belongs to the same genus. Wild boars and other mammals love to eat the fruits, so that hunters will set up traps around them. Its hard woods make good seals and swing boards.





Medicinal plants

藥 用 植 物





藥
Medicinal

羅氏鹽膚木

| | | | | |
|----|---|----|------------------------------|-----------|
| 科名 | 漆樹科 Anacardiaceae | 英名 | Roxburgh sumac, nutgall tree | |
| 學名 | <i>Rhus javanica</i> L. var. <i>roxburghiana</i> (DC.) Rehd. & Wilson | | 多納語 | apalalane |



藥用。葉片

羅氏鹽膚木乾材燒成炭後，用杵椿成粉，可用作打獵的槍管火藥，其葉片搗爛可以治傷。

The mountain litsea flowers in May and its fruits are one of the favorite foods of Swinhoe's pheasant so that hunters often wait beside the trees to catch the bird.

藥
Medicinal

冇骨消

科名 忍冬科 Caprifoliaceae

英名 formosan elderberry

學名 *Sambucus chinensis* Lindl.

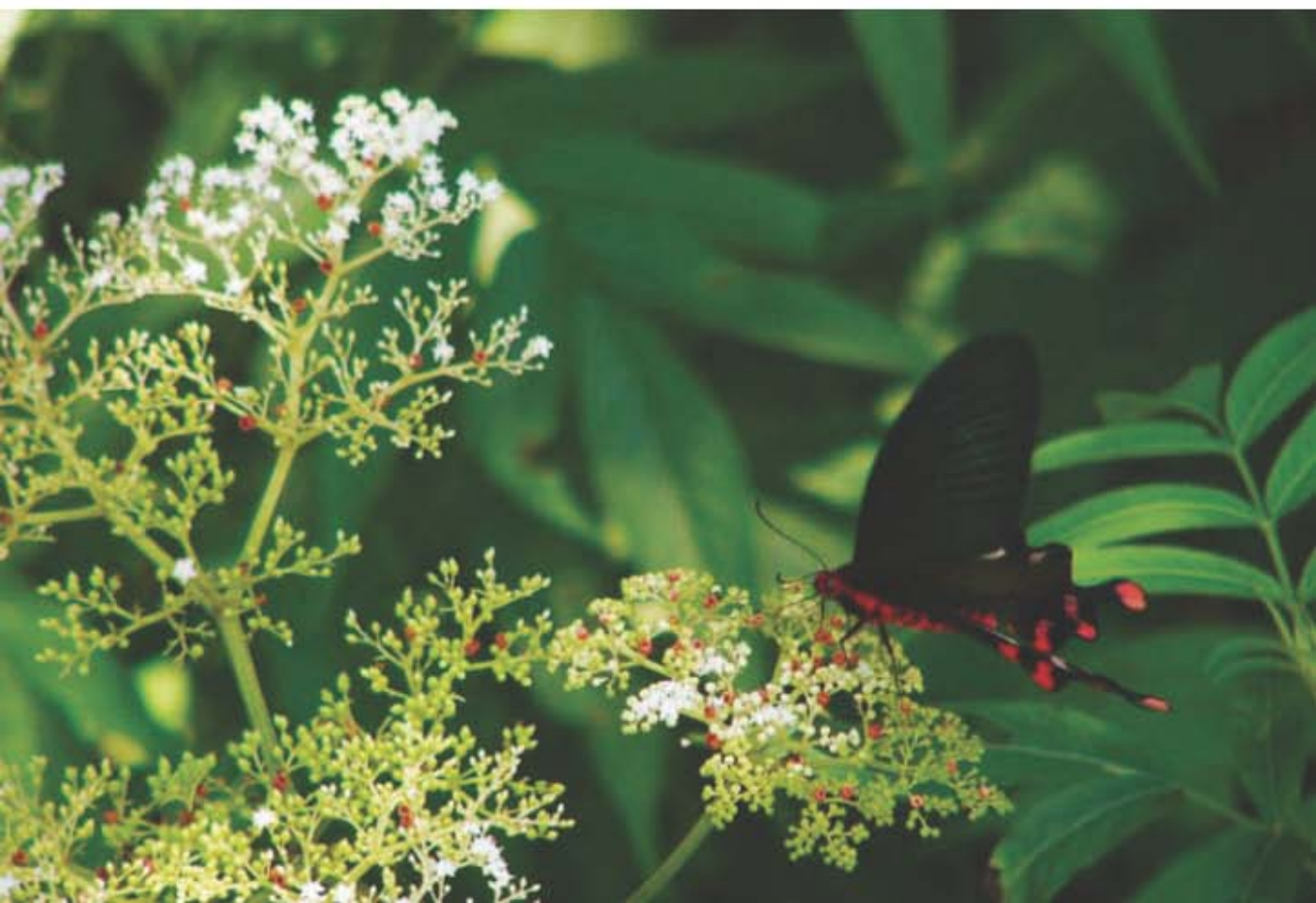
多納語 radi



藥用：葉片

在早期醫藥不發達的年代，魯凱族平民婦女坐月子時，常用冇骨消葉片洗澡，或炙烤葉片後敷於肚皮，可使產後身體較快恢復。

It is a traditional medicine plant. Rukai women might take a leaf bath or hot-bake leaves on her abdomen for quicker recovery when in confinement (for recovery) after giving birth to a baby.





藥
Medicinal

咬人狗

科名 蕁麻科 Urticaceae

英名 poisonous woodnettle

學名 *Dendrocnide meyeniana* (Walp.) Chew

多納語 pa ga ase, paagase



藥用。根

葉片刺激會使皮膚腫癢，根可入藥。

The invisible poisoning hairs on it leaves will make the skin inflamed and itchy. Its roots can be used as medicine.

藤相思樹

科名 豆科 Fabaceae

英名 climbing acacia

學名 *Acacia caesia* (L.) Willd.

多納語 angoko



清潔·樹皮

藤相思樹的枝幹砍下一段，加些水敲打樹皮，可製造出用來洗滌的泡沫，包括洗頭。

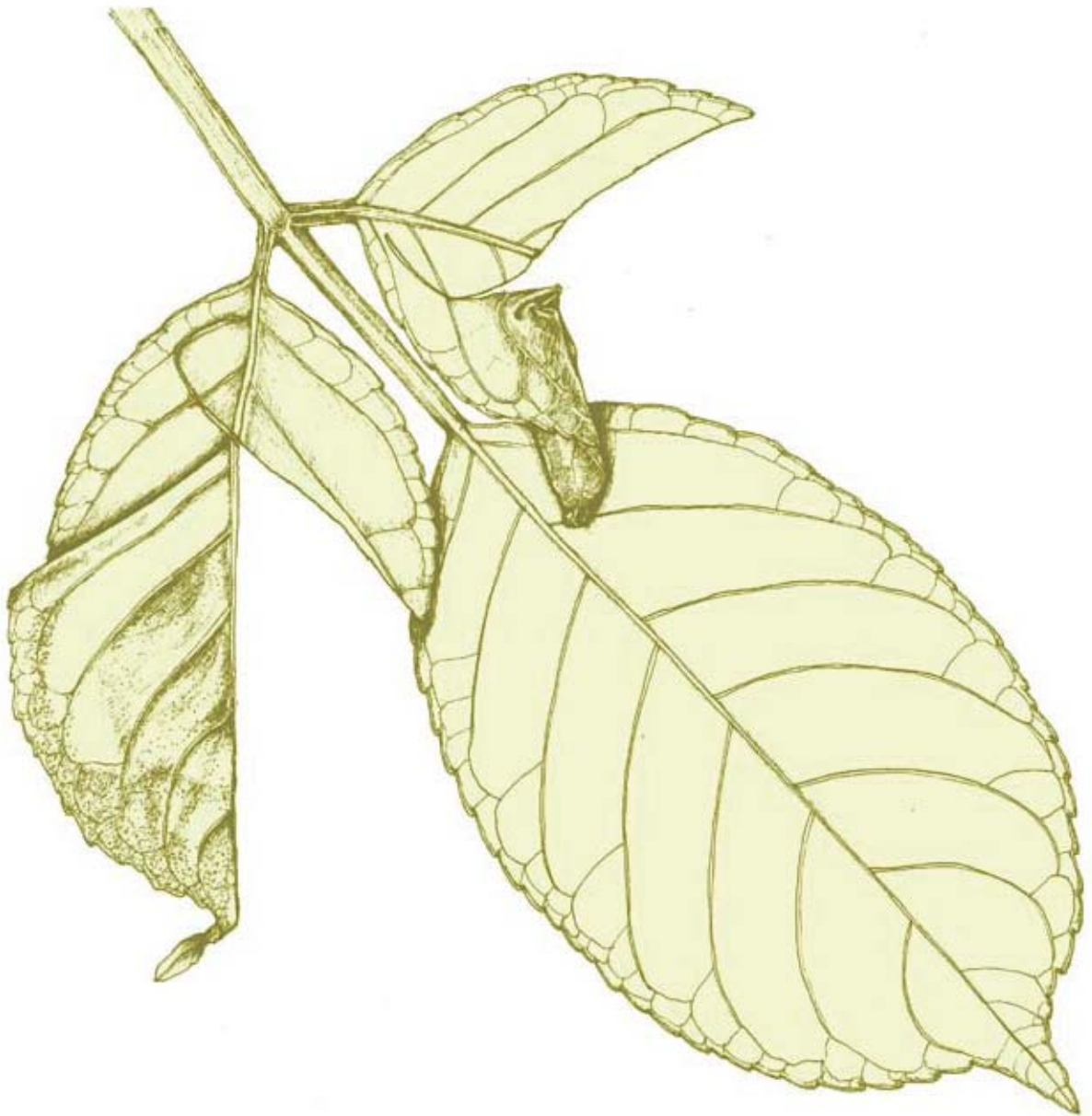
Punching the fresh trunk with some water makes soapy bubbles, which can be used for cleaning or even used as shampoo.

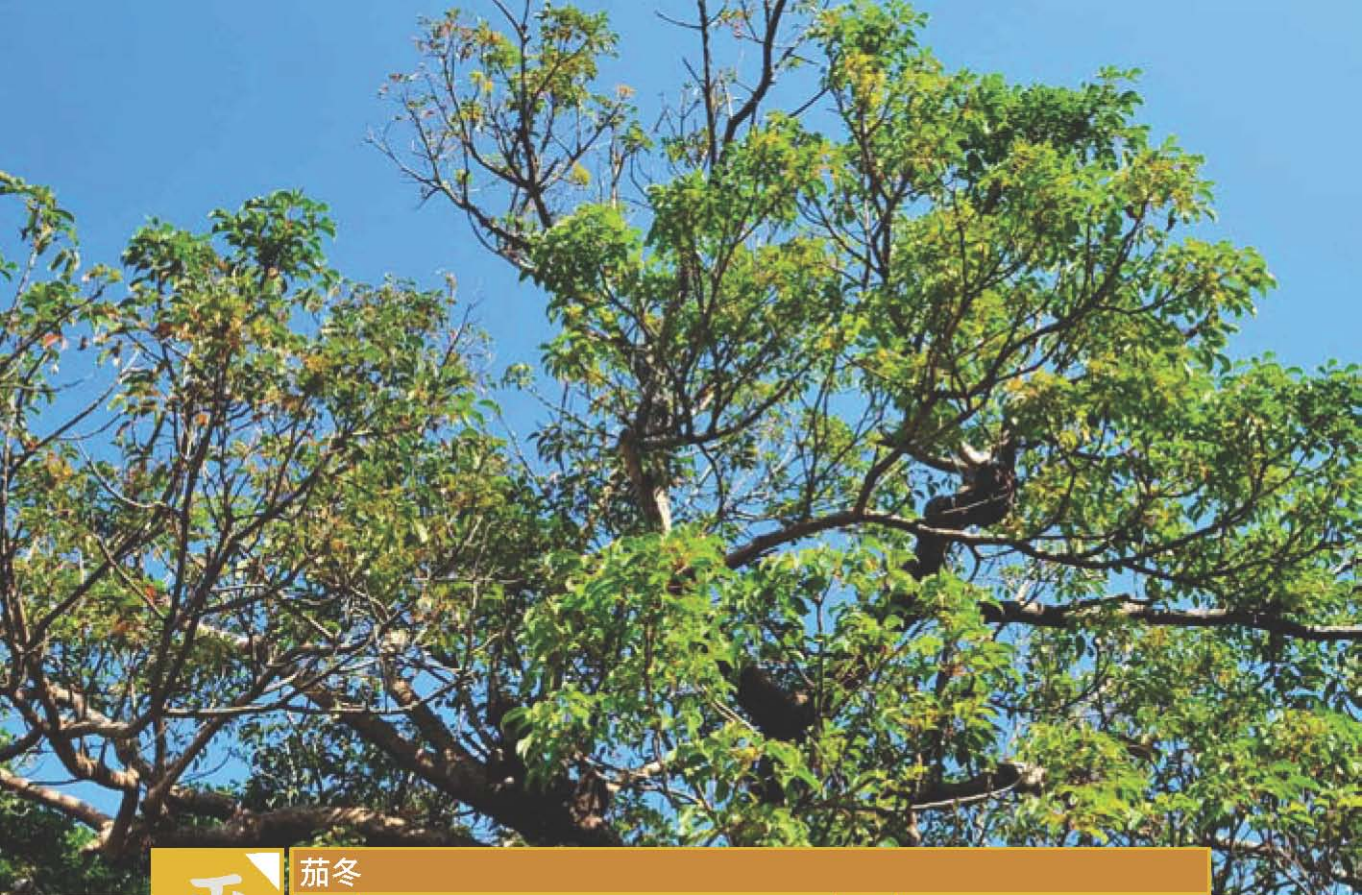




Ritual plants

儀禮禁忌植物





巫

Ritual

茄冬

科名 大戟科 Euphorbiaceae

英名 toog tree

學名 *Bischofia javanica* Bl.

多納語 seve'e



儀禮禁忌。枝葉

平民男子與貴族公主交往，為嚴格的魯凱社會階級所不容，哭泣的公主腳下生根變成了茄冬樹，這則傳說使得族人不砍茄冬樹。苦旱時族人會在茄冬樹下摘取葉子祈求降雨。

A tale says that there was a civilian man dating a noble princess but they were torn apart because of the conservative hierarchical custom. The legs of the crying princess became toog tree. Rukai people thus never cut toog tree. In the drought, the toog leaves are used in rainmaking rituals.

巫
Ritual

九芎

科名 千屈菜科 Lythraceae

英名 subcostate crape myrtle

學名 *Lagerstroemia subcostata* Koehne

多納語 drilese



婚禮禁忌、木材

九芎是魯凱的聘禮木，材質硬而耐燒，若男子能兩刀俐落地將九芎砍下，表示具有強健體魄，在訂婚時被視為展現男方體魄的基準。也因此，魯凱人平時不會亂砍九芎，只在訂婚時才隆重使用。

Drilese is an important betrothal gift woods for Rukai. The wood texture is hard and fire-enduring. If a man can cut down a drilese tree quick and sharp, then it shows the man is strong enough to be a good husband. Hence, they seldom cut down drilese trees and save them for the weddings.





巫

Ritual

鴨跖草

科名 鴨跖草科 Commelinaceae

英名 dayflower

學名 *Commelina communis* L.

多納語 laodripi, lawdrip



儀禮禁忌。葉片

葉片作為占卜用，類似漢人的擲茭，若拔起的葉片掉落後為一正一反的方向，代表著打獵會有好收穫，反之則否。

Laodripi leaves are used in leaf-augury. A 'one head and one tail' signals a good harvest in hunting.

巫

Rukai

五節芒

科名 禾本科 Poaceae

英名 silvergrass

學名 *Miscanthus floridulus*(Labill.) Warb. ex Schum. & Laut.

多納語 pelege, bosange



雜草學名、葉片

五節芒在魯凱族的運用非常廣，舉凡狩獵（指引、火把）、食用（髓心）、建築（屋頂）、醫藥（巫醫）與祭儀等，均常用到。

Silvergrass is widely used in Rukai tribes. It can be used as markers and fire-torch in hunting, as vegetable in cooking, as roof-top in house-building, and as medicine or ritual plants.





Wreath, Weaving & Garden plants

花 環 ， 編 織
與 庭 園 植 物





飾
Wreath

萬壽菊

| | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-----|----------|
| 科名 | 菊科 Asteraceae | 英名 | marigold |
| 學名 | <i>Tagetes erecta</i> L. | 多納語 | sipi |



頭飾、園藝、花

原產於墨西哥的萬壽菊，約百多年前引進台灣。由於全株具有香味，加上幾乎四季開花，成為族人編製花環的主要素材。下三社部落，家戶門前幾乎都栽有萬壽菊，蔚為特色。

Originated in Mexico, but introduced in Taiwan for hundreds of years. For its whole body is fragrant and it flowers all year round, it is a main materials for weaving wreaths. Almost all families grow this in their garden yards in Kinitavan.

飾

Wreath

腎蕨

科名 蓀蕨科 Oleandraceae

英名 sword fern, tuber sword fern

學名 *Nephrolepis auriculata* (L.) Trimen

多納語 mimizao



頭飾、葉片

腎蕨為族人最常用的花環、頭飾材料，因隨手可得且耐久而獲青睞。除節慶外，日常生活中，族人亦常隨手環編腎蕨頭飾以為遮陽，並認為經過不潔之處，可為遮煞。

Sword ferns are their favorite wreath material for sword ferns are easily available and durable. Beside the colorful festival wreaths, villagers wear pure sword ferns wreaths as sunshades and protection from bad luck.





飾
Wreath

黃蝴蝶

科名 豆科 Fabaceae

英名 peacock flower

學名 *Caesalpinia pulcherrima* (L.) Swartz

多納語 a ber zer



頭飾・園藝・花

黃蝴蝶原產熱帶美洲與加勒比海，又名金鳳花，大約於西元1645年由荷蘭人引進台灣，族人普遍種植於庭園，為常用花環素材之一，編時常將其夾在兩片百合花瓣間，依顏色對比點綴尊貴百合。

It was originated in the Tropical America, and probably introduced by the Dutch in 1645. It is widely planted as wreath materials along with lilies.

飾
Wreath

臺灣百合

科名 百合科 Liliaceae

英名 Taiwan lily

學名 *Lilium formosanum* Wallace

多納語 bangabangale



頭飾、葉片

百合頭飾在西魯凱群，具有重要社會地位及階級象徵意義，但在下三社群，百合花除了作為裝飾花環，並無特殊祭儀和階級意涵。

Lily head accessories represent a symbol of social status and noble class in Western Rukai group, but it is simply a beautiful decoration plant in Kinitavan area without any ritual or hierarchical representations.



飾

Wreath

黃水茄

科名 茄科 Solanaceae

英名 nightshade

學名 *Solanum undatum* Lam.

多納語 a s ea se



頭飾・果實

下三社族人常作為花環頭飾的植物還有玉葉金花、華八仙、黃水茄、烏皮九芎、龍船花、蔦蘿等，這些植物常普遍被栽植在住屋附近的小庭園內。

Nightshade, downy mussaenda, Chinese hydrangea, Formosan snow-bell, paniculate glorybower, and star glory are plants used in weaving Kinitavan wreaths and are widely planted in their garden yards.





飾
Wreath

毛玉葉金花

科名 茜草科 Rubiaceae

英名 downy mussaenda

學名 *Mussaenda pubescens* W. T. Aiton

多納語 colipane





飾

Weath

華八仙

科名 虎耳草科 Saxifragaceae

英名 Chinese hydrangea

學名 *Hydrangea chinensis* Maxim.

多納語 cangkalre





飾
Wreath

烏皮九芎

科名 安息香科 Styracaceae

英名 Formosan snow-bell

學名 *Styrax formosana* Matsum.

多納語 deeayi





飾
Weath

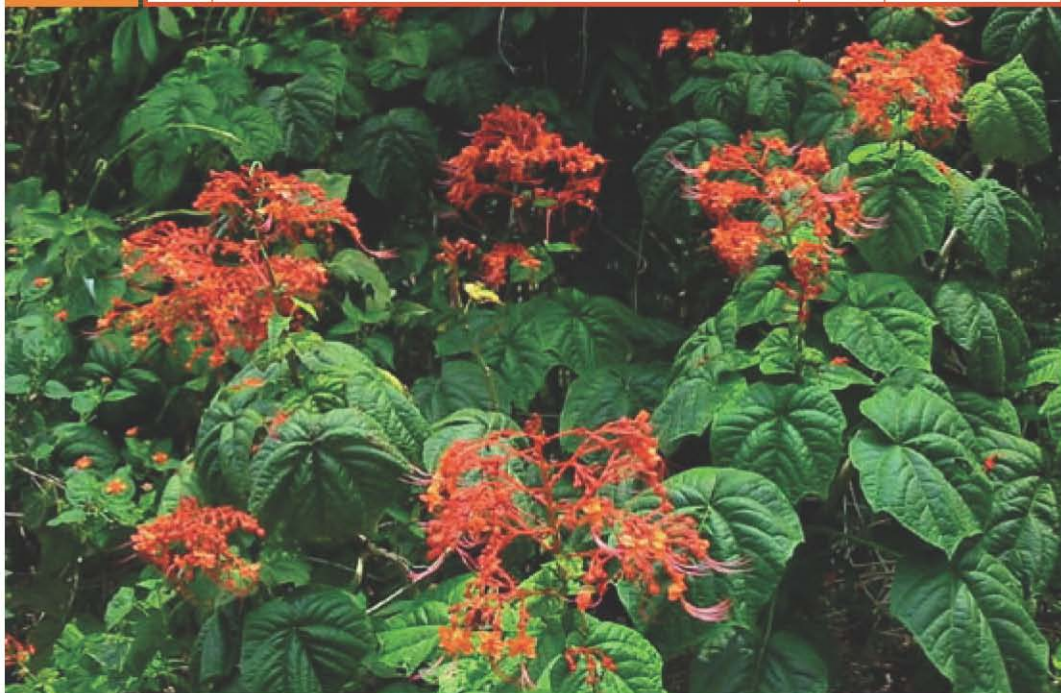
龍船花

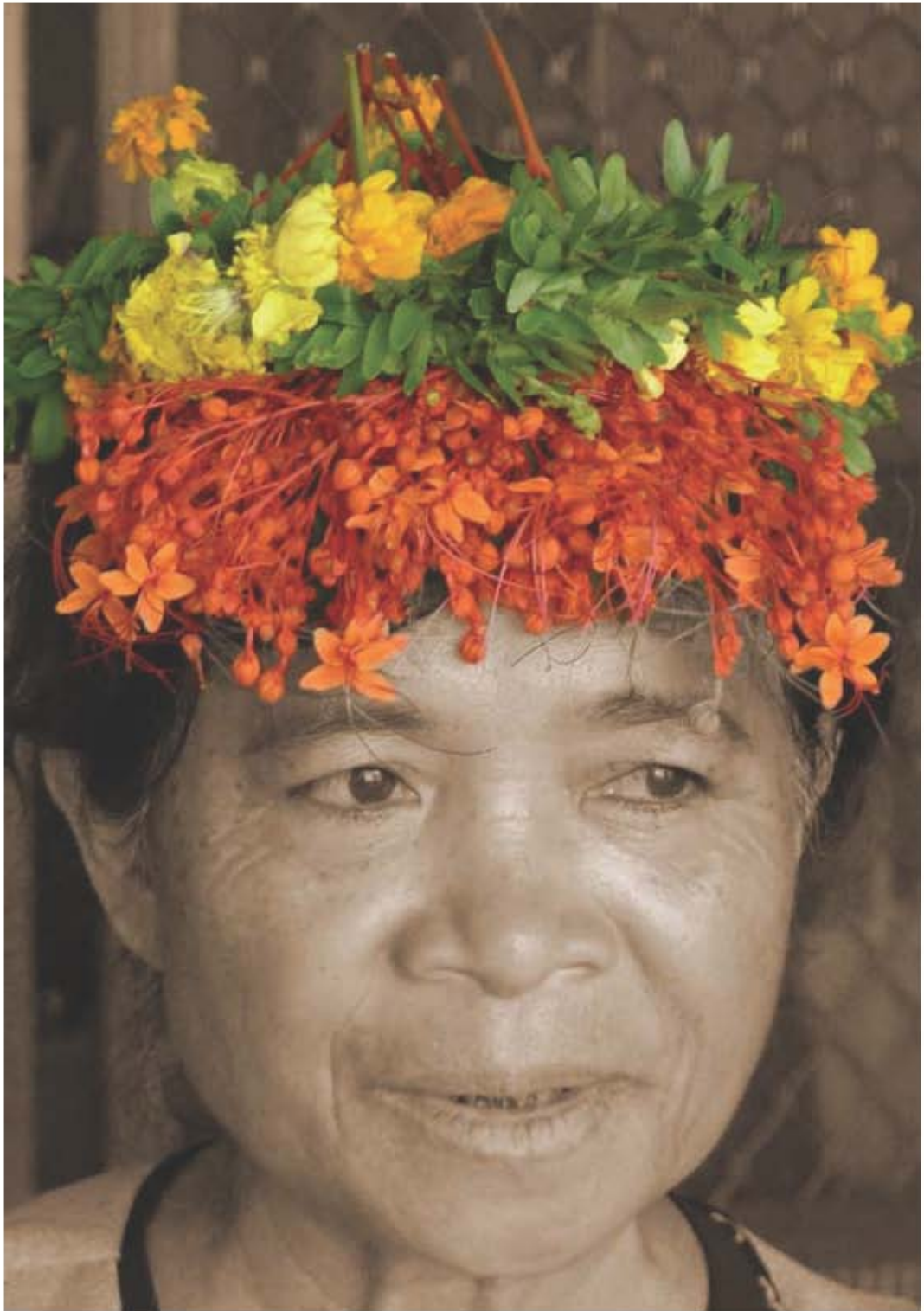
科名 馬鞭草科 Verbenaceae

英名 paniculate glorybower

學名 *Clerodendrum kaempferi* (Jacq.) Siebold ex Steud.

多納語 avange







織
Weaving

構樹

科名 桑科 Moraceae

英名 paper mulberry, tapacloth tree

學名 *Broussonetia papyrifera* (L.) L'Herit. ex Vent.

多納語 o clro; odro



衣飾。樹皮

構樹的樹皮強韌，可製作各種繩索、樹皮衣。魯凱傳統婚禮前夕，新娘母親會以構樹皮綁住新娘，接著用一大條布將她裹起來，象徵新娘身體純潔無瑕、完好如初。在金秋時分，構樹的果實、嫩葉皆可食用。

Odro tree has tough tree bark and can be made into ropes and bark clothes. The fruits and young leaves in the autumn are edible. In a traditional Rukai wedding's eve, the mother will wrap up the bride with odro tree bark and a cloth to represent her virginity.

織
Weaving

苧麻

科名 蕁麻科 Urticaceae

英名 ramie

學名 *Boehmeria nivea* (L.) Gaudich. var. *tenacissima* (Gaudich.) Miq.

多納語 damili

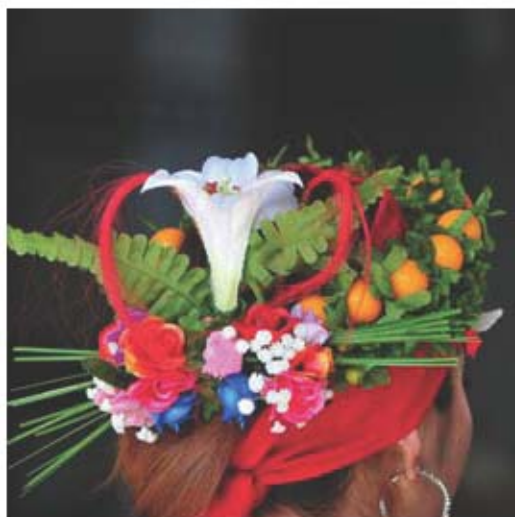


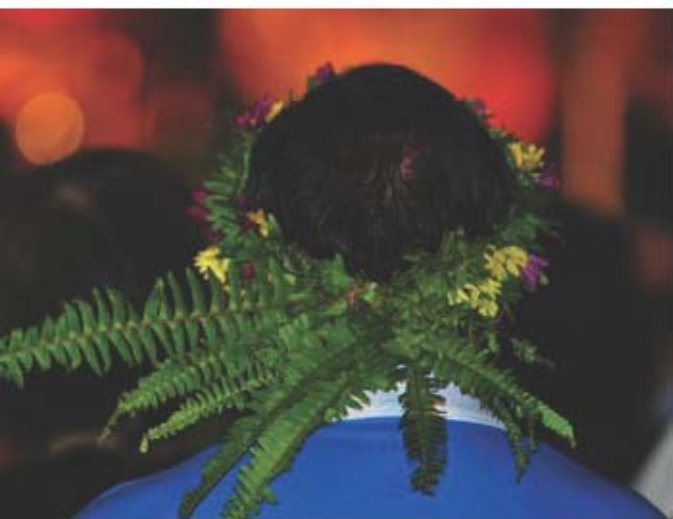
衣物、蓆

下三社群許久前便已開始使用溪布製衣，織布式微因而少種苧麻。但苧麻仍是重要的繩材，作法是將苧麻莖皮纖維先浸水，待纖維分散後，再曬乾來編織成揹袋或是漁網。

Kinitavan people have been making clothes with Chinese fabrics for a long time. As a result, ramie is rarely planted for the decline of traditional weaving, but it is still an important material for making traditional ropes, bags and nets.









Epilogue
跋

織就生命的花環

Weaving the circle of life

根據萬山社流傳的歐布諾伙吃蛇女子傳說，該位嫁入魯凱貴族家庭的布農（或南鄒）媳婦，觸犯了夫家（族中）的禁忌，由於餵烤百步蛇吃食而遭遣放，流連林道悲傷哀泣，徒手留下難得壯觀的摩崖岩雕。故事裡輕描淡寫提及，女子在路上並未因此停止吃蛇，屢屢吹哨召蛇來吃的過程，神奇處在於所吐出的各節蛇骨，落地後很快再化作另一尾小蛇遊去，吃蛇女子的悲傷之路，竟成為現今族人公認百步蛇最密集的棲地。

吃蛇女子外，多納另有調皮姐妹戲弄了老翁，後為逃避而在河裡尿出溫泉，另有遭後母苛待的兄妹化身烏鴉，趕救不及的父親只好從此餵其獸肉補償……，下三社魯凱的傳說故事生動有趣，描述族人生活、起源、異族關係、對動植物及自然資源的觀察與解釋等，天馬行空卻意有所指，反應出族人性格裡的矛盾與轉化—死絕與生機、柔軟與堅硬、責難與寬恕等，而這似乎正是惡劣的生存環境（破碎地形、異族環肆）下，賴以發展延續的生存原則。

感謝您耐心閱讀完下三社的故事，跟隨我們一道體驗過去到現代的美麗與哀愁。

闔上書，書中的角色與故事暫時告一段落，閃爍的篝火在天明時猶留餘溫，若您願意，穿梭石板巷弄，美麗庭園盛放燦爛花朵，林間攀藤與樹葉翻飛，邀請您編織下一串屬於自己的莽噶艾。

Weaving the circle of life

As in the Oponoho legend of snake-eating girl, the Bunun girl was expelled for eating moccasin snakes which was violating the taboo of respect to the moccasins. Along her way leaving from Rukai tribe, she never stopped eating the snakes. What was amazing is that when she spitted out the snake bones, the bones became more snakes. Where she was sadly eating snakes, now it surprisingly happen to be the place of highest abundance of moccasin snakes.

Beside the snake-eating story, in Kungadavane there were two naughty sisters, they urinated in the river which became hot-springs when they fled away after teasing an old man. And also in the story a son and daughter became crows after abused by their step-mother. The father was so sorry for incapable to save them that he kept feeding the crows with meats. All Rukai in Kinitavan legends are vivid and interesting descriptions of their life, origin, inter-tribe relationship and also the understanding/interpretation of nature. These stories though absurd but at the same time are manifestations of their contradiction and transformation in personalities such as death/reborn, soft/tough, blame/forgiveness. It seems like these personalities are the key survival factors in such a tough living environment.

Closing up this book, the stories of Kinitavan people are temporarily coming to an end. But the real life has just begun. If you would like to take a walk in the stoneslab lanes, among the colorful Rukai gardens, you could also be weaving a new vengae story of your own.



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感謝您耐心閱讀本書，本書得以完成，非常感謝多納社區發展協會的鼎力協助，並提供許多珍貴的史料和老照片，尤其是前理事長郁德芳Legeageay Thabilane費心奔走聯繫，提供許多方向建議、資訊以及個人過去的照片資料。大社的頭目柯阿香Desdes Darlimanow女士，提供多納魯凱與排灣的差異比較；耆老鄧武來Tanebake Mabaybi、江添祿Isamo Di' apangan，補充許多山林植物利用與傳統狩獵的知識；萬山的石雕創作者黃亦青Male Madhiling，提供萬山岩雕的資料與傳統石板屋及石材資訊，還包括不少萬山與多納部落的老照片；茂林部落得恩谷的陳誠主任Dele Taliyavane，協助記錄了許多茂林的傳統習俗與傳說，以及獵人、男子成年禮等資料；另外茂林部落獵人學校魏乾貴校長Bibiya、劉勝青Danow耆老等，則提供茂林傳統狩獵知識以及傳統植物利用智慧，受訪者多納頭目羅善以及趙金玉鑾、姚牡丹、爾克等耆老，從這些人身上，我們習得魯凱族傳統知識，如何在狩獵與永續利用之間取得平衡，也看到了對文化的傳承與堅持。

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串起莽噶艾

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