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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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邦查米阿勞，意思是 到田裡看看吧，阿美族！

"Pangcah Miaraw," means
"Go to the field! You fellow Amis"



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PANGCAH MIARAW

邦查米阿勞

東台灣阿美民族植物

The Ethnobotany of Amis
in Eastern Formosa

行政院農業委員會林務局



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FORESTRY BUREAU C.O.A



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從malasan (宿醉) 醒來，頭暈有點暈，漫漶部落隨參加朋友的婚宴次數，便有更多傳承的使命感，書寫過程中感激我們可以做的事情還很多，多麼希望時光凝結，能一直百轉千折的悠遊在邦查的植物國度裡。

董景生
Tung Gene-Sheng



台灣大學昆蟲博士，擔任既是媒體也是保育團體的台灣環境資訊協會理事長，現任職行政院農業委員會林業試驗所，專力於蟲癭的研究。興趣廣泛，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面臨開發而消失，決心回饋早年中央山脈打獵的震撼與感動。



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局長序

阿美族的生態智慧

民族植物學研究透過記錄原住民族的植物利用，解析植物對人類文明的影響。人類居住在地球上，必須與環境相應相生才能成為資源永續族群，因此民族植物利用成為自然保育的良好範例。民族植物學源自研究原住民族利用的植物，透過研究原住民的食物、衣著、住屋建材，以確定植物的分布與傳播的歷史，更間接瞭解原住民族的文化地位。

傳統古老的人類社會中，資源有限，為能永續的使用資源，古老民族謹慎的使用植物，並運用神話和宗教信仰，依禁忌、祭典、部落規範等手段，崇敬地利用山林的水、風、火與動植物，達到族群與自然間的共存共榮。到了近代，工業文明與功利主義，人與環境間講求利用的效率，因此大面積耕種，大範圍獵捕，導致資源很快的枯竭，人與環境間失去了賴以維生的平衡。

自然的反撲於焉展開，例如八八風災，在強風豪雨洗禮後，原先的蒼翠山林瞬間化為一片淤泥，部落家屋陷入一片汪洋苦水，環境對我們展現了破滅的威力。古老文化中的教誨，破滅即是創造，風災過後，使我們更謙卑的理解到人類的渺小，如同老祖先在傳統文化與神話禁忌中所揭示的，我們必須崇敬山林，取所當用，並且珍惜自然給予我們的珍貴動植物資產，如此自然也將生息繁衍，供給人類永續資源。



阿美族分布在臺灣東海岸的濱海沼澤、平原、淺山，他們的律動像海，也像海洋一樣的包容，使其擁有極佳的环境適應力，快速地與異族學習到植物利用的特殊技能，再轉化為自我生存的動力，珍惜的利用資源。阿美族的民族植物利用智慧，不僅展現在漂流木藝術上，從日常生活中的食用野菜，到各種禁忌儀式，都充滿對植物的認知與崇敬，這正是民族植物與文明適應的結果。

本局與臺灣環境資訊協會於2005年合作出版的「綠色葛藟扇—南澳泰雅的民族植物」書籍，榮獲2006年行政院優良政府出版品獎；2008年合作的「走山拉姆岸—中央山脈布農民族植物」一書，再榮獲第一屆國家出版獎。今年，本局與該團隊合力出版「邦查米阿勞—東臺灣阿美民族植物」專書，透過該團隊在阿美族的長年紀錄，希望藉此讓社會大眾瞭解，民族植物並不只是古老的文化，是我們每天賴以維生的自然恩賜，從而加以珍惜、維繫這傳統文化。

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謹識

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植物的拼圖嘗試

本書嘗試藉由十二塊影像切片，依時序濃縮呈現不同部落族人的日常和祭儀生活，藉由單一停格畫面，延展交織阿美族人的生活世界。或許有人質疑，某些祭典只存某些部落還如此執行，某些觀念和禁忌也不盡然放諸其他族人皆準，正因如此，我們嘗試用拼圖的方式，透過長達十餘年遊走不同部落累積的田野資料，每塊場景進行情節描述，窺探季節時間的發生現場，分析族人如何遵循花東縱谷與東海岸的自然法則，所牽涉植物和環境資源利用，及其背後隱然呈現的相關邏輯。

阿美族從來不是單一而整體的族群，考古與口傳證據顯示，上千年繁複的祖先來源和歷史交織發展，甚至近一世紀多，經歷清兵與日人統治，niyaro'（部落）都還是族人普遍認同的歸屬單位，不同部落之間存在防禦隔絕，或是通婚媾和的種種可能。日治時代，政治和學術雙重出手，短短數年按研究標準對其歸類劃切，形成一個假設共通的族群狀態，有稱Amis、阿眉族、阿美族，此結果並日漸影響著族人的認同，不過也有人仍堅持pangcah、邦查的自稱。而這百餘年來，再歷經環境迫遷或面臨新移民共處，族人無論如何重組、聚合，仍對外來文化展現絕佳包容，如今平原、海岸、山林、沼澤，甚至都市，阿美族在環境上均有良好適應，據此開發更多生存的新天地。

書中出現最多的場景，主要在南勢阿美的Lidaw部落，除了筆者個人浸淫日久較為熟悉，其實也因Lidaw是目前維持傳統祭儀與kawas（鬼神精靈）信仰，較為完整的區域，雖

sikawasay（巫師）正無可避免地面臨青黃不接窘況，卻仍克盡部落照顧職責，相對其他地區多已改信西方宗教，顯得難能可貴。但隨種植小米的情境不再，面對過去與歲時結合的繁複儀式，族人終究得作出抉擇，某些文化內蘊難明地被保存流傳，唯有透過不停探索和詢問，才得稍稍觸及。這裡仍得進一步聲明，跨出Lidaw，所記載關於神譜，或存在村民腦海捉摸不定的概念邏輯，不同阿美族部落，都應重新瞭解與修正。

讀者的耐心閱讀想像，組合每幅拼圖，可能架構較為全貌卻又概括的阿美族生活圖像，未來如有人能進一步，針對各部落歲時和自然資源知識，著手紀錄和闡述，那麼本書，也就有了拋磚之效。



The plant puzzle of Amis World

This book uses twelve still frames from the Amis life to introduce their daily life and ritual practices through out the year. Some may speculate that certain rituals are not carried out by all clans, not to mention the concepts of taboos and spirits are not shared among all Amis. However, this is precisely the reason we attempt to introduce their life in the way which readers need to piece the puzzles when going over the book. Endowed with the data collected through our fieldwork in the past decade, we provide each frame with detailed description of ritual practices which take place chronologically in the year. In the hope that we gain more insights about how Amis live in agreement with the nature.

The Amis has never been a single group with homogeneous cultural practices. Based on archeological evidences and folklore, their ancestral origin may be traced back to a thousand years ago. The fact that the Amis people had endured the ruling of Qing military and Japanese colonial government makes it even more difficult to research on Amis community. In general, ‘niyaro’ (tribal unit) is the most well-adopted grouping unit of their clans.

During the colonial period, the political influence had pressured the scholars to group the Amis as one single community with the name of “Amis” or “Amei” . This mocking categorization later on affects the identification of the Amis people greatly. Some Amis people, however, insist on identifying themselves as “Pangcah” . In the last centennial, the Amis had been through several major relocations due to environmental issues. As a result, they were challenged to cope with new environments and peoples constantly. The adaptable characteristics in Amis enabled them to fit in well in many areas.

Most of the scenes in the book are from the Lidaw tribe (Northern Nanshih Amis group), which is the group the first author works closed with. Lidaw is also the tribe which retains the most authentic rituals of kawas (spirits). Although Sikawasay (shamans) of Lidaw are having problem finding succeeders, they still loyally fulfill their duties to watch for the villagers and perform in every ritual practice. It is particularly noteworthy while many other clans have been Christianized. Moreover, the fact that millets are no longer the major crop for Amis has greatly changed the elaborate annual rituals for millet plantation. Details regarding the rituals have never been easy to document, especially for nonmembers of the group. The book presents the data we collected through numerous interviews. We also need to remind the readers that each clan of Amis retains their own spiritual culture and clan-specific philosophy which still require scholarly work to archive.

This book will introduce Amis to the readers through still frames of Amis people' s life and have the readers piecing the whole puzzle with their own imaginations. We hope to inspire readers to go one step forward and join the work of exploring and archiving Amis culture.

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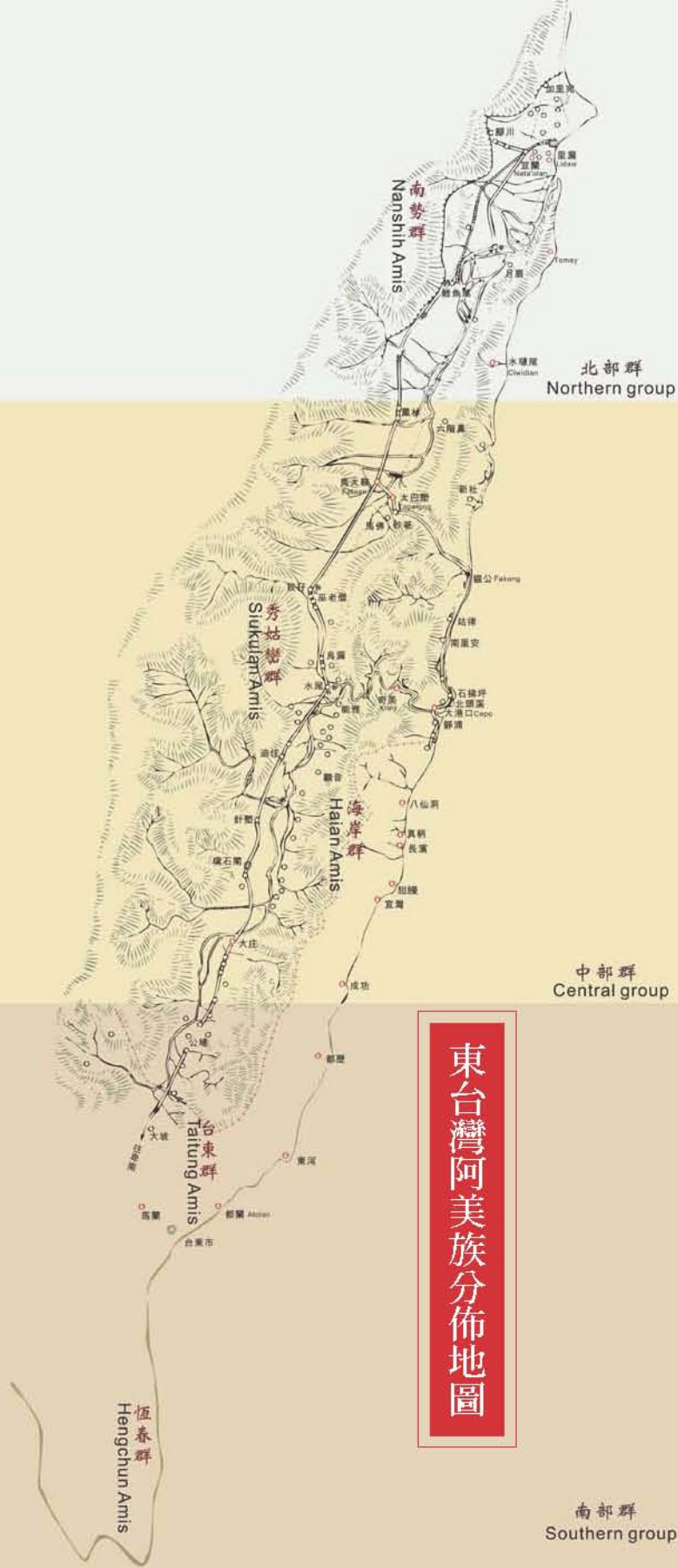
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導讀



東臺灣阿美族分布地圖

The population distribution map of Amis people in Eastern Taiwan

日治時代稱阿美族以來，根據所分布的地理區域與部落遷徙事實，有以南勢群、秀姑巒群、海岸群、台東（卑南）群、恆春群等五分法。也有按北、中、南部分群的三分法。

The name “Amis” can be dated back to the era of Japanese colonization of Taiwan. Amis people have been grouped according to their geographical distributions (Nanshih Amis, Shiukuluan Amis, Haian Amis, Taitung Amis, and Hengchun Amis) and their migration routes (Northern, Central, and Southern Groups).



mifetik開場

mifetik為阿美族人眾多儀式或行動開始前，手指微微點酒，二次或三次撒向天地，與四方共享的小動作。

本書拼音採用基督長老教會阿美族中會的聖經書寫系統，共使用母音a/i/e/o四個，以及子音p/t/k/f/s/x/h/m/n/ng/c/l/d/r/w/y十八個，加上喉塞音^ʌ和咽頭塞音^ʔ二個，計廿三個字母。由於阿美語某些特殊語境，與一般記音法則較為不同的，包括d〔d〕，這裡記為t；而l、d、r為不同程度的捲舌、彈舌〔l→r〕音；c也有人記為ts〔ts〕；一般音標的舌根鼻音〔ŋ〕，這裡記為ng，k發〔g〕的音；由於o和u，在阿美語裡無辨義作用，卻受某些子音影響會有改變，本書〔o、u〕皆記為o。而存在南北不同區域，關於f、v、b三個咬唇差異與否的子音，南勢阿美發b〔b〕，其他方言群則發f〔f〕音，以南部foting（魚）為例，有些地區發音為voting，南勢則唸boting，類似的還有faki（男性長輩）、sifanohay（女性祭壺）等詞彙，為便於不同區域族人閱讀，統一記為f音，讀者根據所處區域自行轉換。

書中記述的阿美語詞彙，日常生活用語、祭典、植物、動物、器具名稱等，使用斜體小寫英文表示。遇到部落或特殊神名，則一律大寫字母開頭；首次出現者會在其後括弧加上中文註釋，之後再視正文敘述，決定是否再用相關註解，為閱讀順暢，則多從略。

Mifetik is the beginning act of every Amis rituals. One dips his index finger into some liquor and whips to the air two or three times to share the liquor with haven, earth and spirits.

The romanization of Amis language follows the system formulated by Amis Presbytery Church in Taiwan. It has four vowels a/i/e/o, and 18 consonants, with a glottal stop \wedge and pharyngeal stop ' . In total, 23 latin alphabets are used to transcribe Amis. Due to the special speech contexts of Amis, the denotation system we use in this book differs from others as follows 1) d[d] denoted as t, 2) different degree of retroflexions and flapping are coded as l, d, r, and 3) c as ts[ts] 4) velar nasal [ŋ] denoted as “ng”, 4) [g] denoted as k. Moreover, “o” and “u” (not phonemic) are both denoted as “o” in this book. Dialectal differences exist in labial sound – f, v, or b. Northern Nanshih Group people use b[b], and other groups use f[f]. Take foting (fish) for example, pronunciation in some area is voting, but Nanshih group pronounces it as boting. Similar dialectal variations can also be found in words such as faki (male elders), sifanohay (female ritual bottle) etc. For the sake of uniformity, the transcription in the book denotes these three labial sounds as f, but readers should keep the dialectal differences in mind.

The Amis vocabularies in this book, including daily phrases, ritual terms, names for plants, animals, and instruments are in italic. The initial alphabet of tribe names and special deities are capitalized. The first appearance of an Amis term will has Chinese explanation in parenthesis. For later appearance, further interpretation is added when necessary.

mafohkad導讀 太平洋與邦查人

“Mafohkad” Introduction: The Pacific and the Amis (Pancah)



黑潮緩緩由赤道往北方流動，接近臺灣時，由於島嶼的影響分成數股，繞過蘭嶼、綠島後，陡降的陸棚地形引導其逼近東海岸，離岸300m水深已超過1km，洋流裡夾帶著豐富無機鹽類，迴游魚群及溫暖水氣，伴隨太平洋上的季風吹拂，交融出山與海的文化。

東台灣地處歐亞大陸與菲律賓海兩大板塊交會處，板塊碰撞縫合線的花東縱谷，產生許多斷層帶導致地震不斷，菲律賓板塊形成南北延伸100餘公里的海岸山脈，歐亞大陸板塊則隆昇超過3000公尺的中央山脈。花蓮溪、秀姑巒溪和卑南溪三大水系流經海岸山脈地質區，創造出峽谷、斷崖、沖積扇、河階、瀑布、溪潭、溫泉等自然景觀。

分隔熱帶及亞熱帶兩區域的北回歸線通過，氣候溫暖宜人，夏季平均氣溫28℃間，冬季亦有16-20℃，此區夏季經常有颱風侵襲，冬季則盛行東北季風，年雨量可達2000mm。位處新華萊士線以西，恆濕性與夏雨型氣候，孕育出常綠闊葉林、榕楠林帶、楠櫟林帶、海岸岩壁與砂丘植群，棲地多樣性高，也因為山地崎嶇，導致物種隔離，演化出許多台灣特有種。

早在過去數千年前，阿美族人的祖先，即從不同地區，落腳在這塊土地上。根據不同部落的起源傳說，有航行到Aripanay（今太麻里三和一帶）登陸，也有先據蘭嶼、綠島（Sanasay傳說圈）作為跳板，再從現在的秀姑巒溪出海口附近上岸者，甚至有台灣西南平原的族群遷移而來等各種說法。追溯紛雜繁複的遷徙與交流過程，我們可以假想，最早某一支航行的先人，事前已來這塊島嶼探勘多次，望著重巒疊翠，終究下定決心舉家搬移，因此從原居地帶著短期糧食，甚至包括重要的植物種籽與豢養的家禽家畜，落居陌生的新天地。漸漸地，原本所使用的語言及環境知識不敷使用，不得不重新做出調整，於是新的植物、新的環境使用知識開始累積。沼澤、潮間帶、山林、平原，各有不同的環境資源取得狀況，經年累世，族群分支眾多加上頻繁地互動，承襲自祖先或透過通婚交流、試誤學習而得，生態衍生文化多樣，終於形成分歧多元的語言和知識系統。

過去各地族人以部落為單位，除了採集、漁獵，普遍栽培小米作為主食，因應作物生長週期，發展完整的歲時祭儀，而這些又皆與信仰和日常行為息息相關。較大的轉變，是到了清代，族人從外界習得水田耕種方式，不過剛開始仍維持自給自足，水稻一年二獲的產量反而保障了眾人溫飽。日治時期，作物生產不得不納入國家體系的一環—效率種植、徵收或貨幣交易等，山田轉作果樹，更多的經濟植物引入。與此同時，族人也正面臨現代教育機制與不同宗教信仰的多重衝擊。

與植物息息相關的年代，隨著塑膠化和大量而便宜的工業生產機制，正快速崩解。如今不論是否為阿美族的新生代，都與自然環境有著明顯疏離，代代相傳的植物語彙和知識，隨著耆老的消逝逐漸被遺忘，像是太平洋的浪濤，打上了岸就要散去。不過，仍有許多族人，透過自己的身體與認知，依隨著縱谷與海岸的自然脈動，珍而重之地堅持著祖先所流傳下來的智慧，引領我們認識繽紛多元的文化與環境適應，接下來往後翻頁，希望您也能體會。

*mafokad 為mirecok（巫師祭典）時，每天必須執行的開場式。

本書書名標題 邦查米阿勞，意思是 到田裡看看吧，阿美族！

The Pacific and the Amis (Pancah)

The Kuroshio (Black tide) moves from the equator northward. When it approaches Taiwan, it splits into several strands due to configurations of islands. After passing Orchid and Green Islands, the current is directed to the east coast of Taiwan because of the abrupt drop of the continental shelf (reaches 1 km in depth 300 meters away from the shore). The inorganic compounds, catadromous fishes, and warm water in the current along with the monsoon from the Pacific nurtur the cultures of the mountain and ocean.

The Eastern Valley of Hualien–Taitung region was formed due to the collision between Eurasia and Philippine continental plates. The geographic activity causes frequent earthquakes in the area. The edge of Philippine plate forms the 100-km long Coastal Range while the edge of Eurasia plate forms the Central Range (over 3000 meters in altitude). Three major river systems—Hualien, Shiukuluan, and Peinan River—slit through Coastal range and create geographical spectacles including canyons, cliffs, alluvial fans, waterfalls, falls, and springs.

The tropic of Cancer crosses south Taiwan and divides the island to tropical and sub-tropical zones. The weather is mild in the area, mean temperature is 28°C in the summer, 16–20°C in the winter. This area is usually hit by several typhoons during the summer and caressed by northeast monsoon in the winter. Annual precipitation could reach 2000 mm. Located at the west of Neo-Wallace’ s line, the weather is humid, which is reinforced by the summer rain and nurtures high variability in forest types. The mountainous feature creates great habitat heterogeneity and results in high biodiversity and great number of island endemic species.

Thousands of years ago, Amis ancestors sailed from the ocean and settled in different regions on this island. Various Amis tribal myths claim several different landing locations, some claim they landed near the place in Aripalay (where near Taimali & Sanho area nowadays); some claim that the Amis sailed by Orchid Island and

Green Island (The legend of the Sanasay Circle) and landed near the outlet of Shiukuluan; yet others claim that they migrated from the southwestern part of Taiwan. Regardless of which migration routes they actually took, the first group of pioneers must have explored this island several times before the actual relocation. They must have learned about abundant natural resource of the land and decided to settle to this beautiful place with their plant seeds and domesticated animals. The new environment and interactions/ intermarriages with other tribes or clans were bound to affect their culture and brought in diversity to the group.

For a long period of time, Amis people hunt, gather, and plant millet as their major food source. They developed a sophisticated cycle of ritual practices in harmony with the seasonal rhythm. This living style changed greatly in the era of Qing Dynasty, the Amis learned to plant rice in paddy fields. The possibility of having two harvests each year provided much better support to the dietary source. In the Japanese colonial period, the plantation was forced to be incorporated into the “national” producing system which demanded plantation efficiency, taxation, currency exchange. A major change to Amis people in that period is the introduction of fruit along with other economical crops. Besides the agriculture impact, the Amis were also facing the conflicts of religion as well as modern education systems at the same time.

Amis’ life style which is in agreement with nature have been dissolving as the use of plastic and cheap industrial products increases. The new generation of Amis is gradually alienated from their forefather’ s knowledge about nature which is dying down with the elderly. Fortunately, there are still some Amis who exert themselves to impart the wisdom handed on to them. This enables us to explore their divergent culture as well as their adaptations to their ambient environments. We sincerely hope you can be in sync with the rhythm with the Amis as you read along.

Mafohkad is the opening ceremony of the mirecok (Shamanic ritual) leading to other rituals.

The title of this book, “Pangcah Miaraw,” means “Go to the field! You fellow Amis”



●卷一

歲時與植物

Part I Calendar of Plants



生薑變鳥 misaayam

Misa-ayam: Transformation of the ginger leaves into birds.

10月里漏
October, Lidaw

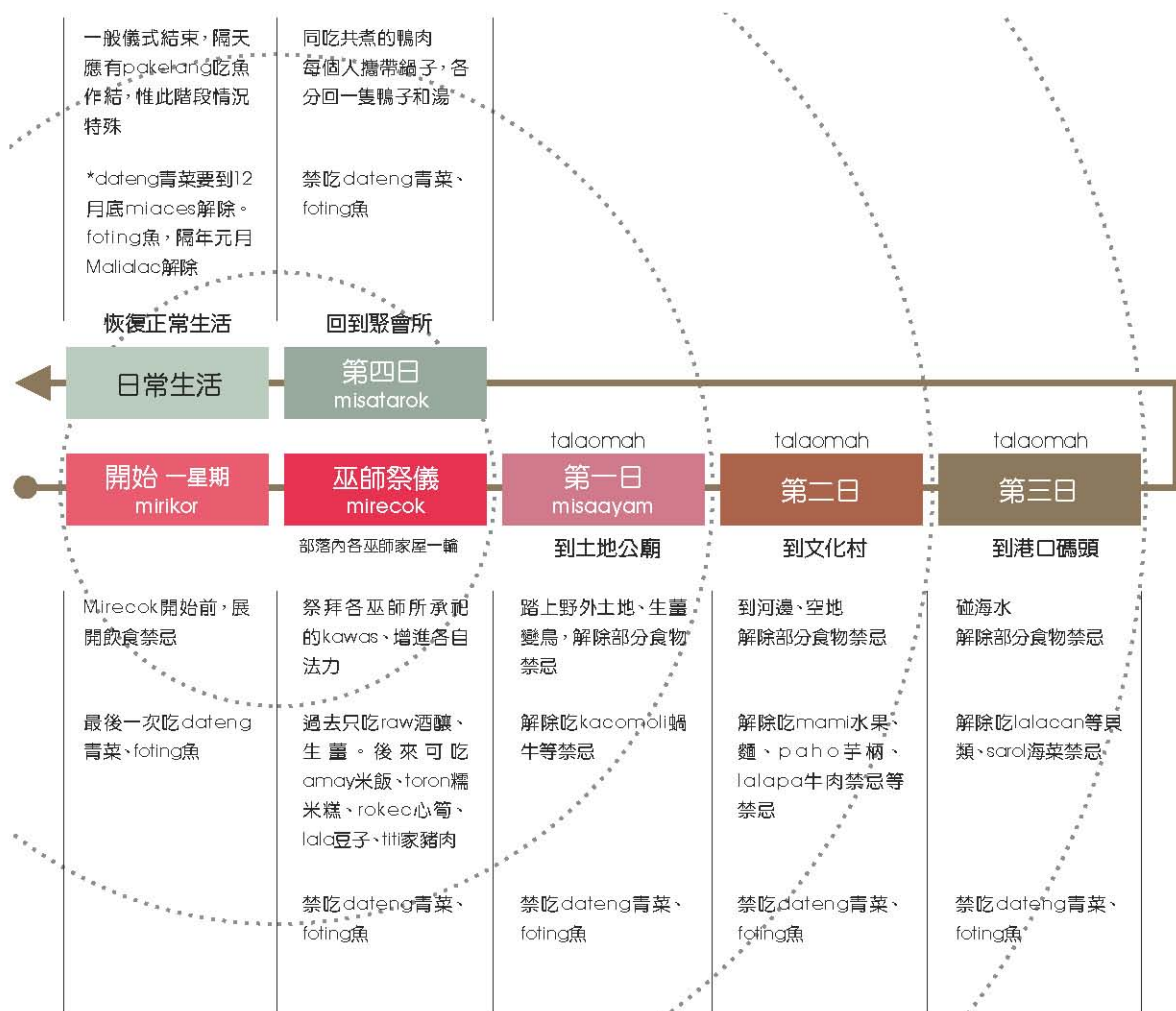


Mirecok祭典結束隔天，里漏部落的sikawasay（巫師）阿嬤們，來到村子東口土地公廟前的水泥小方場，幾個陪伴阿嬤前來的家人，散坐階梯談笑，部落儀式總難明確約定時間，端靠彼此長年的熟習默契，村民們三兩陸續到達，領頭wina（巫師團體裡的媽媽階級）環顧看了看，輕輕喊聲ta（走吧），一瞬間大夥安靜了下來。

正確來說，今天的儀式叫talaomah（到田裡），儀式開始時，阿嬤脫下鞋子，赤著腳掌小心別踏著土地，腳下墊著預備好的生薑葉片。長達十來天的mirecok（巫師祭儀）結束，今天是解禁步驟的第一日，所有人約好來到土地公廟，往東望去是一片遼闊的田園莊稼，解禁儀式還有第二和第三日，由部落核心漸次往野外逐步擴展，不過仍稱為talaomah，talaomah第二天來到阿美文化村，那兒臨近花蓮溪出海口，平時為部落男子們撒網捕魚，或割採林投之處，對里漏村民而言，是屬於男子活動的野外地界，到了第三日，大夥走得更遠，集合處遠到花蓮觀光漁港碼頭的北側海邊。

我們可將三個層次的talaomah地點，以部落為核心畫出同心圓，由內向外、由近而遠，分別是土地公廟、阿美文化村和港口海邊，事實上，這三天過程，身為sikawasay也有必須逐步解除的飲食禁忌內容，問阿嬤們為何得如此費事麻煩，阿嬤回答「就像我們要去前方那個點，眼睛看到了，但不能一口氣到達，最恰當的情形是走三步退一步，老人家說這叫pace-paceva」。

第一次聽到paceva疊字連用感到很興味，paceva的原意是欺瞞，重複兩次豈不變成「騙一騙」，狐疑地再向阿嬤詢問，旁邊阿姨試著解釋「就像我們長時間蹲地上，突然站起來一定會頭暈，pacepaceva意思是要你慢慢站，先半蹲再坐下，最後起立才站得穩」，原來隨口一個字彙，迂迴追問竟然蘊含深刻意味，幫助我們稍稍觸及talaomah三日同心圓的背後邏輯。





剛剛提到領頭wina喊了一聲ta（走吧），其他圍坐板凳的sikawasay們脫了鞋踩在薑葉上，pacepaceva解釋推知，接連十多天部落內mirecok（巫師家屬也會參與，輪流各自家屋舉行）儀式，sikawasay們將首次踏上野外的土地，解禁儀式在墊著生薑葉的保護下展開，圍圈中央擺好toron（糯米糕）、icep（檳榔）、epa（酒）等祭品（底下襯墊香蕉葉），wina含口酒起身，朝每人腳下噴上酒霧，周遭很快因酒精揮發，結構出神聖氛圍，接著祭圈成員紛紛起身，朝南站成一列，腳掌仍踩在薑葉上，當每人左腳微微顫動，稍彎腰前傾再立直，兩手交叉撥開空中的無形阻礙，這時sikawasay們已走在靈界空間的路上，並將召請南方Dongi女神降臨相助。

和阿美族其他部落、其他傳統祭儀不同（其他部落可能失傳已久），過程中wina會從kaci（麻布提袋，源自福佬語）取出一把teker（繫有麻線，竹製的捕鳥陷弓）解開，逐一綁上細長薑葉，之後帶著這把teker起身，走往祭圈的東北方，整齊排列到另一片香蕉葉上，隨後噴酒唸咒，再交由每個巫師各攜一支走到東邊田裡，朝南插在田埂邊坡。不久每人再依序前往取回，遞給wina解下麻繩排好，逐葉仔細灑上米酒祭拜，如此一往一返，事後追問其中奧妙，原來插在溝渠邊坡等待同時，蒼穹四方的野鳥kawas（精靈）已附在生薑葉上。

祭拜過的薑葉，隨後將由每個sikawasay帶往「野放」，當笑鬧簇擁的行伍，走到適才田埂更東邊的位置站定，只見參與者神情忽然慎重，各片薑葉透過舉起的右手，逐一鏢劃過前方天空飄向野地，cirociro（麻雀）、tatacio（烏秋）、trok（環頸雉）、



koakoa（水鴨）、cical’（紅尾伯勞）…。有一年，當有人喊完 cical’ 並拋出手中葉片，天際恰巧飛過紅尾伯勞，並就停棲附近檳榔樹梢「嘎～嘎～嘎～嘎」急促鳴叫，瞬間全場爆出歡呼笑聲，薑葉變鳥儀式，真的飛來詞彙呼喚的鳥兒對應，神聖儀式有時夾雜 darma（劇場表演）元素，巫師群體並非每人都擁有與神靈確切溝通的能力，剛入巫者尚停留見習階段朦朧感知，更遑論圍繞一旁看熱鬧的旁觀村民，不過祭儀本身的延展特性，源於篤信萬物有靈的宗教內蘊，浸淫同一文化的脈絡根基，卻也能讓參與者，在如此的神奇時刻，置身儀式設定最原初的情境想像之中。

我們在 misaayam 儀式過程所見並嘗試理解，是一個由部落內（loma’）允許走向部落外（omah）、從薑葉（papa no taiyo）變成鳥（ayam）、透過女性的手（身體）拋擲，投向男性所屬空間的模糊中界。而這時，也正是諸多候鳥千里迢迢初抵臺灣東部奇萊平原，將循海岸往南繼續飛翔，或是到達平原後，散入縱谷各處度冬的時程點，下個階段將是收成後農閒，族中男子紛紛到野外捕鳥的季節，這日的儀式，巧妙地充滿「內→外」、「植物→動物」、「男→女」兩造指向，並且體現在季節和環境資源使用上頭。

Misa-ayam: Transformation of the ginger leaves into birds.

生薑變鳥 misaayam

Month: October
Village: Lidaw



On the next day of Mirecok ritual, Sikawasay (shaman) of Lidaw come to a small square in front of the local land deity shrine on the east side of village. Family members of Sikawasay group sit nearby and chat with laughter. It is hard to predict when the ritual will start, and the occasion always depends on the implicit understanding among the familiar participants. When the family members are all arrived, “wina” (shaman’ s leading figure, literally means “mother”) of the shaman group looks around, gently says “Ta” (Let’ s go!). Everyone quiets down and waits for the starting of the ritual.

The ritual carries out today is called “Talaomah” (Go to the “field”). Shaman elders take off their shoes and carefully step on the prepared ginger stems with leaves. After observing food and activity taboo under Mirecok, the ritual period for each shaman to worship spirits from late September, this is the first day for shamans to lift their taboo. The taboo lifting activities are gradually taken from village center to the periphery based on the traditional territory of Lidaw tribe. “Talaomah” lasts for three days. The

second day of “Talaomah” goes to some place near the “Amis Cultural Village,” a staging site for tourist attraction. It is at the bank of Hualien River, where tribal males come for fishing or taking pith of screw-pine by the sandy area. This is a space of male activities. On the third day after Mirecok, the taboo-lifting group goes even farther to the north shore of Hualien port.

We can put the three days activities—land deity shrine, river bank of Amis Cultural Village, and seashore of north port—into a symbolic concentric circle, from inner to outer territory. With the movements during these three days, Sikawasay gradually lift their food and movement taboo. A Sikawasay elder explains why make such troublesome arrangement: “When we see a destination in a far distance; we have seen it, but we cannot reach it immediately. The ideal way to go is to make three steps forward and take a step backward. We call it ‘pace-paceva.’ ”

“Paceva” means “deceive” in daily conversation. To repeat it twice as a saying sounds like “try to deceive.” A younger Sikawasay explains it with an interesting example: “It is like you have crouched for a long time. If you stand up suddenly, you would feel dizzy and may fall down. Pacepaceva asks you to stand up slowly; maybe stand gradually and step back a bit, and you will stand well after these trials.” A simple saying like this contains very deep meaning, which helps us to touch upon the internal logic of “Talaomah” after Mirecok.

Based on the logic of pacepaceva, the first day of “Talaomah” is the first time when Sikawasay members step on the wild field following 10 or more consecutive days individual Mirecok rituals at every member’s house. The taboo lifting ritual is arranged by the protection of ginger leaves in circle, with toron (sticky rice cake), icep (betel nut), epa(wine) and various offerings on a big banana leaf at the center of the circle. The wina of Sikawasay spits out of wine sprays to the rest of Sikawasay members. Sikawasay members gradually stand up, line up facing southward, and start to mildly quiver their left legs and slightly bend forward as symbolic “walking.” The leading Sikaway members also use their hands to wave aside the invisible obstacles. At this time, Sikawasay members are already on their way to the spiritual world, and summon female spirits Dongi in the South for help.

Wina of Sikawasay will take a bunch of “teker” from her kaci (linen cloth bag) and unties them. Teker is a prepared tool for “bird-catching,” made with bamboo stick with a long linen circle. Wina ties narrow ginger leaves to each teker, and lines up on the other banana leaf. After the arrangement, Sikawasay walk to the east side of field and stick teker to the southern ridge of the farm. After a while, every shaman goes to get the teker and worship them with wine. The use of teker is clearer now: while left on the ridge of the farm, the kawas of wild birds have been caught on the ginger leaves.

After the worship, each Sikawasay takes a piece of ginger leaf to “release the captured spirits.” They walk to the east side of field ridge and make the stand still. After the sign of wina, everyone throws the leaf into the air and nominates possible wild birds with them: cirocero (sparrow), tatacio (drongo), trok (ring-necked pheasant), koakoa (duck), or cical’ (brown shrike), etc. Once upon the time, when the Sikawasay was throwing the ginger leaf and citing “cical’ ” a brown shrike happened to fly cross and stay on the tree nearby. Everyone in the scene burst into laugh as if the ginger leaf really turned into a bird by summon. There is always dramatic element in the solemn ritual, and people find the connection of the animism through such visualized ritual practice. In the magic moment, all participants are in the primordial imaginary of ritual actions.

What we have seen in “misaayam” ritual is a transitional activity from household (loma’) to field (omah), and turning ginger leaf (papa no taiyo) into bird (ayam). Through the throwing by female (shamans) into the space of male world (wild), the whole ritual space is transformed. It is also the time when migrant birds arriving eastern Taiwan in coast valley for winter stay. The following will be the end of farming season and males have free time to catch bird in the field. This single “Talaomah” beautifully connect various dyads of transition: from inner to outer space, from plant to animal, and from female to male. The exchange of environmental resources is embodied in the ritual meaning.



換工犒賞malaho to lilio

Malaho to Lilio Exchange labor and Treat the Labor

11月荳蘭

November.
Nataolan



十一月下旬，二期耕種的panay（陸稻）和水稻（tipos）抽穗入漿，稻穀由青轉黃，日漸沈甸下垂，當田裡一大片金色搖曳，麻雀、towī文鳥、aloliḥ燕子、珠頸鳩開始繁忙穿梭。這時也是部落男子摩拳擦掌的時候，稻穗上方拉起鳥網，田埂小徑安置teker（捕鳥陷弓），除了捕捉以稻穀為食的鳥兒外，以各種方法誘捕原本棲息於淺山、水澤和原野的竹雞、秧雞、環頸雉，加上眾多來訪候鳥（鷺科、雁鴨等），皆是為了稻米收割後，lilio們（換工群體）的互相犒賞所準備。過去，捕獵收獲多就地拔毛烤熟，返家後，再放到talot（火塘）上方的caca（棚架）繼續燻炙，有了冰箱後，變得較為簡單，通常直接塞進冷凍庫裡收貯。

野生動物保護法實施，獵人們必須到所屬警察機構提具公文核備，根據該法第廿一條規定：「原住民族基於傳統文化、祭儀，有獵捕、宰殺或利用野生動物之必要者…得申請程序、獵捕方式、獵捕動物之種類、數量、獵捕期間、區域…」，由於涉及公部門，法令實施前幾年，許多人因不知從何著手而困擾，很快Nataolan（荳蘭）選出的縣議員挺身承諾委辦，擁有民代身份的他們，在與現代國家交涉過程，本就比其他

族人得心應手。只見misa-lilio米撒利六的紅幅布條拉上，事前拿到公文影本的男子們，可擁有半個月期限，先行從事捕獵。幾年下來竟演變成爲慣例，如今misalilio被理解爲捕鳥祭或捕獵祭，網路和官方提供資訊，甚至列爲阿美族年度四大祭典之一（另三項爲相撲、捕魚祭和豐年祭），身負文化傳承和觀光責任。

稍稍通曉阿美語的人即知，misa-字根冠在名詞之前，擁有祭拜、變成的意思，misa-lilio字面理解，應是與換工群體相關的儀式活動，再問熟悉掌故的耆老，咸認爲該稱呼並不恰當，過去族人在冬季稻穀入倉後，的確有換工群體互相犒賞的習俗，不過多在各自lilio成員家屋前potal（廣場）舉行，時間也由各群體自行約定。充其量不過單純歡聚宴飲，較少涉及儀式內容，老人家指出，這項習俗的正確說法，應是malaho（午餐）to lilio，換句話說，是換工群體的午餐。

在族人的觀念裡，個人到公共領域，粗略可概分爲個人（tamtau）一家（loma'）一部落（niyaro'），其中niyaro'（部落）爲眾人普遍認同的日常生活範疇，指眾多loma'（家屋）的聚合體，其與鄰近部落間，約定著一定的範圍（耕地、水源、獵場等），透過男子們的長老會議和年齡階層組織，統整包括戰爭、媾和等各項對外事務。

而存在家和部落兩層級間，還有naloma'an（同一家屋所出）、malinaay（家族）和ngangasawan（氏族）不同單位，前兩者是指血緣較近，但已分別另建住屋的血緣群體，可能仍屬同一部落範圍，彼此榮譽共享、罪責共負；至於氏族是比家族疏遠的血親，雖經過長期世代的繁衍遷移（拓墾、避禍），彼此尚能追溯親等，或至少擁有共同的祖源傳說，久而久之，同氏族可能分散到不同部落，而規模較大的部落，也可能由幾個主要氏族組成。無論如何，家族或氏族，彼此擁有相同血脈，差異處僅在親疏遠近而已。

如果說家族和氏族是屬於「血緣」的群集，那麼lilio則可說是因應「地緣」而方便的團體。過去單一loma'（家戶單位），常有超乎家庭成員所能負載的勞務，這些工作需求大量人力，單仰賴親族間彼此幫忙，難免緩不濟急，由鄰居、附近親友組成的lilio，自然因應而生。一般而言，lilio並不具強制約束性，彼此權利、義務，維繫於長期的默契信任上，農忙時節（諸如插秧、除草、收成），同一lilio群體各家自動出其人丁，通常率先集中某家完成工

作，依序輪流直到該階段的農務忙完。當lilio成員有人預備新建或修繕家屋，其他lilio成員就會約好，共同收集木材、藤皮、箭竹、芒草、芒桿等，只待材料齊全，很短期間即能著手搭建完成。

從一期稻作耕種（二月至五月）、收成（六月）、豐年祭舉行（七月、八月）、巫師祭（九月）、二期稻作農忙（八月到十二月），加上不定時的婚喪喜慶、住屋修築等，成年族人常處於部落、lilio、家戶和個人諸多事務繁忙交錯之中。因此二期稻作收成後的閒暇，就顯得彌足珍貴，malaho to lilio每每一準備，眾人格外費心、家戶招待周全。

五、六〇年代以降，耕耘、收割等繁重農事普遍仰賴機械，部落住屋也多改以鋼筋水泥興建，許多材料與工匠勞力，逐漸改以金錢換得，lilio因此式微。部分地區，原本的lilio團體轉為結拜形式存續，有些地方該制度則土崩瓦解。話雖如此，每年入秋，男子們摩拳擦掌到野外進行獵捕，收割後盛情款待親友的習慣，仍然根深蒂固，幾乎已是跟隨季節的不定時節日，只是始料未及的，因野生動物保護法的實施（限制→尋求解套），一紙申請公文，將malaho to lilio轉變為部落性的misalilio活動。

通常Nataolan（今分南、宜昌村）的部落性活動，會選在宜昌國小或南昌停車場舉行，misa-lilio祭典當日，只見工作人員用山棕、竹子，搭設另一道入口拱門，陸續則有faki（年長的男性長輩）騎著摩托車抵達，他們將獵獲用黑塑膠袋裡裝著，交給工作人員秤重記錄，成績以家戶為單位計算，優異者將於晚餐時受獎表揚。只見逐漸堆高的各種鳥肉，專人熟練地剪開各部位，按胸、腿、翅膀、脖子悉心分類，各以鐵絲穿成整串，剩餘部份，則丟進大鍋裡，加入tefi（鵲豆）煮湯。整天忙碌下來，入夜後族人會來到現場共享，前述的部位分項，則是共煮後按名冊記載家戶均分。

「paising（祭典）的時候，阿美族每種東西都有最適當的菜（植物）搭配，老人家流傳下來，烤過的ayam（鳥）用lala（豆子），豐年祭分的牛肉煮rokec（藤心），自己家裡煮就比較隨便，ayam也可煮藤心、山蘇，最好吃的是加sama' o（兔兒菜）」，負責料理的faki邊描述，邊舀動手裡長杓繼續說著「其實最困難的是平均分配，捉得多捉得少都沒關係，負責milikilac的人，卻無論如何要公平」。milikilac原意為團結在一起，這裡衍申

成藉由集中、處理，再一次分配的連續步驟，類似的場合還有部落其他抓魚分食的節日，公平是必備的原則。

刻意忽略獵獲者個人能力的優劣，反著重不同大小獵獲物的切分，強調makomod（團結共煮）後均等，一方面照顧了較為弱勢的成員，共食的人也藉此聚合而為群體。或許有人會質疑原先不存的misalilio，對照malaho to lilio已悖離了傳統，站在文化創發立場換個角度想，有趣是族人其實已透過挑選，將過去經驗裡的意義和象徵性，轉入原不存在的節目中，misalilio如今變成部落共同參與的活動，嚴格說來卻也非全然憑空創造，只不過是過去的文化內蘊，重新安排了秩序而已。



Malaho to Lilio Exchange labor and Treat the Labor

換工犒賞malaho to lilio

November.
Village: Nataolan



In late November, the second farming season' s panay (upland rice) and tipos (paddy rice) start to shoot ear while rice grains are turning from green into golden and become heavier. Cirociro (sparrow), towi (munia), alolih (swallow), and spotted-nacked dove are also gathering in the rice field. Male villagers start to prepare their net by the rice field, and put teker near the trails of the field. Other than the grain-eating birds, the traps are also for bamboo patridge, crake, ring-necked pheasant, and other migrant birds (egrets and ducks) based in lower hill and swamp. The catches are prepared for treating the lilio (exchanged labor members). In the past, the catch is unfeathered in the field and grilled. After taking the catch home, they are kept on the caca (hanging shack) on talot (fireplace) and smoked. Nowadays, it is easier because of the fridge and the catch is frozen before serving.

Since the legislation of Wildlife Conservation Law, hunters have to go through administrative procedures in police department. According to the article 21, "every hunting activity related to indigenous rituals is required to apply to the central agency of indigenous affairs,

and report the estimated types, numbers, and means of hunting during the activities.” Since it is related to public sector, local political representatives help to negotiate a formal activity for celebrating the result of hunt. In Nataolan, male members who received legal documents have 15 days for legal hunting. Since the first year of successful application, Misa-lilio activity has become one of the formal activities of Amis seasonal celebration (the other three are Communal Wrestling in February, Ritual Fishing in June, and Harvest Festival in September).

The prefix “misa” in Amis means “to prepare for worship” or “to become.” Literally, misa-lilio means the ritual activities of exchange labors. After further consult with elders, the term of misa-lilio is further explained. Although villagers had habit of exchange labor and treat fellow helpers for their work in winter after grains are stored into the granary, it is more like family affairs and held at the potal (square) in front of the house. There is not much ritual practice for this event and more like group feast. It should be called “malaho to lilio” (the lunch for exchanged labors).

In Amis concept, from personal to public space, it is divided into tamtaw (individual), loma’ (house), and niyaro’ (tribe). The niyaro’ is the common living space of the villagers as a congregated unit of different households. Niyaro’ is the representative unit to the neighboring tribes to negotiate on arrangement of hunting territories, water resource, and issues on war and peace through elder assembly and hierarchical age-group.

Between household and tribe, there are several different kinship groups acknowledged by Amis people: naloma’ an (from the same household), malinaay (kin), and ngangasawan (clan). The previous two are referring to closer in consanguinal relationship, but live in different households. They share the same honor and shame to their kin members. Clan members are distant relatives, who might still trace their connection after generations of migration due to plantation or post-disaster relocation. They can still trace the common origin of ancestral legends. In larger tribes, there are mostly few clans in composition to the whole kinship group. Nevertheless, they are all connected by blood.



While the kin and clan are recognized based on blood, the grouping of lilio is based on local affinity. In the past, a single loma' has difficulty to cover all works for its members' lives. Neighbors then organized into lilio entitled to the need of labor works. Lilio group has no

compulsive responsibilities; everyone joins by their trust and long-term relationships. Other than farming or weeding or harvesting activities, a member of lilio prepares for repairing or building house and the rest members will arrange to help for collecting construction materials such as wood, rattan, arrow bamboo, silvergrass, or straw. After the materials are collected, the work will be done soon

Covering from spring rice plantation (February to May), harvest work (June), harvest festival (July, August), shaman ritual period (September), to fall farming season (August to December), and various celebrating occasions from time to time, villagers are under busy schedules of tribal events. The free slot after harvesting is much cherished. Every family is preparing malaho to lilio with care.

Since the 60s, cultivation and harvest are dependent to machineries, and tribal construction is changed to concrete and steel. Many labor exchange is then turn to money donation, and the members of lilio become sworn brothers, or some just fade. Even though the case, every fall after the harvest, Amis males are still enthusiastic to bird hunting in the wild, in order to show their hospitality. Due to unexpected reaction to the Wildlife Conservation Law, local appeals make casual treats of malaho to lilio into official misalilio every fall.

Nataolan is nowadays territory of Nanchan and Yichang. Activities of Nataolan will usually be held at Yichang Elementary School or Nanchan parking lot. On the day of misa-lilio, tribal men use sugar palm and bamboo to make a gate for entrance. Elder faki (old male) ride their motorcycle to the site, and bring their game to the volunteer workers within a big black plastic bag. The hunting result is calculated by household, and the good hunters will be praised at the time of group dinner. Volunteers work on separating the parts of birds, and wired them into categories. Other than chest, legs, wings, and necks, the rest is cooked with tefi (hyacinth bean) for soup. After a whole busy day, all related villagers will come to share by household registrations.

“At the time of Paising, every collected game or plants is designed for best combination. This is the wisdom from old times. Grilled ayam (birds) is accompanied with lala (long beans); beef from the harvest festival night is accompanied with rokec (pith of rattan); if cooking at home it can be more flexible, ayam can be cooked with lokot (bird’s nest fern), rokec, but the best is with sama’ o (rabbit milk weed).” The faki who is responsible for cooking talking about the way of cooking in a skilled fashion with his dipper at hand and continues, “But the most important is to be fairly distributed. It doesn’t matter how much you catch, the thing really matter is to be fair. It is also the art of person doing milikilac.” Milikilac is originally for united together, and here it is referring to the process of gathering and redistribution, which is the common process of the food sharing occasion, such as fish-catching festival.

The skill of personal hunting is not the focus, but how to fairly distributed different sized games is actually the most important part. The emphasis of makomod (cooking together in a united fashion), on the one hand takes care of the inferior member of the group, on the other hand it also united the common eaters. Some may questions the non-traditional original of nowadays misalilio, which bears different forms of malaho to lilio. However, from the perspective of cultural invention, it is a collective activity agreed and shared by the members. It is an extension of cultural tradition, and the order is creatively rearranged.

小米播種mitiway

Mitiway: millet plantation ritual period

12月里漏

December,
Lidaw



里漏部落的mitiway儀式，近年逐漸固定為西洋聖誕節隔日，當晚十時多，一反平常祭儀的黑色穿著，sikawasay阿嬤們會穿上一襲紅色長袍，前往部落taroan（會所）集合。待wina率領其他成員、頭目和faki們mifetik（點酒祭拜），眾人按資歷分組，資深帶領資淺者，各依住家範圍分配責任區域。通常分配妥當時間已近午夜，隊伍才走出明亮的聚會所，冷冽東北季風吹拂下，投身部落巷弄此起彼落的犬吠和昏暗街燈中。

一般而言，預備進行mitiway儀式的村民（改信西洋宗教者多懸聖誕燈，緊閉門戶），趁入夜之際，家戶主人早搬開客廳傢俱等候。剛開始所有人馬目標一致，會先朝該年度曾有喪事的人家移動，穿巷過弄，率先抵達者到門口朗聲招呼，尾隨的人脫了鞋魚貫進入屋內。簡單寒暄後，sikawasay們紛紛拎把板凳往中間圍坐，儀式開場仍由wina帶領眾人mifetik（現場其他人伸出右手食指，表達同心一致），待噴酒潔淨空間，再到亡者遺像前倒酒慰問。接著該家女主人，陸續由廚房搬出備好祭品，包括檳榔、荖葉、moking（圓盤狀麻糬）、米酒，以及最重要的sifanohay（象徵代表該家戶的女性祭壺），儀式正式展開。

mitiway的主要目的，是召請各家祖先和過往親人回來接受饗食，過程有其專屬祭謠，除開家屬，支援的其他男子會列站屋外，隨著屋內sikawasay的領辭吟唱應和。得優先所有喪家mitiway儀式完畢，幾組人馬才按原責任分配，分頭到部落其他家戶進行。

整個mitiway通常從午夜持續到隔日近午，sikawasay們必須執行完各家戶委託才算大功告成，事實上mitiway並不是單一節日祭典，瞻其前後，發現更是一連串的祭儀組合。從第一日maranam（早餐），各戶家長mifetik宣告儀式準備，每人即開始不吃dateng的禁忌；第二日上午，家戶婦女著手製作toron（糯米或小米麻糬），下午繳交規定數量到集會所，到了午夜，則是前述mitiway儀式，過程徹夜通宵到隔天；到第四日，為村民同吃Korang（芥菜）的miaces（也稱misakorang）；第五日改吃lala（豆子）和rokec（心筍），當天中午，村民們帶著lalal（山田耕作的小鋤），到村內特定路面，作敲打動作；第六日mipipi，由頭目號召年齡階層男子圍圈跳舞；最後一日，則舉行malialac吃魚作結。

據說過去mitiway連續祭儀，長達八、九天或更久。matoasay（老一輩）回想，至少應還有misaoma（除草）儀式，時間在miaces（吃芥菜節日）之後。而到misalalal（小鋤祭儀）當日，參加的人則取豬油塗抹小鋤，奮力在水泥地上敲出pakangkang聲響，過程互相調戲取笑，據說是希望藉男女之事，提升小米的生長能力。

分析著這段祭儀內容，似乎預先演示了小米生長前期的農事步驟：

- 1.mitiway，透過sikawasay（巫師）祭告祖靈和掌管農事的kawas（鬼神），說明家族將展開新年度的小米種植
- 2.misaoma，象徵播種前得先除草焚壑，整理田地
- 3.misalalal，彎腰用小鋤鬆開土壤，並將小米種籽播下
- 4.mipipi，小米發芽後，疏伐羸弱幼苗，並按適當間距留下強壯植株，mipipi儀式號召部落男子圍圈跳舞，象徵用腳掌，將疏苗過程弄鬆的土壤再度踩實

無怪乎過去以來的研究，常將mitiway為主的連續祭儀，歸為小米播種祭典。但當我們知道更多細節，很快發現mitiway含括的

功能，遠比祈願小米播種順利複雜。受過日式教育的老人會講，mitiway更像阿美族のおおみそか（大晦日，日語除夕的意思），因為這段期間內，必須安慰親友、解除禁忌、除舊佈新、祭拜祖先，同時也為來年農作進行準備。

回到mitiway前一天，村民們這日開始遵守不吃青菜的禁忌，到第四天miaces，才透過一起吃korang解禁，這天sikawasay們會到集會所，和其他村民一樣，除了煮一大鍋芥菜，還會出現o' paw（小葉碎米薺）、茺荑等dateng。用餐前，所有人朝南低頭坐著，這時wina各取每種青菜放到盤中，口中唸頌禱詞，在Dongi女神協助下，逐一按壓輕觸每人頭頂，進行pawatawad（解除食物禁忌的動作），一行人才得享用，原來這也是從九月mirecok（巫師祭）開始前，sikawasay群體忌食青菜的解禁之日。

前面我們曾針對mirecok結束，連續數日的talaomah進行討論，透過繁複過程sikawasay們逐步卸除各項食物禁忌，但長達三個月內，其實foting和dateng一直仍在禁食之列，這段期間，sikawasay和講究禁忌的家屬，只吃lala（豆類）和rokec（心筍）料理變化的菜餚。到miaces當日，總算透過芥菜的pawatawad，解除青菜禁忌，不過再到隔日，又恢復只吃lala和rokec，走三步退一步，pacepaceva觀念於此再度體現，至於吃魚，則是到mipipi隔天的malialac，總算解除最後一項禁忌。

如我們用圍圈跳舞來進行比喻，mirecok巫師祭典，原是屬於sikawasay的個人修練，由其他sikawasay成員協助精進，這像單人獨舞，其他人加入，九月下旬以降，只吃lala和rokec，禁吃dateng和foting，巫師們謹守小團體的飲食禁忌，到年底mitiway前，村民們透過青菜禁忌的遵守，加入了前述譬喻圍圈，所有人藉由飲食，一致了身體節奏，miaces允許淺嚐輒止一日青菜，隔天又調回sikawasay這段期間的飲食作息，直到最後一天malialac吃魚作結，全部人一同脫離這連串的禁忌週期。

說來sikawasay擔任的是村落代理人角色，負責與神靈與祖先溝通，其身體位於聖、俗中介，藉由儀式維持兩造平衡潔淨。相較一般人的辛苦，除擁有絕對禁忌的飲食清單：ayam（雞）、kenaw（蔥、蒜、油蔥）、芝麻、lihon豇豆、fadas翼豆外，

透過不同儀式執行過程，有時只由sikawasay代理，有時則由sikawasay召喚村民，執行著另一套更為繁複的飲食禁忌週期和解禁儀式。

就mitiway而言，我們看到sikawasay和村民，因為祭儀節日，彼此號召進入村落性的身體共感，透過一連串食物禁忌的謹守和解除步驟，遵循著該規則，得以置身共通的時空處境，按這角度來看，mitiway不只是單純小米播種祭典，而是歲時祭儀循環的一輪。



Mitiway: millet plantation ritual period

小米播種mitiway

December,
Village: Lidaw



The mitiway ritual of Lidaw tribe looks more and more like a celebration to Christmas nowadays. It is usually held on the second day of Christmas, and leading Sikawasay will dress in long red robe, and gather at taroan (tribal gather place). Wina of Sikawasay will lead shaman members, chief, and faki to do mifetik (the action of dipping wine for worship spell). After the initiative action, shamans divided into groups and led by experiences wina to visit every household by their responsibility. The distribution arrangement is done by midnight, and each group visits their destinations over night house by house in the chill wind.

Villager observing the traditional ritual has prepared the arrival of shaman groups with tribal elders. They move out the furniture from the living space and wait for the singing sign of the shaman group. The first visit by the whole group is always to the families with deceased within this year; it is paying respect and memory to the deceased and comfort the family. After settled down in the center of living room, the ritual still starts with the action of mifetik (everyone in the presence now join the shamam to point to the center where

wina has dipped the wine). The hostess of the family takes out every prepared offerings, including betel nut, betel pepper, moking (sticky rice cake in round shape), and the most important sifanohay (the ritual pottery bottle representing female spirits). Ritual is then started. The major purpose of mitiway is to summon the spirits and ancestors of the family to come back and take the offerings. Shaman will chant special melodies, and the accompanied tribal elders will be the chorus outside of the house. After all the families with the deceased are finished, the whole group is then divided as previously arranged to different households in the village.

The whole mitiway usually last from midnight to the noon time of the next day, and sikawasay must complete the request of every household. In the past, mitiway is not one-day only ritual. The days before and after mitiway are all related to a whole set of ritual. The first day is actually the day before mitiway as maranam (meaning breakfast). The host of every household will do mifetik and announce the preparation of ritual. Villagers cannot eat dateng (the green leafy veggie) since then. The second day, women in every household will make toron (sticky rice cake), and hand assigned number of toron to Taroan (gathering place). The midnight that day is previously mentioned mitiway. The whole process lasts till next noon. The fourth day is the day of miaces for eating Korang (Leaf Mustard), it is also called misakorang). The fifth day is to eat lala (beans) and rokec (bamboo shoots). At the noon time that day, the villagers bring lalal (small farming hoe) to a specific space of the village to “knock on the earth.” The sixth day, chief of the tribe gathers the age-group males to dance in circle called “mipipi.” The last day, villagers eat fishes for finish the ritual period (malialac).

It is said that in the past, mitiway ritual period lasts more than nine days. According to the matoasay (the respected elders), at least there is also misaoma (hoeing up the weeds), which was carried out after miaces (eating leaf mustard). On the day of misalalal (the little hoe making), everyone used cow grease to spread on the handle of hoe, and belabored to knock on the ground for the sound “bakangkang.” During the process is the time that male tried to ridicule the females by some vulgar way (pretend to grab the private part of the other gender). This is said that it can help the growth of millet by sexual ridicule and joking behavior.

To analyze the ritual contents, it seems to be a whole set of rehearsed farming practice for millet growing process:

1. mitiway: by the announcement and greeting of sikawasay to ancestral spirits and agricultural related kawas, the ritual declares the starting of millet plantation of a new year.
2. misaoma: the act symbolizes to hoe up weeds and burn for fertility before seeding.
3. misalalal: the act resembles to bend down and use little hoe for plowing, and plant the millet seed into the earth.
4. mipipi: When the millet starts to shoot, it is time to pick up the weak seedling, and leave stronger ones with greater interval. "Mipipi" is the time to gather tribal male for circle dance, which may symbolize the way to get rid of bad seedlings, plow up the earth, and then step firmly for later growth.

No wonder that the previous researches on such ritual usually name mitiway under the category of "millet plantation ritual." However, we might find mitiway ritual period contains more complex meaning and function than millet plantation wishes. Elders who have experienced Japanese education during the colonial period considers mitiway the Amis version of おおみそか (大晦日, Japanese New Year's Eve). It is because during this period, there are activities of comforting deceased families, lifting taboo, worship the ancestors, and prepare for the coming farming cycle.

Go back to the previous day before mitiway when villagers start to observe the taboo of not eating green leafy veggies. It is until the fourth day miaces, they are relieved from the taboo by eating korang together. Sikawasay members will come to the tribal gathering place, like other villagers, cook a pot of leaf mustard, accompanied with o' paw (small-leaved bittercress), coriander, etc. Before the meal, everyone sits facing the south and bends their head down. Wina will take each type of the dateng and put them into the plate, citing incantations at the same time. Wina asks the help from Dongi and gently touch the head of every Sikawasay at presence to perform "pawatawad" (the action of lifting food taboo). After such action is complete, everyone is then good for tasting the long forbidden veggie. At this moment, the food taboo

installed since Mirecok on September finally relived completely.

We have discussed the day by day taboo lifting actions after mirecok in previous section. Through complicated and considerate process, sikawasay can gradually lift their food taboo partially. However, since September for about three months, they cannot eat foting (fish) and dateng(veggie). In this period of time, sikawasay and pious family members only eat lala (beans) and rokec (pith) for their daily dishes. To the day of miaces, via pawatawad of eating leaf mustard, the veggie food taboo is lifted. However, the next day of miaces, everyone still eat lala and rokec only. Again, this is the “strategy” of three steps forward and one step backward, which embodies the concept of “pacepaceva” again. As to fish eating, it will wait till the next day of mipipi, when it turns to malialac. Until then, the overall taboo is finally lifted completely.

We can also use circle dance as another metaphor. Mirecok, the shaman-only ritual, is origoinally for sikawasay’ s personal training and religious practice. It is held at everyone’ s house for her own sake, and joint by other members. This is like a single dancing with companion of other dancers. Since September, sikawasay can only eat lala and rokec, and forbid to eat dateng and foting. It is the dancing rule within the shaman group. Up to the end of year, the villagers symbolically join the “sacred circle” of previous mentioned by observing the taboo of not eating veggies. Every villager, by the transition of diet, synchronizes their bodily tempo with shaman group: in Miaces, they try a bit veggie for one day, but go back to non-veggie as sikawasay’ s way for a long period. Until the last day, the whole village practices Malialac, eating fishes, and breaks away from the food taboo with their spiritual guardians, sikawasay.

From functional perspective, Sikawasay is the spiritual agent for the village, responsible for communicating with ancestors and spirits. Their bodies are in between sacred and profane, and cleansed by various rituals to balance the both ends. They bare difficult life style than ordinary villagers. They observe absolute food taboo on ayam (chicken), kenaw (green onion, garlic), sesame, lihon (yardlong beans), and fadas (winged beans). There are ritual cycles that are created and observed by sikawasay on food taboo and lifting rituals.

As to ritual of mitiway, what we see is the synthetic communitas of ritual period based on the joint food taboo and lifting practice by sikawasay and villagers. Based on the ritual procedures, shamans and the villagers coexist in a synchronized time-space. It is not only for the millet plantation ritual, but also a cycle for seasonal change.





男子訓練misamalataw

Misamalataw: Male age-group training

1月水璉

January,
Ciuidian



水璉為東海岸牛山以北的阿美族部落，舊名Ciuidian，意即佈滿widi水蛭之地。每年一月舉行fafainay（男子）相關祭典，包括misataroan（會所祭）、misamalataw（戰神祭），男性長輩帶領kapah（年輕階層初入級者），到山上砍伐竹子和木材，由於不能晚於婦女起床燒柴造飯的炊煙，得在凌晨三、四點出發，過程中faki、kaka（兄長）教導晚輩伐取竹木技巧，扛回部落後，眾人按指揮著手整修taroan（會所），抽換蛀蝕的竹子，用事先儲備的ʼaliʼ（白茅），修葺加厚屋頂。

待一切完成，稍事休息，頭目和faki即帶頭舉行misamalataw（祭拜Malataw神），和平時家戶祭儀不同，這兒祭品不用香蕉葉盛放，而是鋪上hinalitiʼ（臺灣芒），同時吸引目光的，還包括白色公雞、diwas（男性祭壺）和頭目手中提著的生豬肉。問faki何以選用hinalitiʼ，他說因penen（五節芒）較粗，婦女常採回家剝出rokec（藤心）作為菜餚，輕易餵飽全家，是故概念上penen屬於fafahi（女性），祭拜Malataw不能用女性的物品，過程也不讓女性參與。

Malataw是屬男性的神祇，掌管山林和野外，任何狩獵、砍柴、戰事，甚至馘首等，皆在其庇佑和允許下進行。祭拜結束，主祭必須謹慎將用過的hinaliti'，帶往人跡難至的地方丟棄，避免遭人跨越踩踏，無端招致adada（病痛），據說不小心跨越，情節輕微者手腳麻痺，對象若為婦女，嚴重更可能危及性命。祭禱結束，kaphah們將公雞拿到火上焚烤，之後加薑料理煮湯，所有人按長幼順序分食。

不同部落過去或多或少曾與異族劍拔弩張，甚至阿美族部落間，也常因獵區劃分或其他利益關係糾紛嫌隙，男子們加入年齡階級接受訓練，肩負保衛家園責任，會所生涯會持續到個人婚嫁才解除。日本人統治時期，一度強制廢除馘首習俗，部落逐漸納入現代化國家軌道，警察和法治制度實施，義務教育和兵役重重箝制，年齡階級原具有的傳承、教育和軍事功能，無可避免地式微。如今，少有部落還舉行Malataw專屬祭典，僅剩男子平日擄獵具或斧頭入山，會簡單對Malataw作mifetik祝禱。

水璉的misamalataw在misataroan隔日舉行，近年為了省事將兩者合併，雖然如此，重視禁忌的長輩，仍會挑空檔暫離現場，或是返家假寐象徵性區隔兩者（也算另一種pacepaceva）。水璉misamalataw祭儀有另一個稱法pahamay（給飯）faki，字面理解為請長輩給飯，延伸有年齡階層男子向長輩祈求經驗傳承的意思，faki再轉身向更高神祇Malataw謙卑祭拜（相同情形，也出現在眾多祈求Dongi女神協助的儀式，常聽fayi（女性長輩）在祭詞裡稱Dongi生命女神為fayi Dongi），人世和神祇之間雖有聖俗之分，經常又親暱聯結。

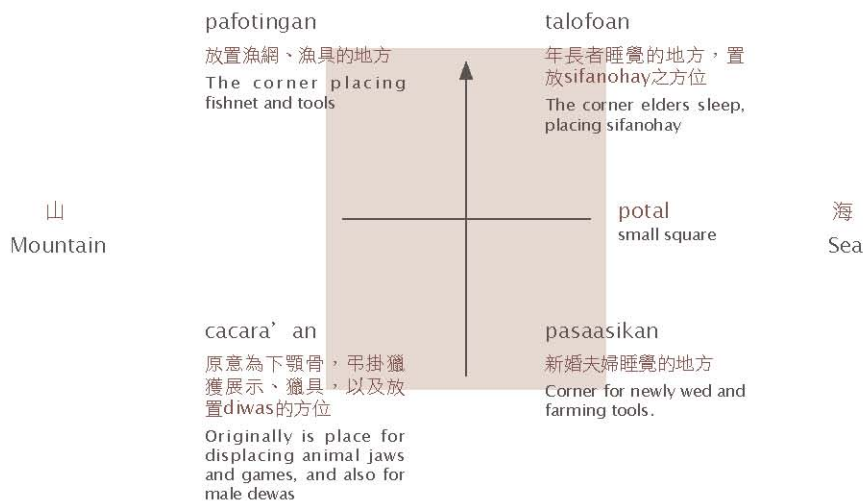
至於Lidaw部落還流傳的misamalataw祭儀，則是每逢八年misasla（年齡階級晉級命名禮）中間舉行，年紀相仿的男孩，會在家人祝福下送進會所，展開一連串學習訓練和集體生活。

若我們將家戶和部落性祭儀，按使用祭品、祭器列表，隱然可見男女性別在公私領域的對應差異：

項目	家戶性祭儀（私人）	部落性祭儀（公共）
祭台植物	pahpah no paoli香蕉葉	hinaliti'台灣芒
祭器	sifanohay女性祭壺	diwas男性祭壺
祭品	icep檳榔、fila荖葉、epa米酒、toron麻糬	icep檳榔、fila荖葉、epa米酒、toron麻糬、白公雞 ayam、生豬肉titit
祭祀的kawas	祈求Dongi女神相助	山林野外祭祀Malataw； 河海則祭祀Kafid
祭祀相關的toas	氏族、家族的toas（祖靈）	曾該區域活動的過世親友、 toas

許多祭典過程，存在著男女不得互相沾染的規範，某些祭典只有男性能參與，某些祭儀的執行角色，則由女性擔任。過去已有不少研究者，曾就祭典內容、祭祀神祇、祭器與男女各自操持的生計，試著提出族人在公私領域有關聖位的觀念。根據南勢阿美地區的訪談，老人家提到傳統家屋多背山面海（也就是面朝東方），一般家戶前設有potal（小廣場），平日時狩獵、漁撈屬於男性活動，農事、紡織、烹飪則由女性負責，體現在住屋空間，各項器具也就有其必須遵守的擺放位置，其中東北方稱talofan，這兒擺放陶器、烹飪器具，及家族重要的女性祭壺sifanohay，屬於純女性空間，而其對應的西南方稱cacara' an，cara為動物的下顎骨，顧名思義這展示懸掛男主人的獵獲榮耀，想當然也是獵具和男性祭壺diwas的擺放空間，而其餘兩個方位，西北方稱 pafotingan，用來擺放男子的漁網、漁具，東南方pasaasikan，則是存放農作工具的地方。

從家屋的方位名稱，可一窺過去隱然被遵守的某些規則，男女不輕易逾越碰觸對方性別的物品，範圍擴大，祭儀進行的戶外廣場也有男女各自習慣（鎮守）的方位，男生多在西、北側，女生則主東、南角；有些祭儀由男性祭祀掌管omah（田和野外）的Malataw，有些是女性主祀扶持loma'（家屋家族）生命延續的Dongi。神聖祭儀或日常生活，男女之間雖然壁壘分明，卻又相輔相成合作無間，維繫著人世的運行秩序。



Misamalataw: Male age-group training

男子訓練 misamalataw

January,
Village: Ciwidian



Ciwidian is the Amis tribe locates at the north side of Mountain Ox on the Eastern Coast. The traditional name “ciwidian” means “the place full of leech.” Every January, there are rituals related to fafainay (male), including misataroan (rite in the tribal gathering place), and misamalataw (rite for warrior’ s deity). The male elders lead newly joined kapah (the initiated male) to find bamboo and wood in the mountain. They have to departure around 3 o’ clock in the morning in order to come back no later than women’ s morning work. In the process, faki and kaka (older brothers) teach the youngsters to learn the technique of getting bamboo and woods. After taking back to taroan (gathering place), they will replace the bored bamboo of the house, and add ^li’ (Lalang grass) to cover the house roof.

Until everything is settled and participants have some rest, chief and elder faki then lead the ritual of misamalataw (worshipping the god of Malataw). Different from the regular household worship, there is no banana leaf for the offerings, but put hinaliti’ (Taiwanese silvergrass) instead. Other eye-catching differences are white cock, diwas (the special type of male

worship bottle), and the raw pork hang with a linen string by the chief. A faki is queried: why not using penen (Japanese Silvergrass) but hinaliti' ? He says penen is thicker, and women usually take that as the material for rokec (pith of rattan) to cook at home. Penen is considered to belong to fafahi (female) instead of male. Worshipping Malataw cannot use anything that is regularly related to female, nor to let female participate.

Malataw is the deity related to male activities; everything of male importance, such as hunting in the mountain or wild, as well as wood collecting, warrior training or head-hunting, are all under His capacity of protection. After the ritual, the chief ritual leader is responsible for taking the used hinaliti' to the place where there is no regular reach, in order to avoid the crossing of unrelated person. If the used hinaliti' is crossed by people who are not blessed by the ritual worshipping Malataw, the innocent victim will suffer paralysis as mild punishment; the severe case may endanger the life of such victim if it is a female. After the worship, kapah will take the cock for grill over fire and cooked as ginger soup. Every male at presence will consume by the order of seniority.

Different Amis tribes used to have various tensions with other indigenous "Others" . Even between different Amis tribes were constantly in war due to hunting territory conflict. Males join the age-group and are trained to fulfill duties. Their duties to the gathering place ends when they got married. During the Japanese colonial period, the headhunting ritual was abolished by force, and the inter-tribal relationship was regulated by modern nation. Under law and order imposed by nation' s sovereignty, the traditional function of education and military by the age group is then inevitably dissipated. There are only few tribes still practicing the special ritual for malataw, and the rest is simplified to practice mifetik to Malataw while males carry out hunting activities into the mountain area.

At Ciwidian, Misamalataw is practiced on the next day of Misataroan. In order to be less troublesome nowadays, the two activities are combined as one. Despite such change of convenience, elders who are highly concerned about traditional taboo, would take some time to leave temporarily from the site or go back home for some rest in order to symbolically separate the two sections of the ritual (which may be considered as another

style of pacepaceva). The Misamalataw at Ciwidian has another term for it, pahamay faki, literally means to give meal for the male elders. Such term denotes the meaning of “asking experiences and blessing from the elders (faki).” And the “faki” will then turn to the highest male authority “malataw” for the ultimate blessing (in rituals related to female deity dongi, the female elders also ask the help from “fayi dongi,” showing their intimate link. Human and spiritual authorities are connected via the fictive kinship relationships.

Another traditional village Lidaw still maintains ritual of Misamalataw in the way of young male initiation every eight years. Boys within certain eight year range will start their training and learning of group life by the blessing of family members.

If we make a chart of tribal rituals along with related ritual materials, it can show roughly show the difference of public and private difference between male and female.

Item	Family rituals (Private)	Tribal rituals (Public)
Plants as ritual platform	pahpah no paoli (Banana Leaf)	hinaliti* (Chinese silvergrass)
Ritual vassals	Sifanohay (Female ritual bottle)	Diwas (Male ritual bottle)
Ritual offerings	Icep (betel nut) ∙ fila (betel pepper) ∙ epa (rice wine) ∙ toron (stick rice cake)	Icep (betel nut) ∙ fila (betel pepper) ∙ epa (rice wine) ∙ toron (sticky rice cake) ∙ ayam (white cock) ∙ Titit (raw pork)
Target spirits (Kawas)	Asking Dongi (female protection deity) for help	Worship Malataw in the mountains or wild ; worship Kafid at river or sea
ancestors (toas) appealed in rituals	The toas (ancestor spirits) of kin and clan	Deceased kins or friends at the site or toas (ancestor spirits)

Many ritual processes retain the rules of separation between male and female. Some rituals are only male allowed, and some are officiated by females. Many researchers have already provided the rules of sacred space between private and public based on ritual contents, worshiped deities, and male/female differences on ritual

activities and purposes. According to the interviews to the Nanshi Amis groups, the elders talked about the general rules of house construction—facing the sea and sitting against the mountains—which is also facing to the east in general. There is always a potal (little court) in front of the household. Males are engaged with hunting and fishing activities, whereas females are engaged with farming, weaving, cooking activities. Such arrangement is embodied in the living space of Amis household, and different appliances are arranged in their respective spaces. The northeastern corner is called “talofoan” where pottery, cooking utensils, and, especially, the female ritual bottle sifanohay is placed. It is the particularly designed female space. Diagonal to the talofoan is the “cacara’ an” corner at the southwestern side. “Cara” means animal mandibles, which extends to the corner where males in the household hanging their glorious hunting award and displace. It is also the corner where males hang their hunting tools and the male ritual bottle “diwas.” The northwestern corner is called pafotingan, where the fishnet and fishing tools are placed (also a male corner). The southwestern corner is called “pasaasikan,” where the farming tools are stored (a female corner).

From the household geomancy, we can find some latent rules are observed for male and female distinction. Extended from it we also find corners representing males and females. Male is at West and North corner, while female is at East and South corner. Some rituals are for male worshiped Malataw (who is in charge of field and wild), and some are for female spirit Dongi (who is for family “loma” and life continuity). Sacred places and routine lives are well delineated by such gender differences as well as followed by generations.

野地裡的賞賜midateng

Midateng: The offer from the wild

2月野菜市集
February, Wild
veggie market



幾輛小發財車，小心翼翼倒車進入鐵皮拱頂的市場，甬道僅容人側身通過，忙碌的阿姨和大姊們迅速下好物品，魚貫將車開出停妥，這裡是花蓮吉安鄉的黃昏市場，下午兩點多陸續開市，要到七點或更晚才結束收攤。黃昏市場的micakaiay（販賣的人）多就住附近Nataolan（今南、宜昌村）或Sikasoan（慶豐、太昌村），年輕機伶的阿姨們常組成採菜大隊，只要有人通報哪兒野菜較多，一大早就約好出發，不同季節採摘不同野菜，採集工具也很簡單—防曬帽、袖筒、棉布手套，最重要的是從一堆草裡辨識出野菜的能力。到達預定地，眾人分散作業，有時遠遠傳回龍葵多美好的歌聲，接近中午，一行人在樹蔭下就地煮湯，採得的野菜配上白飯，吃完回程，開市前有人還抽空返家整菜。

冬季的野菜市場一片繁茂翠綠，菊科sama（苦苣菜）、sama' o（兔兒菜）、katao' ngay（紫背草）、昭和草，十字花科hinalomay（山芥菜）、o' paw（小葉碎米薺）、茄科tatoken（龍葵）、石竹科kera（鵝兒腸）、藜科o' sale（藜）等，羅列眾多。騎著摩托車陸續到達的fayi，拿來自種現採的南瓜花、lokot（山蘇）或



pako（過溝菜蕨），有些人排上一瓶瓶醃好的siraw（鹹豬肉）、lalacan（螺）、copel（辣椒）或酒釀。

晚近二、三十年才開始用貨幣購買野菜，過去族人常進入野地採集，只不過範圍常在部落周遭延伸的山田、河流或海岸潮間地帶，非農忙時期，男性下水捕魚，女性就地採集，午餐就在野外解決，多出的帶回部落和親友分享。各種採得的物資，代表不同家庭成員，對於野外地勢和環境資源的掌握。

黃昏市場見證六〇年代部落面臨經濟模式的轉變，早年日本人開設網球拍工廠，徵集附近栽培的油桐、泡桐木材，這算Nataolan最早接觸到的規模資本，當時婦女紛紛投身工廠作業，只好放棄平日的採集和農事勞動。幾個fayi去採來野菜、搗打toron（糯米麻糬），下班時倚靠牆邊販售，詎料久而久之聚集成市，一晃眼竟達卅年。

部分野菜由於供銷需求，開始了規模栽培，隨著需求擴大，市場販售的阿姨，也不得不進一步拓展採集地圖。跟隨她們在藁藁草

莽的荒地中找尋野菜，足跡遠到海岸山脈稜線、壽豐吳全溪埔、北埔新城荒田、花蓮溪出海口、鹽寮礁岩海邊等，縱谷和海岸物產豐饒，除了親自採摘，也經常收購族人帶來的植物。伴隨節氣輪番上陣的—3月到6月光復箭竹、6月到8月麵包果、9月五節芒花苞、10月芒心、11月到翌年初的菊科和龍葵、12月甘蔗心，3月飛魚隨著黑潮被鬼頭刀追逐而來，7月通過島嶼向北遠去，緊接著11月烏魚從北方搗鰭搗尾魚貫湧入花蓮溪產卵繁殖，環境還美好的時代，海膽棘刺綻滿海藻遍布的礁岩上頭，高身鮎魚和lamay（水綿）共游，連香蕉園裡，都是緩慢爬行的kacomoli（非洲大蝸牛）—植物、動物各依地形、土壤、氣候條件繁殖遷移，如今則匯聚在市場攤位上。

全盛期的吉安黃昏市場，以可取得各種原住民食材馳名，甚至經銷全島山海產通路—山豬肉、溪哥、山苦瓜、各式野菜不一而足，範圍廣及烏來、野柳、墾丁等觀光勝地。以南勢阿美為班底發展的黃昏市場，雖然老人家擁有豐富食用植物知識，但過去受限交通條件、植物分佈限制，如今則配合野菜採集或栽培規模，加上考量購買者嗜口問題，目前野菜攤位，全年度較常見的植物種類約40餘樣，這個數目是歷經時日頻繁的交流更替，匯集不同部落野菜知識，以及買賣經驗才逐漸成形—空間讓渡與時間積累，甚至通婚經驗及貿易學習，導致所見結果，成為阿美族群普遍集體的野菜智慧，至於野菜攤位，則轉變成一般人認識和觀光阿美族飲食文化的最佳介面。

而隨著外來人口移入、都市化擴張以及上班的族人愈形忙碌，近十餘年，陸續出現更多野菜販售地點—花蓮市重慶、美崙、市八市場，光復、玉里市場，還有台東市馬蘭、第三市場等，這些地方後來也有族人固定擺攤，加上各地超市物流，和鄉鎮農會為拓銷區域特色而普及推廣，許多野菜目前已隨處可見。走過高峰期的黃昏市場，如今是否步入黃昏？哪天妳（你）來到花蓮，歡迎到訪走走。



Midateng: The offer from the wild

野地裡的賞賜midateng

February,
Place: Wild veggie
market



The Amis vendors (micakaiay) of the “Dusk Market” are living near Nataolan or Sikasoan. In the early afternoon, they drive to the market and unload their newly-pick. Although the market is named “dusk market,” it starts at 2 o’ clock in the afternoon, and last till around 8 in the evening. Young vendor females usually organize a team to collect different wild veggies based on availability in nature. They go to neighborhood hill or seashore to get seasonal treats. They have different facilities with them, but the most important capacity is to know where to find and how to distinguish different types of wild veggies. At noon, they will eat outside with collected wild veggies, and sing about wonderful black nightshare. They can manage to get the wild veggies and go to the market if they are moving fast!

During the winter, the wild veggie market is full of green. Asteraceae: sama (field sowthisle), sama’ o (rabbit milk weed), katao’ ngay (sowthisle tasselflower), fireweed; Brassicaceae: hinalomay (common withlow), o’ pao (small-leaved bittercress); Solanaceae: tatoken (black nightshare); Caryophyllaceae: kera (goose startwart); Chenopodiaceae: o’ sale (small goosefoot).

The late coming Amis females, with pumpkin flowers, lokot (bird's nest fern), pako (edible fern), and some even comes with a bottle of siraw (marinated preserved raw pork), lalacan (small spiral shell), copel (chili), or fermented rice.

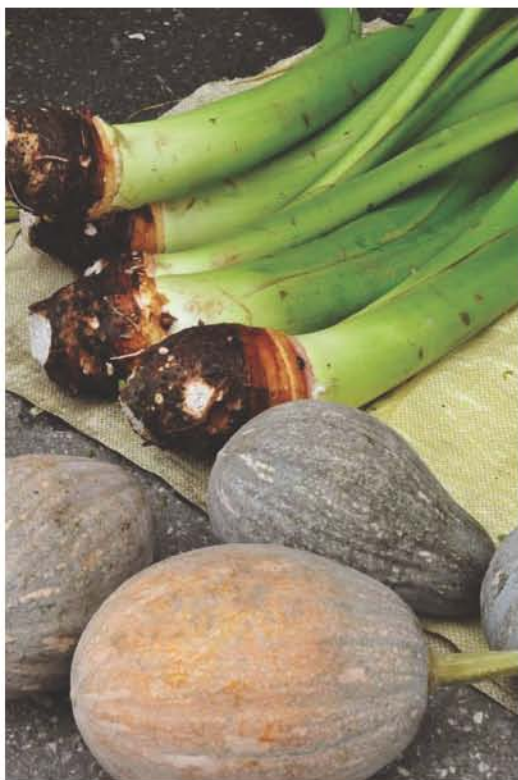
To buy wild veggie by money is the only development within the recent decades. In the past, villagers collect their vegetable needs in the wild, but usually located within the nearby farm ridges or foothills, river, or tidal flat. At the time of non-agricultural intensive period, males catch fish underwater and females collect wild greens. The lunch is usually taken care at the area where they collected their food materials. The rest was taken back to the village to share. The whole preparation of lunch reflects how Amis people manage their knowledge of natural food.

The beginning of dusk market was a transition of tribal economy to market ones in the early 60s. When the Japanese businessman opened the tennis racket factory in Hualien, tung trees and foxglove trees of that area are highly consumed. This might be the first time when Nataolan Amis people is exposed to private capital in certain scale, where workers are gathered to collect and assemble the rackets. Females changed their job from farming to factory work, and some started to collect wild veggie and make toron (sticky rice cake) for local consumption after the factory work (as the form of mobile vendors). This became the early establishment of the dusk market.

Some wild veggie is later intensively planted for larger scale due to the expansion of local needs. The amateur vendors have to extend their collection territory. The collectors survey all over the coastal mountain area, and the varieties are great enough to feed not only the collectors but also to sell or send to friends as gift. The seasonal treats from the wild include: laci (Usawa cane) from March to June at Kuanfu, pacilo (bread fruit) from June to August, Apanese silvergrass flower in September, Silvergrass pith in October, black nightshade from November to early next year, sugarcane pith in December. In March, flying fish is cased by *Coryphaena hippurus*, and swim to the north in July. In November, migrant fish flathead mullet comes to the northern Hualien coast and ready for breeding. Even in the banana garden, kacomoli (Giant African snail) is considered the favorite of Amis people. Everything is based on climate and geographic niche, and they are now all on the market table.

The Dusk Market of Jian was famous for its capacity to find any kind of indigenous food materials at its height. Its trading channel even expands to the whole Taiwan Island: wild boar, creek fishes, balsampear, and various wild veggies. Nowadays, although the elders have retain their knowledge about wild veggies, the most common collected are about 40 types. The 40 types are the survived picks after local customers long-term selection. It is a trajectory of trading experiences, intermarriage, territorial transition, and temporal accumulation. The wild veggie vendors are the best interface for common tourists to have first contact to Amis culinary culture.

Due to the migration, urbanization, and modern working-living style, there are more and more wild veggie vendors in different local sites—Chongchin area of Hualien, Meilun, Guangfu, Yuli market, and even Taidong’ s Malan and Third market. These are places that Amis people would be the vendors. Agricultural assemblies of different townships are also joining the promotion of indigenous flavor. Many wild veggies are now local specials. You may take a look and learn the difference by yourself!



相撲、驅疫與拔河

Wrestling, Pest Repelling, and Tug of War

3月里漏

March,
Lidaw



一月小米播種後，直到六月份miladis捕魚祭間，Lidaw部落會有幾個競賽型的節日，按順序分別為相撲、驅趕滾動柚子，以及拔河，乍看之下這幾項活動毫無關連，但搭配小米物候，就會發現其中充滿有趣的隱喻和期望。

率先登場的是miterop相撲，Lidaw舉行的時間多在一月底，其他南勢阿美部落多在二、三月間舉辦，這時田裡的小米已長至四、五寸，族人陸續疏苗及拔草，此時起算到再次除草期間，男子們趁空檔舉行各種體能訓練，其中一項類似相撲搏擊，日人在台期間，見了非但未加禁止，反而鼓勵舉行，久了逐漸演變為日本相撲形式。終戰後一度冷清，七〇年代復辦，吸引眾多族人參加，甚至擴大為跨部落競賽，每年固定於青年節舉行，至今老一輩族人仍保持對傳統的堅持，比如嚴格遵守不吃lalapa（牛肉）、dateng（青菜）及foting（魚）的飲食禁忌，開賽前不忘準備檳榔、荖葉進行mifetik祭拜，甚至外顯的諸多文化元素一以cifar（檳榔葉鞘製成的容器）裝鹽、裁判身著代表男性長輩地位的hahilao服飾等，還是可見文化正一點一滴匯集融合，並發展成阿美族專有的特色。

五月下旬，村子會連續兩週舉行與除蟲和收穫有關的祭典，此時田裡的小米逐漸結穗成熟，吸引麻雀或害蟲前來，先作mifahfah儀式，即希望能掃除田裡的害蟲和影響收成的Takenawan（貧窮之神）。儀式約在下午二點開始，sikawasay 們在部落西邊入口進行mifetik儀式，祭詞內容約略是祈求Dongi與其他神靈協助，能找到躲藏在部落或田裡的Takenawan，並順利將之趕走驅逐，接著會將saparoh（綁成不同形狀的檳榔葉鞘）交到小孩手裡，丟出滾動的小柚子，隨後大夥一邊驅趕一邊用力拍打地面，發出很大聲響。mifahfah隊伍前段乍看像是熱絡的槌球遊戲，尾隨殿後的wina則拿著檳榔葉，小心謹慎清掃，一邊噴撒酒霧除穢，唯恐Takenawan從人群縫隙折回，一行人走到部落的東方界線，確定所驅逐的對象不再回來。過去文獻稱mifahfah為除蟲或驅疫祭典，在古野清人的調查裡記載，出發時sikawasay是藉由神靈的眼睛，在部落四處探詢Takenawan的蹤跡，發現時手指藏身處，青年們即上前拍打，反覆直到將其從東方驅離，紀錄裡隻字未提有用小柚子的情形，或許這也見證祭典的另一項變遷。



接連mifahfah的下一週，則作mifalidas儀式，如今稱為拔河節，有人推測這是為了綁緊收成的小米莖桿，所發展出拔河活動的型式。falidas為山棕，過去族人用它來綑綁收成的小米，但後來的拔河比賽，卻是以竹子為中間物，近年再改用體育競賽的繩索。連續兩週作完mifahfah及mifalidas，眾人即上山採集山棕，製作綑綁小米的繩索，接下來才是一連串小米收成和入倉的儀式，等一切完成，即是六月最重要的捕魚祭了。

回顧這半年內的祭儀，發現似乎遺漏了二月中在村落東邊舉行的misatolikong（田祭），照理說祭祀Saseraay（土地之神）應也屬於農事活動，之前我們卻存而不提，原來這是屬於水稻生長的祭典。

水稻的栽培在清末傳入部落後，地位很快凌駕其他作物（小米、高粱、大黍、芋頭、地瓜、玉米等），稻米一年二獲，產量保證族人豐足。從上表可見6月到12月期間空下小米田，過去老人家用來栽培芋頭、地瓜及其他豆類作物，到年底小米播種前再將地上物砍伐，翻入土裡促進肥份。水田種植後，每年則只剩12月-1月可種菜或綠肥。

至於圍繞小米生長的祭儀，如今還被流傳的（小米收成、入倉祭典已佚失），多因其擁有的額外功能，像是mitiway為饗宴祖靈及解除食物禁忌；mitrop相撲、mifalidas拔河擁有競賽娛樂功能；mifahfah是為了驅逐害蟲與Takenawan（貧窮之神）等。至於水田種植也許接受時間未久，尚未發展豐富的儀式文化。

依小米與水稻的生長和相關祭典列出表格：

小米	水稻（①②各為第一期與第二期稻作）
一月中旬mitrop 以拔河的象征動作祈求播下的種籽能夠順利萌芽	二月①展開水田或旱稻的插秧 misatolikong田祭 稻作插秧結束，土地公祭拜
三、四月忙著修整田埂、除草、施肥等田間事務	
五月mifahfah，驅除部落以及田裡的害蟲 mifalidas，拔河競賽，準備綑綁小米的山棕葉 五月底採收小米	
六月miladis捕魚祭，可視為全年度工作結束，最大的malialac 男人到花蓮溪口，或是吉安溪旁捕魚，並在河邊吃魚	
芋頭、地瓜、玉米、樹豆、tef鷓鴣豆	六月底misatipos① 採收稻米
	七月初mi'anang① 稻米收藏入倉的祭典 八月初② 水田的插秧 misatolikong田祭 稻作插秧結束，土地公祭拜
八月中milisin屬於年齡階級的運動會活動 九月初 豐年祭舉行	
	十一月底misatipos② 採收稻米 十二月初mi'anang② 稻米收藏入倉的祭典
十二月底mitiway宣告小米播種的開始	油菜花、綠肥



Wrestling, Pest Repelling, and Tug of War

相撲、驅疫與拔河

March,
Village: Lidaw



Between the millet seeding in January and Miladis (fishing ritual) in June, there are several sports-like festivals of Lidaw tribe. The order of these activities starts with wrestling in early spring, pest repelling by chasing betel nut and citrus, and tug of war. These activities seem unrelated, but they are all connected to the millet growing cycle as the phenology of such important grain. We can find interesting symbolic meaning and expectation in it.

The first among these three activities is wrestling Miterop, which Lidaw holds in the end of January but other Amis hold in Feb or March. As the millet seedlings are about 4–5 inches and weeding work is temporarily done, villagers have more free time to practice physical activities such as wrestling. In Japanese colonial period, such activity was considered similar to Sumo and well encouraged. Wrestling was once quiet down after the WWII but revitalized in the 70s. It was even extended as inter-village contests. Nowadays, the miterop activity is still practiced like Japanese style: wrestlers wear Sumo style G-string, referee spreads salt for good luck, and all the wrestling skills are very much like Japanese Sumo. However, there are also Amis parts

in the activity: elders insist on the food taboo during this period, such as not eating beef, dateng (leaf mustard and leafy green), and foting (fish). Before the game the elders also seriously lead the participants to do mifetik (wine to worship) like other rituals. Even more, there are cultural elements to this competition: male elders wear hahilao signifying traditional status, as well as using cifar (a container made from betel nut tree' s leaf stem) to put salt in it. These are cultural outfits to remind the synchronization throughout history.

On the second half of May, Lidaw village will hold two activities consecutively within two weeks. These are rituals about pest repelling and dispelling bad fortune. This is the time when millet is holding grains and birds or pests may consume in the field. The ritual starts with the section called "mifahfah," which aims to chase away the ghosts of "Takenawan." Takenawan is the ghosts of poor and will bring bad luck or even famine to the village. Mifahfah will be held from the west entrance of the village. About 2 o' clock in the afternoon, Sikawasay officiate the ritual and ask the help from Dongi and other spirits in order to find Takenawan hiding in the field. Later they will hand several "saparoh" (betel nut leaf stems tied with betel nuts in it) to the kids they have asked to join. In the mean time, Sikawasay throw out several small shaddocks and ask every follower to hit the ground with saparoh and shout to repel pests. Sikawasay will sweep the road with betel nut leaves and sprays rice wine till the eastern end of the village in order to make sure Takenawan did not come. In the past, mifahfah is called "pest repelling ritual;" while in Furuno Kiyoto' s description in the Japanese record, Sikawasay was depending on the eyes of the spirit (via calai) and looked around the village to find Takenawan. In such record, there is not a word about using shaddocks. This may be a difference of ritual transition.

A week after mifahfah, there is a ritual called mifalidas, and today is tug of war festival. Some researcher suspects that the harvest millet straws are the original materials for mifalidas. Falidas is Formosa sugar palm, which the villagers used to apply its fiber for tie up harvest millets. However, in later tug of war festival, the bamboo is used as mediated material, and until very recent, such material is substituted by ropes for sport games. After consecutive mifahfah and mifalidas, every villager goes up to the hillside to collect sugar palm in order to make more ropes for

tying up millets. After such work is done, the following can be real millet harvest and rituals for storage in the granary. The important fishing ritual Miladis is not far away.

Looking back to the ritual cycle within the first half of a year, we left out misatolikong (ritual for land deity) held in February at the east side of village. It is the worship to Saseraay (the spirit of land), which should also be considered as farming practice. We didn't count that in since it is a ritual for rice plantation.

Amis tribe adapted Rice plantation during the late Qing Dynasty, and the importance had soon override other crops (such as millet, sorghum, Guinea grass, taro, sweet potato, or maize). Rice can be harvested twice a year that guarantees great fecundity to the tribe. From the above chart we can find that during June and December, the millet field is not planted with major crops, and elders could plant taro, sweet potato, or beans at that time. In the end of the year, it is plowed into the field as manure. After switched into rice plantation, only December and January are good for field fertilization.

The millet related rituals are partially kept (rituals such as millet harvest and storage are gone) because they have additional functions. Mitiway is for entertaining ancestor as well as lifting food taboo; mitrop (wrestling), mifalidas (tug of war) for competition and entertaining; mifahfah is for getting rid of Takenawan (ghosts of poor) etc. As to the fact that there are lesser rice plantation related rituals, it may be due to recent acceptance and under development of such kind.

Combining the rituals and activities for rice and millet plantation, we can compare them in the following list:

Millet	Rice (both for first and second season)
Doing mitrop in mid January, to symbolize successful seedling and good growth by the act of tug of war.	February starts the work of seeding rice sprouts, doing Misatolikong the ritual of the field. It is the end of transplanting rice seedlings.
March and April are the times to weed, spread manure, and fix field ridge of the farm	
In May it is mifahfah, repels the pests and poor ghosts from the field. After such will be mifalidas, competition of tug war which symbolizes the preparation of sugar palm for tying harvested millets. In the late May, millet is good for harvest.	
In June it is miladis (fishing ritual), it is considered the largest group celebration for finishing field works as malialac, males go to Hualien River's outlet to fish and eat by the river bank	
Taro, sweet potato, corn, pigeon pea, and tefi (hyacinth bean)	Late June misatipos, to harvest rice
	Early July mi' anang to store rice into granary Early Aug, transplant in wetland, and do Misatolikong (worship land deity) after the seedling work.
Mid Aug millisin, a sport campaign for the whole village (male initiation); early Sep, Malikudal as Harvest Ritual	
	End of Nov misatipos Rice Harvest Early Dec, mi' anang, ritual for storing rice into granary
End of Dec: mitiway announcing another round of millet plantation	Spreading rape seeds as green manure

海岸採集micekio

Gathering by the Seashore: Micekio

4月都蘭

April,
Atolan



東海岸的浪濤輕拍四月，陽光明媚的正午，催人欲眠。東管處建造的加路蘭小停車場，幾個阿姨正坐在草海桐樹蔭底下，腳著雨鞋，頭戴遮陽帽及花布面罩，一起身只見阿姨們遞了檳榔握在手裡，就往海崖下走去，原來時逢乾潮，珊瑚礁岩曝曬延伸在日頭下。

尾隨阿姨們的身影走下海邊，遇到二位faki正上岸整理用具，原來小潮時已先下過水，這時才將收穫放進冰箱。打過招呼湊近一瞧，海螺、海膽若干，幾隻螃蟹，一隻小章魚觸腳還蠕動著，faki是Atolan的人，他說每年只要到這時，就迫不及待來到這大海冰箱，拿點東西放到自己的小冰箱，潮汐時間每天慢一小時，等不及退潮的人就先來，不過最好能有同伴一道。

阿美族人將海岸的採集統稱micekio，其下根據收穫物種區分—mi-lalacan（採海螺）、mi-kanasaw（採海膽）、mi-sarol（採海菜）等等。潮間帶採集比陸上採集還多一些不確定，海藻、海貝、海螺、海膽，都可能出現在不同地點，潮池、礁岩生長的海藻，依照時令生長，涵養不同的魚蟹貝，採集時倒也不是無跡可循，每年哪段時節哪塊海域，大致出現哪些物種，也是有大略

的規則，這得仰賴對海洋的知識和經驗累積。比如老人家都知道，岸上的雀榕發芽，海裡的moli(棒形總狀蕨藻*Caulerpa racemosa* var. *laete-virens* (Montagne) Weber-van Bosse) 就會長，而且產期短短兩三個禮拜，咀嚼時的口感卻令人難忘。

不同種類的海藻各有偏好的潮間帶位置與生長期。有次鹽寮海邊遇到年輕的kaka(兄長輩)，問他手裡兩種海藻是什麼，他笑著搖頭說，好像都叫sarol(北邊或縱谷部落對海菜的一律通稱)，隨後尷尬自嘲說，阿美族對海藻的分類很簡單，就是根據可吃／不可以吃，可吃的種類叫海菜，不能吃的就叫海草。雖然這是個笑話，卻督促我們進一步歸納，北邊部落日常關於海藻的詞彙，較常聽到者有sarol、lamay、moli、kelio、liengatong幾種，台東區域則包括sarol、lamay、moli、kelio、lilinga、ongong、angdis、kolia、salongasan、aliping等，的確越往南，潮間帶地形越發達的部落，對於藻類、螺貝或水產等，果然掌握(或是還記得)較多的詞彙。

從花蓮三棧溪口直到台東太麻里溪區分三段：其中豐濱以北的礁岩極少，只有少數零星分布。而從豐濱到秀姑巒出海口北側的礁岩越往南越完整，並有黑潮暖流流經。秀姑巒溪以南，珊瑚礁岸、裙礁、岩台等地形交錯複雜，孕育了豐富的潮間帶生物。

臨靠珊瑚礁海岸的部落族人，在潮間帶長大，男生擁有較佳的泳技，能從大海裡取得漂浮的食物，漁獵能力須要不斷練習，或仰賴同伴通力合作—patnod(釣魚)、mipacing(魚槍射魚)、mitafokod(單人乘竹筏投網)、nisalil(夜間海中撒網)、nitaroh(較多的人合力曳網)等。女生則多負責採集礁岩上的海藻、海貝，或潮池裡的生物，通常屬於較獨立完成，且安全的工作。海洋知識經由日經月累，成為族人波濤下的瑰麗鄉愁。



Gathering by the Seashore: Micekio

海岸採集micekio

April,
Village: Atolan



The wave on the eastern coast gently hit the shore. At the noontime in spring such rhythm is rather like a lullaby. At the parking lot of Kalulan, several Amis aunties are sitting cool in the sea lettuce shrub shadow. If it is not because of their equipments: rain boot, sun hats, and cloth-mask, they look like just workers resting for the noon. One of them holds a bunch of betel nut and quickly moves down to the shore rocks. Since this is the ebb of tide, the coral area is extended from the shore rock area.

Only a few moments, the aunties are already very far away from the coastal area, like tiny dots on the shore. Two faki have already finished their shore collecting adventure, and put their gain in the fridge. His capture includes conch, sea urchin, several crabs, and a wriggling squid. The elder is Atolan Amis himself. Every year at this time, he will surely come on time to the sea as his natural freezer, and get some capture to his little fridge. The tide will move a bit everyday, and people come by different time in order to try their luck.

Amis people call their shore gathering as micekio, and later name their exact action by



the trophy of the day—mi-lalacan (collecting little conch), mi-kanasaw (collecting sea urchin), mi-sarol (collecting seaweeds). In fact the gathering at tidal flat is more uncertain than the cases on land. The types of collection can be very different from one place to another. Such information can only be shared by familiar friends. Despite of such variations, there are still traces to be followed, and this has to be accumulated by the traditional knowledge about the sea. For example, Amis elders know, when the red fruit fig on the shore is sprouting, the moli (certain seaweed: *Caulerpa racemosa* var. *laete-virens* (Montagne) Weber-van Bosse) in the sea will be ready for collecting. The production time is only for two to three weeks, but the chewy texture of it is unforgettable.

Different seaweeds prefer different locations in the tidal belt and have varied growth seasons. Once I met a kaka (brothers) at Yien-liao and asked what did the seaweeds he got. He replies that they are all called sarol, but jokingly says that Amis people differentiate algae into seaweeds by whether it is edible or not. Although this is a joke, we can find more varieties in the naming of algae. The common ones from the north are sarol, lamay, moli, kelio, liengatong etc., while the ones from Taidong include sarol, lamay, moli, kelio, lilinga, ongong, angdis, kolia, salongasan, aliping, etc. Moving toward south, the tribe of developed tidal flat area has naturally more vocabularies for seaweeds varieties.

If we divide coastline regions by different Amis settlement, we can have three types



based on tidal flat geography: the north type has very few reef rocks, and north of Ciwidian. The middle type of coastline is from Fengbin to the northern outlet of Xiuguluan River, the coastal reef rock is more and more developed toward south, and the Kuroshio current (Black Current) is very close to the coast, providing a good environment for the tidal creatures. Further south from Xiuguluan River, there are coral reef, apron reef, rocky platform at the coast. Coastal creatures are most abundant.

Amis males who live close to reef coast has the opportunity to get access to tidal flat, and are expected to have better swimming skill to get food from the sea. The skills of acquiring food from the sea, such as patnod (fish with pole), mipacing (shooting fish), mitafokod (fishing by net), nisalil (net by night), and nitaroh (drag net by the coast), need repetitive practice and cooperation with partners. Females are mostly responsible for gathering seaweeds and algae on the rock, conch, or creatures in tidal pool. Those are relatively safer and independent works.





巴格浪採藤pakerang

Pakerang: Collecting Wild Rotang Palm

5月奇美
May, Kiwit



朋友婚宴翌日，約好跟隨kaka（兄長輩）進山採藤心，集合地點同樣在新人家屋廣場。到達時新郎媽媽正陪一、二位探望的長者閒聊，招呼我先進廚房早餐。很快人馬陸續到齊，今天kakah（年齡階級資淺者）得兵分兩路，年輕力盛者下水捕魚，資驗豐富者上山砍藤心，神奇的是，昨晚鬧到很晚的safa（弟弟輩）竟無一缺席。



上山砍藤心稱mirokec no o' way，隊伍從荒草掩蔓的缺口進入，一段路後豁然開朗，深入海岸山脈腹地後，還有不同的林道和獵徑交織，入山耗時約三、四個小時，尚無須攜帶白飯食物。不過走到林道中段較寬廣的某處，隊伍仍會自動停下來，kaka說這是平常一起入山的默契，走前面的人藉此調整後面的步調，先到者簡單清理地面，並隨手砍些木柴放著，等所有人到齊，分配好各自方向與任務，才分頭進行。

取藤心是極艱鉅的工作，黃藤長在亞熱帶原始森林，蔓性藤本可攀上極高的樹梢，藤心只佔最頂端五、六〇公分段，且該處長滿棘刺。小的黃藤不能採（二年以下仍太短），但找到較老的黃藤，又蜿蜒極長韌性太高，這得仰賴多人通力合作拉扯，落腳處也得有足夠空間，當各自隊伍各有斬獲，約

好的時間，眾人才陸續回到剛才的聚集處。這時先到的人會點燃先前砍下的樹枝，再一次等到全員到齊才返程。

阿美語的婚禮叫做pataloma'，意即新成一個家，過去多是男子婚入女方，女子擁有家屋和財產的繼承權，換句話說多是長女留家，姊妹分耕父母的土地，其兄弟則makatafo'（作女婿）到別人家裡。後來國民政府施行戶口登記，以父系繼嗣為宗，很長一段時日，族人感到異常困擾，除了原來姓名法則（父子、母女聯名制）被迫更改必須適應，婚居法則也面臨動搖，演變成今日雙邊繼嗣皆有的情形。

根據老一輩描述，以前男女經自由戀愛結合，雙方可在任何部落公共場合認識交往，尤其豐年祭期間，女子見到心儀的男孩子，在年齡階層圍圈跳舞時表現優異，即可將檳榔放入對方的alofo內（斜揹的檳榔袋），如果男方也有意，則可將alofo挪成左手單肩垂掛，等到舞蹈過了一圈再回來，女子即可向前取走alofo，當晚男子前往女方家互訴衷曲，接連數夜盡皆如此，雙方即可稟明家長，比對彼此不在禁婚範圍後，即可展開婚事籌備。





Kiwit（奇美）是目前阿美族保有slal（年齡階層）認同最為深刻的部落，男子邁入slal共同接受嚴格訓練，養成對長輩絕對服從及同輩患難與共的向心力，同伴婚禮的舉行想當然爾，絕對是眾人的狂歡場合。傳統的婚禮從misolot（提親說媒）開始，過程中提親者可能遭到對方推辭婉謝或刁難，據說必得如此小夫妻更能和睦相處，當雙方約好聘禮內容，同時擇選婚期後，提親者即可返家。婚禮當天則是一連串sahafay（原意是送小米來，引申為親友送禮）及mipali'ot（長者訓話）過程。當部落群眾越聚越多，午餐時來到高潮，新人家特別設宴款待，招待的食物主要為hakhak（糯米飯）、titi（豬肉）以及naliwac（綠豆）所煮的排骨湯。



經過前幾日辛勤籌備，加上婚禮當日徹夜通宵，隔天kapak分好組出發，前曾提及族人在各種婚喪喜慶或活動結束隔日，男子們會一起到野外捕魚，這在南勢阿美稱malialac，在中部、南部及海岸地區，則稱pakerang，捕得的魚帶回部落大家共享，稱為吃魚脫聖，跨越這條界線，高興的、不捨的各種情緒皆應逐漸放下，回歸日常作息。魚，當然是pakerang儀式的主角。不過在kiwit，婚禮pakerang，則多了用熱血準備的宴客藤心。



Pakerang: Collecting Wild Rotang Palm

巴格浪採藤pakerang

Month: May
Village: Kiwit



After the wedding night, there is a mission in the morning that cannot be delayed: collecting pith of wild Yellow Rotang Palm with kaka (brothers) in the mountain. The gathering place is still the newly wed' s house court. Kapah (junior in age-group) needs to divide into two groups: younger ones go to riverside for fishing, and experienced go to mountain for pith of rattan. Even the safa (younger brother group) who stayed up late comes to the court on time!

Wild yellow rotang palm pith collecting is called “mirokec no o’ way.” The whole group goes into the path almost covered up by weeds. Further into the inner land we just find some different forest trails and hunting paths. It usually takes 3–4 hours to exhaust a trail like this, and the Amis group doesn’ t carry food with them. However, the leading group will stop at some spacious area in the woods as camp, cut off some spared branches, in order to meet the latecomers and clear up the path around. Until everyone arrives, and missions assigned, the actual work then begins.

Collecting wild yellow rotang palm pith is a tough task. It is grown in the sub-tropical

rain forest, and the vine can reach to the highest of treetop. The pith of rotang palm will be only the top 50–60 centimeters of the vine, and there are all thorns on the top of the plant. In another word, the rotang palm that is too small (under two years) cannot satisfy the need, but old rotang palm is too long and tough and difficult to pull and cut. Unless there is a definite need for such material for construction, such labor will not be spent. When every group has its results and the arranged time is up, the first group back to the camp will light up chopped branches and wait for all members to go back together.

Amis wedding is called *pataloma'* which means, "making a new home." In the past, mostly cases are male married into female residence. Female has the inheritance rights to the house and precious goods. Mostly the eldest daughter stays at home, sisters share the arable lands from the parents, and brothers are married out as "*makatafo'*" (to be son-in-law). After KMT government rules, the household and population registration is based on patrilineal descendent connection, which confused the Amis people for a while. The original rule of father-son and mother-daughter naming system is force to change, and the resident rule after marriage is shaken. Nowadays Amis people go with double inheritance system.

According to the elders, male and female are attracted by free association; the two parties can learn and interact with each other in public occasion, especially during harvest festival. If female finds her admired male who performs well in the age-group dancing, she will approach the male and put betel nut into the male's alofo (the single shouldered bag from left to right). If the male is also interested in the female, he can then move his alofo to hanging on the left side only. A circle of group dance later, the girl can take away the alofo. After such confirmation, male can go to female's house for further development and then ask parents about their marriage taboo. If there is no kinship taboo, the two can be ready for marriage.

Kiwit is the Amis tribe with the deepest slal (male age-group) identification. Males were having fun together since they were kids, and trained together under the initiation process. The wedding is naturally the joking and crazy occasion by the age-group partners. Traditional marriage goes from *misolot* (asking a matchmaker), and



the process should be very picky in order to show the future happiness. After choosing the wedding date, the matchmaker has accomplished his/her task. On the wedding day relatives will send over bundles of sahafay (millet as gift), and it goes through mipoli' ot (lecture by the elders) process. At noon is the apex of the wedding when every villager comes to join the banquet. Traditional wedding dishes include hakhak (sticky rice), titi (pork), and naliwac (mung bean) in sparerib soup.

After the busy work for several days, the overnight celebration on wedding day is the climax. Kapah was asked to go out for fishing on the next day of wedding as the traditional ending. In the north Amis area it is called malialac, in the central and southern area it is called pakerang. The catch of fish is shared in the village, which has the anthropological meaning of "break away from the sacred moment." After the symbolic marker of this activity, either the happiness or the sadness should be put down and everyone gets back to routine. Fish is certainly the main dish in the pakerang ritual. At Kiwit, pakerang after wedding has a further prepared side dish of Rotang Palm' s pith. It is the special treat by the kapah group.





結芒捕魚祭miladis

Tying Silvergrass for Fish Ritual: Miladis

6月水璉

June.
Ciwidian



在Ciwidian族人的祝福下，膠筏推進黃昏的海裡，夜色緩緩降臨，吹拂臉頰的風，由陸上逐漸轉成反向的潮濕水氣，將殘存的溽暑喧囂一吹而散。當暮靄薄紗般掩下，台11線路燈一盞盞彷彿如長蛇般亮起，偶而的alipaonay（螢火蟲）飛過，波濤晃動時，膠筏的縫隙無可避免滲入海水，但沒有預期的可怕，反而像下過雨腳踩操場草地上。船上faki和kaka正逐一檢查馬達油箱與電池電力，三人有一搭沒一搭聊著。faki說過去一點海域就可下網，是點起魚燈的時分。

還記得下午村人漸漸群集海灘，一艘艘膠筏昂首蓄勢待發，迫不及待的畫面。這日是部落舉行miladis（捕魚祭）的前夕，慣例只允許男子們參加，出發前曾仔細聆聽faki的mifetik禱詞，提及請kafid（海神）庇佑看顧這群pasawali a wawa（朝東方進發的小孩），希望每人此行都能漁獲滿載，祈請平安順利。祭祀完畢，faki拿了瓶米酒及hinaliti'（臺灣芒），仔細走向每艘船進行mipolpol（拍拂），就連取名為聖母號的船也未遺漏。

Ciwidian目前已看不到傳統的竹筏，過去紮筏會使用較粗的刺竹或孟宗竹，砍回後再浸泡泥塘一段時日，接著以藤皮加以綁

紮，無論工序和材料都特別處理與講究，唯有如此，將來下水才能耐住鹽分。加好筏面的藤蓆與槳座，船上各種物件還得額外固定，新年度的竹筏會趕在飛魚汛前完工，南勢阿美稱飛魚為timo’，南邊部落則稱kakahong，魚汛由南到北約從4月中旬開始，miladis祭典時Ciwidian達網捕高峰，漁忙則持續到7月底或8月milisin（豐年祭前的賽跑）前結束。捕抓飛魚的方法是夜裡在海上點燃火把，利用其驅光性誘集，再想辦法撒網或捕撈。至於捕獲的飛魚多賣出貼補家計，部分則燻成飛魚乾保存，以供自家食用。

關於miladis還有兩則族人耳熟能詳的傳說，其一與海神Kafid祭祀的起源有關，故事提到曾有一男子漂流到女人國，在島上遭囚禁虐待許久後脫逃，來到岸邊卻只能無助哭泣，後來是Kafid化作鯨魚的形象相救，待其返家，從此有了年年的miladis祭祀。而另一則傳說提到：某年族人舉辦miladis祭典當日，部落男子們跟往年一樣，協同外出捕魚，卻在下午時高大的Alikakay趁勢入侵，Alikakay為能自由行走海上，擁有呼風喚雨變化能力的kawas，只見天色漸暗，Alikakay紛紛化身各家男人進屋，迎接的婦女尚不知已受到欺凌，等到所有人離去天色變亮，真正男主人返家方才知悉，在不堪受辱下，眾人紛紛組織討伐隊伍，據說Alikakay住在Parik（意為鬼頭刀形狀的山頭，即今花蓮市美崙山），討伐過程幾經挫敗，後來透過Malataw（戰事之神）的指點，才懂得使用hinaliti’結成porong（芒草結）而打了勝仗，這則傳說則成了maporong（在野外結芒草劃界避邪）的依據。

和許多祭典相同，Ciwidian族人在miladis這几日，遵守不吃dateng，不能行房等禁忌。海上作業了整夜，船隻紛紛停泊上岸，所得漁獲繳交秤重，簡單計算成績後，由faki們帶領，才開始正式的pakaen to Kafid（海神祭拜）。所準備的祭品內容，大致與昨天出發前的mifetik時相同，只是規模更加隆重，但當我們仔細聆聽，這裡所唸誦的物事，已從祈求晚輩出海漁獲豐富，轉為祝禱未來一年之內，falios（颱風）別侵害部落，而穀物的收成，能像penen（五節芒）般高大美好。



研究者曾提出魚／粟、男／女這二組元素，在阿美族人思維裡，擁有對立與循環意義。按之前觀察並對照過去文獻，miladis是在小米入倉的隔天舉行。在過去看重小米的年代，或許我們可將miladis，視為全年度最大的malialac（吃魚作結）。除開這點，miladis卻也是唯一與海／海神／男子捕魚能力相關的公共祭儀，從這角度來看，miladis本身，反而接近港口部落的misacepo（原意是與出海口有關的祭祀，後稱海祭，約每年五月舉行）、奇美部落的komolis（捕魚祭，7月豐年祭前舉行）、台東部落的misariyar（海祭，約五月中舉行）。





Tying Silvergrass for Fish Ritual: Miladis

結芒捕魚祭miladis

June,
Village: Ciwidian



In the dusk, a canoe of plastic pipes is sent into the sea with blessing from the Ciwidian villagers. During the nighttime, the chill breeze from the sea blows out the moisture and lingering excitement on the land. The mild fog covers the lights on the sideway, and a alipaonay (firefly) carries over the loneliness. Canoe over the waves is inevitable leaking between pipes, however faki and kaka are fearlessly checking the motor and battery on the canoe. Faki says some distance away can be the place for net-fishing; it's time to raise the fishing lantern.

This is the day before miladis (fish ritual). The customary law allows only males to participate. Before going out for the sea, faki leads every male participant to do mifetik (praying), asks Kafid (ocean deity) to protest the pasawali a wawa (literally "kids sailing toward the east"). After the blessing, faki did mipolpol (ritual patting) on the boat by spraying rice wine and gently with hinaliti' (Chinese silvergrass). Even the boat named after Mother Maria is no exception.

We cannot find traditional bamboo canoe at Ciwidian. In the past, it will be

made with thick and big thorny bamboo or maso bamboo. It will be taken back from the wild and soak in the pond for a while, and then bound with vine wrap. The material and procedure are both very carefully considered, resisting the salty water for its use on the sea. Everything on the canoe has to be tied well, such as vine matting and seat. New canoes will be done before the coming of flying fish group. Northern Amis calls the flying fish “timo’ ” , and southern Amis calls it “kakahong.” Flying fish group comes from south to north since mid April, and during the miladis ritual it reaches the highest rate of netting at Ciwidian. The whole fishing season will continue till the end of July or August when milisin (the racing activity before harvest festival) starts. To catch flying fish is to use torch in the night in order to attract them with its tropism to light, and then catch with net. Most of the catch will be sold in the market, and only some are smoked for the consumption by one’ s own family.

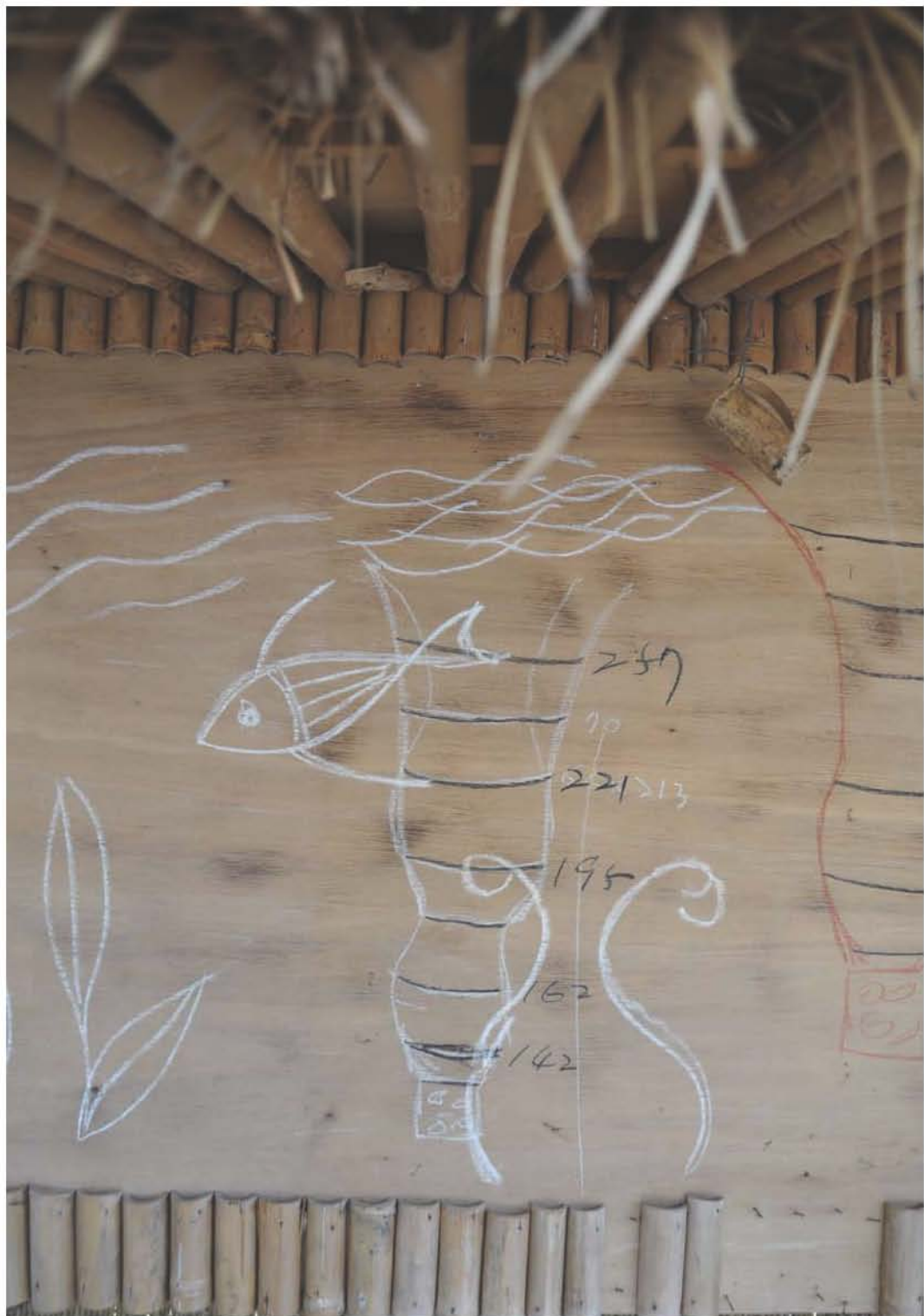
There are two legendary tales about miladis ritual familiar by Amis people. One is related to the origin of Kafid worship. It is said that once upon a time, an Amis male was drift to a place ruled by alien female. He was treated as pig and confined for a long time. He managed to escape but find no vehicle by the sea and cried helplessly. Sea deity Kafid then turned into a whale and save him home. There is the miladis ritual since then. Another legend says that one year the Amis ancestors were holding miladis ritual, and tribal males were out to fish. But the tall and horny alien called “Alikakay” invaded. They are the mighty kawas that can walk on water. They transformed into the image of Amis male and darkened the sky to go back the village and have sex with the females. When the real Amis males returned they found such humiliating fact and went to war with Alikakay who lives near Parik (meaning after the shape of dolphin fish, it is the mountain near Meilung at Hualien). After several battles the Amis cannot win over. Later they got the instruction by Malataw (the deity of war) to use hinaliti’ (Chinese Silvergrass) and tight up as “porong” (knots by silvergrass). By such ritual preparation they defeat Alikakay, and the legend is the origin of “maporong” (making silvergrass knot to draw the border in the wild in order to expel the evil).

Same as many other rituals, Ciwidian Amis observe the taboo of not eating dateng (the leafy green veggie), no sexual intercourse during the period of miladis. After all the canoes come back to

shore, the catch is weighted and then the result is calculated. Fagi then lead the official “pakaen to Kafid” (worship to the ocean deity). The preparation of offering is about the same to what mifetik does every time, only the scale is much larger and the attitude is more solemn. The summons during the ritual are about asking great fish catch when going out on the sea, wishing the coming year there is no falios (typhoon) to the tribe, and asking the harvest of grains that can be as high and beautiful as penen (Japanese silvergrass).



Researchers have proposed the dyads of fish to grain and male to female as the fundamental elements to the Amis thought. It has the meaning of both confronting opposition as well as cycling regeneration. In the past, miladis is held on the next day after millet harvest is done and stored to the granary. At the time emphasizing millet ritual, we can take miladis as the largest scale of malialac (to finish a ritual period). Other than this, miladis is also the only public ritual reflecting the connection among sea, ocean deity, and male’ s capacity of fishing. From such perspective, miladis of Ciwidian is similar to the ritual of misacepo of the tribe Cepo (the ritual of river outlet at sea, held in May), komolis of Kiwit (fish catching ritual, held every July before the harvest festival), and misariyar among Amis communities in Taidong (sea ritual, held around mid May).



清晨走在馬太鞍濕地的產業道路，馬錫山顯得面大而寬闊，這時露珠還垂低在蘆葦上頭，映照遠處的水面反光，紅冠水雞拍翅滑翔，落腳在青綠的大萍上。四通八達的柏油路面，卻阻斷原本濕地豐沛流動的水系，這兒曾是馬太鞍族人活躍的menmen（泉水）與toni（沼澤）之地，受道路工程影響，原生濕地生態已大不如前。

馬太鞍部落本體（以集會所為中心）大約位此東北方一公里左右，過去族人以栽植小米、旱稻、高粱為主，農事主要由婦女們負責，部落名為Fataan，是樹豆生長眾多的地方。大片濕地平時即為男子們捕魚、採集水中生物的場域，目前保存著其他部落看不到的palakaw文化。palakaw為阿美族人獨特的捕魚方式，現稱生態捕魚法，lakaw原意是垃圾，pa-冠在名詞前，有拿取的動態，palakaw意即拿走或整頓好垃圾。

文獻曾記載馬太鞍使用漁簾驅魚法mikafos（抓河蝦），但不是馬太鞍人專美，南勢阿美族過去也有類似漁法，只是名稱不同，叫pa-cengceng（拿魚筊）或pa-celing（拿魚簾），這些區域包括吉安七腳川溪下游Lidaw和Cipapalan（意為踏著麵包樹葉過河，今花蓮市主農里）之間、美崙溪上中游國福里一帶。無論palakaw、mikafos、pa-cengceng、pa-celing，都說明著相同的捕魚方式—在河流周邊挖好堰堤，預留出入口與原河道相通，放入lakaw（植物枝葉）提供水中魚蝦棲息，想要拿取時幾人通力合作，拉celing（魚簾）圍起，留下出口放置cengceng（魚筊），依序把lakaw拿出，即可捕得魚和kafos（蝦子）。

在馬太鞍，lakaw衍伸為所築堰池及其中設施，各家族擁有專屬的lakaw，挖掘、綁紮、維護lakaw是家中男子的責任，甚至被

用來評判該家katafo（女婿，阿美族為從妻居）是否勤奮的依據，因此也有人稱lakaw為魚塘或家族漁區。捕魚時間則視各家維護的人決定，只要肉眼觀察lakaw池裡生態豐富即可施行。由於族人在許多節慶隔日都有malialac（吃魚作結）的習俗，lakaw也就成了最方便取魚的地方，需要時動員家族的男子共同參與。

Lakaw的形式，按與河道的關連，大致分為在河道裡兩側淺灘及與河道分隔卻相連兩種，無論是前者築好堰堤，或後者靠人力挖出蓄水池，原則是都得保持與原河道相通。

接著才在池內依序放下竹管、整束的lalilec（九芎）、細竹枝、地瓜葉、檳榔或山棕葉等，按不同植物在水中的分解速率，提供給水中生物不同的棲所，依其組成與功能，大致分出圓筒層、樹枝層、細竹枝層及覆蓋層，由下往上堆疊，不同層次構成繁複的微棲地，儼然小型而豐富的生態系統。

收集lakaw的材料，需要花費不少時間，經常可見族人砍伐九芎，較粗的取回家作為柴薪，較細者則堆在lakaw的田埂周邊。以下大致描述各層使用的植物材料和功能：



圓筒型：

選取口徑約5-15cm的成熟a' ol（桂竹）或麻竹，每段鋸成150cm左右，打通各竹節後，作為底棲性如鱸鰻、日本鰻、短鰭鰻、鯰魚、塘蝨魚、鱧魚、黃鰱、泥鰍等魚類的躲藏棲息之處。有時會用fokaw筆筒樹代替，不過因其泡水容易腐爛，故較少使用。



樹枝層：

收集比拇指還粗的lalilec（九芎），每段裁成長約1公尺，用藤皮捆成周徑約30cm的九芎柴束。據說浸到水裡，九芎樹皮會緩慢分解，可滋生藻類供應小型魚蝦食用。而其較寬鬆的枝縫，也提供了這些生物躲藏的空間。九芎在濕地和低海拔山區普遍可見，加上扦插存活容易且生長迅速，諸多原因使其成為lakaw組成的重要植物。但也有時會以密花芋麻代替。

細竹枝層：

長約1公尺的細竹枝，捆成50cm一束，堆疊於九芎樹枝上，提供中小型魚蝦的棲息。

覆蓋層：

使用falidas（山棕）或檳榔的樹葉，覆蓋於最上層，以防止鳥類捕食lakaw魚蝦。這層葉片的顏色，會隨著浸泡水裡的時間長短而改變，據說有人可藉此判斷lakaw中的魚蝦多寡，決定是否palakaw。

進行palakaw時，家中的男子會一起出動，開始前由faki舉行簡單的malialan（算是一種mifetik）儀式，接下來成員們才各自下水，剛開始先將浮水植物推撥到兩旁，由田埂旁邊的人接手堆到岸上，水域表面清空後，由兩人拉上魚簾逐步縮小範圍，直到剩下安置魚筓的缺口，這時其他人會持三角網在周邊撈捕。中間的區域緊接著為palakaw的重頭戲，依序取出山棕葉及細竹枝層時，逃竄的魚蝦陸續被趕進魚筓裡頭。接著鬆開魚簾的圍捕，開始處理九芎層，此時三角網已壓低在附近水面待命，拿起九芎束的人動作必須緩慢確實，出水後懸空到漁網上輕拍，只見各種附著的溪蝦紛紛掉落，最後處理竹筒時，則用單手摀住一端，將內容物倒到網上。

對馬太鞍族人而言，palakaw的記憶與情感，實在一言難盡。過去lakaw池甚至滿佈馬太鞍溪、南清水流域，如今只剩少數維持在芙登溪及逐漸消失的濕地之中，加上某些官方單位對河川底部與堤防的水泥化工程，也改變了河川的洪汛，palakaw文化究竟能存續多久，可能也考驗著族人和政府的智慧。





Fishing with the bamboo fish trap: Palakaw

巴拉告palakaw

July,
Village: Fataan



Walking on the rough road near Fataan swamp in the early morning, Mt. Maxi appears to be large and wide afar. Dews on the reed shake with leaves; in the distance, light reflection frightens a common moorhen away from the near corner to a green area of duckweed. The rough road construction makes land traffic more convenient, but blocks the undercurrents of original water system. This area was an active area of menmen (water spring) and toni (marsh), but the wetland ecology and vegetation type is heavily impact now due to such concrete construction.



The main body of Fataan community is about one kilometer away to the northeastern direction. In the past, villagers planted millet, upland rice, and sorghum as their major staples. Farming is mainly responsible by females. The tribal name of “Fataan” is because the area is famous for plenty of pigeon pea (names fataan in Amis). The massive wetland becomes a major site for males to fish and collect water creatures. Fatann tribe maintains the palakaw cultural practice, which is not seen in other places. The contemporary term called it “eco-fishing;” however, “lakaw” means “trash” in Amis,

including the misc stuff stored behind the household or the weeds in the field. The prefix “pa” means “take away” or “manage.” Palakaw then refers to the work of cleaning up and rearrange the trash.

In the old document, Fataan tribe used the way of mikafos (to chase fish into fish tent). But this is not the privilege of Fataan Amis. The northern Amis also has such method of fishing with different names: pa-cengceng (taking fish traos) or pa-celing (taking fish tent). The technique is also applied in the downstream location of Chikasan River, such as Lidaw, Cipapalan (meaning stepping over bread tree leaves to cross the river), and Cibawkan (near mid stream of Meilun River). No matter the names, it is the same way of fishing procedure: making a dam on the gauge of river and direct a branch of river back to the main stream. Putting some plant litter (lakaw) in the gauge so that fishes and shrimps will stay. At the time when fish is needed, using celing (fish tent) to block the way, and put cengceng (fish trap) by the exit. Take out lakaw and the fish or kafos (shrimp) can be easily caught.

In Fataan, lakaw is later referring to all dam and pond construction for fish catching, and maintained by males. It also becomes a criterion for a family to judge the diligence of a katafo (son-in-law). Therefore the lakaw area is also called “family pond.” The fishing rules are dependent to each household. As only as the lakaw looks abundant of fish or shrimp, it is ready to be taken. When there is time for malialath (fish eating after ritual), lakaw is also the most convenient place for fishing by family males.

The forms of lakaw, based on its connection to river streams, can be divided into two kinds: one is by the shallow bank of the mainstream, and another is a separate branch as pool from the mainstream. No matter which types it is, the principle is to have the lakaw connected with main river channel. After picking a site, the following is to put lakaw in it: bamboo chop, lalilec (Subcostate crape Myrtle), bamboo sticks, sweet potato leaves, betel nut leaves or formosan sugar palm. Based on different speed and condition of the decomposition of the “trash,” it can be divided into layers from bottom to the top: “cylinder,” “branch,” “sticks,” and “covering” layers. The plants in each layer have functional connection to the next layers, which becomes a small but rich ecological system.

It takes time to collect lakaw materials. We can easily find villagers cut off Subcostate crape Myrtle in the woods. The thicker one is for firewood, and tinier ones are pile by the farming field as lakaw. The followings are material and functions for different layers in lakaw.



Tube layer:

Take mature a' ol (Makino bamboo) or Wideleaf bamboo with 5-15 cm of its diameter, and cut into cross-section of 150 cm for every tube. The bottom of the section is cut through for the demersal fish, such as eels, Japanese eel, catfish, channa fish, airbreathing catfish, Anguilla bicolor, swamp eel, loach, etc. Sometimes the big chunk branch is substituted by fokaw (common tree fern). It is seldom used since it is easily rotten in water.



Tree branch layer:

This layer is made by lalliec (Subcostate crape Myrtle). Every section is cross-cut to the length of one meter long. The circumference is about 30 cm bundled by vine peer. It is said that after soaked in water, lalliec will decompose gradually, and become nutrition to the fish and shrimp in the pond. The loosely organized branches also provide good sheltering space. Crape Myrtle is common in wetland and low hill area, and it is easily growing by cutting plantation. These are reasons to make it a good lakaw material. Sometimes fallofio (Dense-flowered false nettle) is used.

Narrow sticks layer:

Bamboo sticks of about 1 meter long are bundled into 50 cm in circumference, and put on the branch layer. It is the resting area for small fish and shrimp.

Covering Layer:

This layer is composed with falidas (Formosan sugar palm) or betel nut stem and leaves on the top, in order to prevent birds from eating the lakaw fish. The color of leaves will alter along with the time of water contact. It is said that some can judge the numbers of fish in lakaw in order to decide the time to do palakaw.

At the time of palakaw, all male members of the household will go together. Faki should carry out some malialan (also a kind of mifetik) blessing. The members then walk into the pond. In the beginning, floating plant will be push aside and taken on the ridge. After the water area is clear, two of the members will carry the fish tent and gradually narrow the focused area till the only opening is for fish trap. At this time, others will take triangle net to fish by the side. The main drama of palakaw is now carried on. The covering and stick layers are taken away in orders, and fish and shrimps in the pond are chased into the trap. The myrtle layer has to be taken up steady and carefully. When the whole chunk is out of water, it is moved over the nets and tap gently. All hidden creek shrimps inside fall on the net. The last one is bamboo tube layer. Nets will be arranged on both ends to catch whatever inside.

To the Fataan Amis, it is hard to exhaust their affection and memories with palakaw. In the past, lakaw ponds are all over Fataan River and south Chinshui River area. Nowadays only some are maintained in Fudeng River and disappearing wetland. The concrete construction of embankment by official administration changes the water way in the wetland. How long can palakaw last is an issue for Fatann villagers as well as the “helpful” government.



豐收饗宴Ilisin

The Banquet of Harvest: Ilisin

8月水璉

August,
Ciwidian



豐年祭前一週，南勢阿美部落會先舉行 **milisin**（賽跑），這天活動要求幾個初階的 **slal** 跑完一定距離，用意在訓練年輕人的體力，過程中會有 **kaka** 或 **faki** 拿著咬人狗（有的用公雞爪）緊跟在隊伍後面督促。只是這樣的情景已難再看到，目前多改在村運會或豐年祭運動會舉辦，內容穿插各種短跑、百公尺競賽、大隊接力、馬拉松賽事等，場地則選在學校操場。

在征戰對抗的年代，著重部落防禦和戰鬥系統，監督、決策、指揮、和執行由上往下 **slal** 層層負責，體能影響參賽者，名次則成了村民津津樂道的事。更多時候，個人的能力顯然會被刻意忽略，取而代之的是同一年齡階層休戚與共的榮譽。

milisin 之後進入 **ilisin**（豐年祭），水璉部落的 **ilisin** 第一日稱 **maranam**（日常生活用語的早餐），這天早晨，各家 **faki** 率領家人 **mifetik**，宣告 **ilisin** 開始；到第二日稱 **malaho**（午餐），這天家族成員必須離開家裡，前往時常踏足的 **omah**（田裡）野餐，飲食內容為前段時間男子們所捕獲的野味，飛鼠、山羌、山豬等獸肉，因此也稱為 **misaponis**。到了第三日，這日的儀式稱為 **malafi**（晚餐），從清晨開始，男子們已在

會所廣場，處理了一整日殺牛分肉動作，傍晚前全村婦女帶著各家的鍋子集合分配，就在廣場全村一起用餐，剩下的帶回家再加料烹煮，通常是加rokec no o' way（藤心），作為宴客及之後祭典過程的存糧。malafi結束，男子們繼續留在會所前，當晚徹夜跳舞到天亮。到了第四日，那就是hahahe（哈哈嘿：玩笑話，指充滿虛詞哈、嘿的豐年祭歌舞）了。

一般人所熟悉的阿美族豐年祭，是已經來到第四日的重頭戲，一般這天才對外開放入場跳舞，稱malaliki（手拉著手圍圈跳舞）。到了第五日，則為malialac吃魚作結。並非每個部落的豐年祭內容和過程都相同，水璉豐年祭的結構卻展現有趣的巧合，原本尋常不過的一日三餐maranam、malaho、malafi，放大成為連續數日的祭典週期，而以男性為主角的祭典軌跡，我們則看到從loma'（家）到omah（野外），再回到部落會所的移動。

水璉的年齡階級和其他南勢阿美部落一樣，採八年一次的循環襲名系統，目前留存共九個級名，也就是說每72年開始重複，阿公可能與孫子同名。而這九個級名分別是Maorar（甘霖、雨水）、Matafoko（自動自愛）、Alafangas（苦楝）、Aladiwas（男性祭壺）、Alamay（魚鱗狀晚霞）、Lalao'（開始）、Alemet（台東火刺木）、Mao' way（黃藤）、Mao' rac（嚴格訓練）。其中三項為植物名稱，其餘也都與男性、野外和訓練等詞彙有關。



日常三餐亦是一系列的ilisin祭典、由家屋進入野外進行訓練、取消個人表現以年齡階級向心力為尊，上述三種植物—苦楝、台東火刺木與黃藤，也多生長於野外。這不禁讓我們想進一步探討，於是我們將阿美族常用人名，和各部落年齡階層名，試著列出與植物相關者—男子名包括fonga（地瓜）、kaopih（地瓜葉）、tali（芋頭）、koa（木瓜）、kilang（樹木）等。女子名用panay（旱稻）、tipos（水稻）、hafay（小米）、^li'（白茅）、tefi（鵲豆）、lala（豆子）、kamaya（毛柿）、kelio（苧麻）等。另外還包括一些名字，使用到農作物種植、節日與加工品，這裡一併列出一男子名有kolas（割稻）、cangra（春天）等，女子名則有lisin（祭典）、saomah（除草）、sera（土地）、epah（酒）等。

接著探討年齡階層相關名字，前面曾提南勢阿美是採襲名循環制，用到fangas（苦楝）、alemet（台東火刺木）、o' way（黃藤）為名；南方馬蘭、都蘭等部落則採創名制，平均三年或五年不等，長者依晉級該年成員所擁有特質、經歷，或是遭遇的特殊事件為名，至於兩種制度之間的部落則呈混用情形，其中使用植物的slal名，包括有La-koa（蓮草）、La-folo（竹子）、La-lamay（水綿）、Lafangs（苦楝）、Mao' way（黃藤）等。

我們發現但凡人名，多為日常生活周遭常見，或主食、或是栽植於家屋周遭的植物。而年齡階層的名字，則多是生長在野外的植物，究竟這一切是由於巧合，而是真有背後的意義，留待未來的求證探討。

現階段阿美族豐年祭已成為族人和外界最為看重的祭典，太巴壠部落一連舉行九日，其中有slal之間的互相慰喪、有隆重的palimo（女子到場，逐一對男性長輩敬酒）；奇美部落得從一個月前komolis（捕魚祭）起算；宜灣保存完整的迎靈、宴靈、送靈祭歌；都蘭稱kiloma' an，過程有嚴格的pakalonay訓練，另外馬太鞍七日、港口部落五日等。不過相反的，一向著重傳統的Lidaw，如今豐年祭卻與大部分部落一樣，濃縮在暑假某個週末舉行，各部落保存或強調的豐年祭面向不盡相同，水璉的豐年祭，引導我們進入一個民族學探索的聖域。至於今日官方舉辦聯合豐年祭的美意，是否反而成為破壞祭儀文化的元兇？



The Banquet of Harvest: Ilisin

豐收饗宴Ilisin

August,
Village: Ciwidian



A week prior to the harvest festival, the northern Amis tribes will hold the activity of milisin (racing). The main purpose of today' s activity is to ask the newly initiated slal (age-group youngster) to finish some distance of race, in order to train the endurance and physical strength of the youngsters. During the racing, kaka or faki (elders) will take poisonous wood nettle (some use cock claw) following the team as supervision. Such scene is mostly changed into group sports game or competition. The contents of game include dash racing, hundred meter racing, relay racing, or marathon style etc, and the location is changed from the wild to the track in schools.

In the past time of tribal battle and conflict, the defensive system is organized by slal, including fighting, strategizing, directing, and execution. The race before harvest festival is an important means of training for the public affairs. It is also a communal honor among the members of one age-group.

After milisin, it is ilisin period (harvest festival). At Ciwidian, the first day of ilisin is called maranam (the daily Amis expression

of “having breakfast”). At this day, every household is doing mifetik (worship blessing) led by faki to announce the beginning of ilisin. The next day is called malaho (“having lunch”). On this day, family members have to leave the house and go to omah (field) for picnic; the dishes will cover the game that males have carried back: meat of flying squirrel, Formosan muntjac, or wild boar, also called misaponis. The third day is call malafi (having dinner). From early morning, all males gathered at the gathering square to butcher cattle and distribute its meat. In the evening of such day, female carries containers for the meat and soup of cattle, and all villagers have dinner together in the square of the village, the rest is taken home and further cooked with rokec no o’ way (pith of ratten) in order to treat the visiting guests. After malafi, males stay in the gathering house and dance over night. The fourth day will be “hahahe” (Amis joking expression of harvest festival dancing, since the singing is all with “ha,” “he” for lyrics).

The commonly familiar harvest festival is actually the fourth day of the whole ritual. This is a day to openly dance, called malaliki (dancing in a circle). On the fifth day, it ends with malialac (eating fish to finish the ritual). Not every tribe has the same ritual processes, but Ciwidian has such interesting example: the names of meal in a day—maranam, malaho, malafi—are prolonged into ritual period for several days. With the male activities around the ritual, we find the movement from loma’ (house) to omah (wild), and back to the tribal gathering house.

The names of age-grade of Ciwidian, like other northern Amis communities, are from a heritage naming system for every eight years. It has nine grades in total, which means there are 72 years within the whole naming cycle. After the cycle, a grandfather can have same age-grade name with his grandchild. The nine age-grade names are Maorar (raining), Matafoko (self-diligence), Alafangas (China berry; *Melia azedarach* Linn), Aladiwas (the ritual bottle for male), Alamay (the afterglow with fish-scale cloud), Lalao’ (Starting), Alemet (Formosan fire-thorn), Mao’ way (Margaret rotang palm), Mao’ rac (strict discipline). Among them, three are named by plants, and others are related to male activities of wild training and disciplinary work.

Ilisin is the time to train young males as well as learning wild plants. I try to further connect the plant names with common

naming in male, female, and tribal age-grades. Male names include: fonga (sweet potato) 、kaopih (sweet potato leaves) 、tali (taro) 、koa (papaya) 、kilang (tree) 等。女子名用panay (upland rice) 、tipos (paddy rice) 、hafay (millet) 、ʼʼliʼ (white cogongrass) 、tefi (hyacinth bean) 、lala (bean) 、kamaya (Taiwan persimmon) 、kelio (ramie) , etc. There are also names by farming activity, festival, or important product, such as male names like kolas (rice harvest) 、cangra (spring) etc, and female names like lisin (rituals) 、saomah (weeding) 、sera (earth) 、epah (wine) etc.

Here I would like to discuss the names related to age-grades. We have mentioned that northern Amis age-grades are named by a heritage naming system. The names include fangas (China berry) alemet (Formosan fire-thorn), and o' way (Margaret rotang palm). In Malan or Atolan of southern Amis tribes, the age-grade names are based on creative name system. Every three or five years, the authoritative elders will name the newly-initiated grade with the experience, quality, or special event of the group members. As to the mix naming system adopted between the two kinds, there are also plants used for slal. It includes La-Koa (rice paper-plant), La-folo (bamboo), La-lamay (Spirogyra), Lafangs (China berry), and Mao' way (Margaret rotang palm).

Based on such principle, we find that names for individuals plants based on everyday life experienced, staple food, or plants around the household area. On the contrary, names for age-grades are usually plants grown in the wild. Whether there is more meaning in the differences or not need further comparison and discussion.

Nowadays, harvest festival has become the most attractive festival of Amis to the outside tourists. Tafalon tribe holds its harvest festival for consecutive nine days, including the deceased comforting activities among slal members, ceremonious palimo act (younger female in the ritual to toast wine in honor of the elders); Kiwit tribe counts its harvest festival from a month ago



by komolis (fish catching) activity; Saniwan tribe retains a complete set of songs for summoning, entertaining, and sending off ancestors; Atolan tribe calls it kiloma' an, it has the strict training on youngster pakalonay; Fataan tribe holds harvest ritual for seven days, and Cepo tribe for five days. However, the tradition-laden tribe Lidaw, with its famous shaman practice, only has one weekend as the harvest festival nowadays. The ritual of Ciwidian leads us to a general ground of such comparative perspective, and leaves us to ponder on the really meaning of routinized practice of such ritual with local government' s support.



既見傳承Mirecok

The tradition of shamanic practice: Mirecok

9月里漏

September
Lidaw



阿美族相信萬物有靈，自然界存在各種kawas（鬼神精靈），人死後前往toas（祖靈）居住之地，時刻照護庇佑後代子孫。介於世俗和神靈之間，由sikawasay負責kawas祭祀、召喚toas回來接受沐浴饗食等，si-加於字首，為擁有的意思，si-kawas-ay意即擁有鬼神的人或具有鬼神能力的人，有人則翻成巫師或祭師。



會成為sikawasay，常見多是因為adada（生病）一查無病因、久病難醫或是無法可醫，在艱辛的求診過程，經過資深巫師的判斷，確認病因是過去家族所祭拜的kawas，尋求後代承嗣所致，因此巫師們常自憐的稱自己為makawasay，意即進入kawasan（靈界）的人。身為巫師，平時得嚴格遵守諸多食物禁忌，以維持身體潔淨。

以保存阿美族傳統信仰最為完整的Lidaw部落來看，整年度下來，村民至少有二百餘日，身處於各項paising（禁忌）之中，透過儀式的按時舉行，年中行事才得推移向前。而除開這些歲時祭儀，各家戶平日亦會不定時委託sikawasay，協助執行祛病、饗食祖先、建屋落成除穢，或偶而發生的喪事招魂等儀式。

通常任何儀式開始前，委託者必須備妥祭品—toron（糯米或小米製的麻糬）、icep檳榔、fila荖葉、epa酒等，幾乎是各式祭儀裡的必備元素—而根據不同的祭祀對象和目的，還須準備其他的輔助植物（有的甚至具明確採摘地點和生長方向限制），一切就緒，sikawasay方借助這些植物的特殊作用或力量，確保祭儀順利和有效執行。

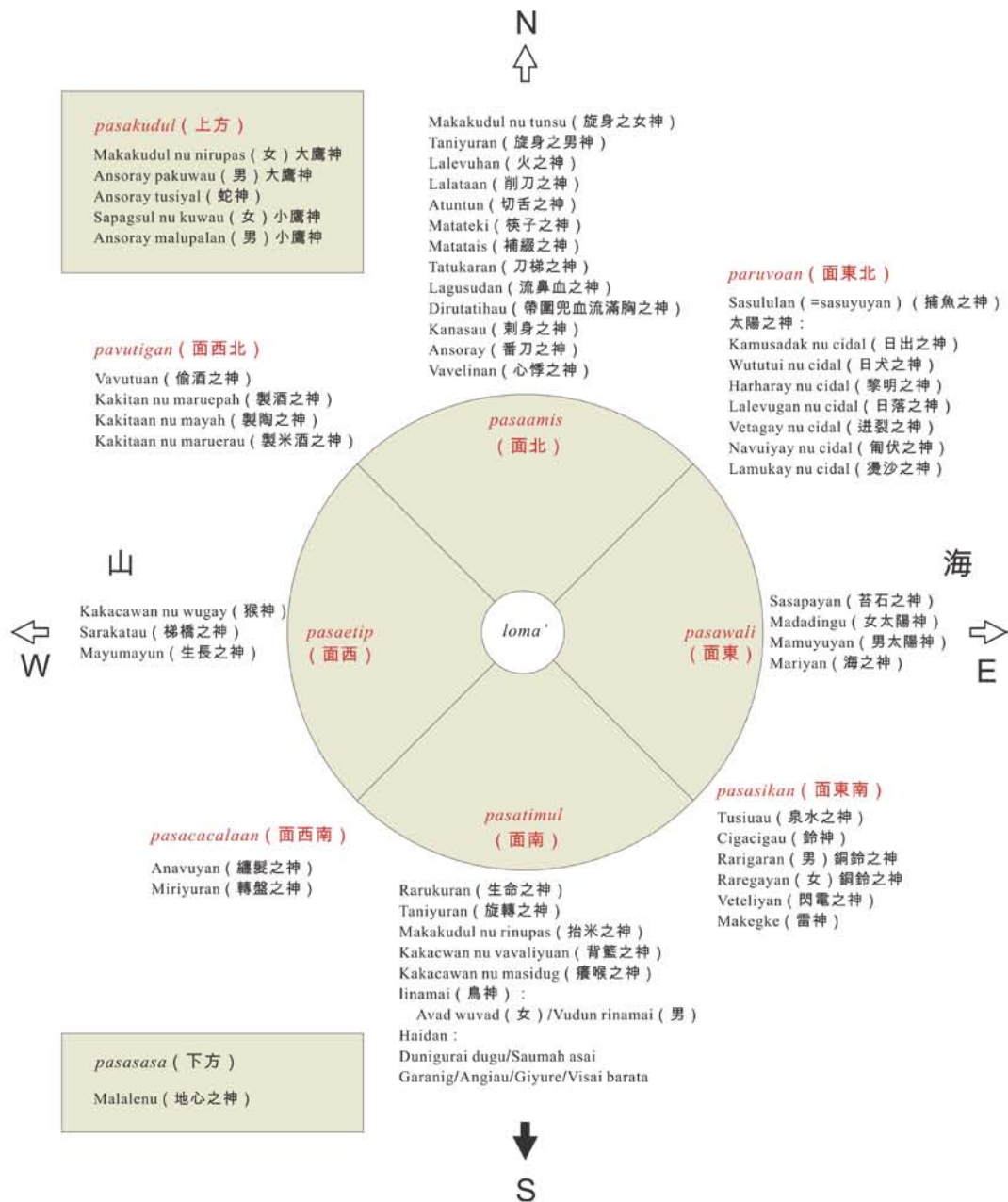
一年的操忙辛勞，到每年九月下旬，sikawasay會舉行自己巫師專屬的祭典，稱mirecok，主要的目的，在於各巫師祭拜自己和家族擁有的kawas，並藉此增強自己的法力。Lidaw目前還保存非常細密的神譜名稱和方位描述，這些kawas位於四面八方，關照著人間的一舉一動。

研究者曾歸納整理，提出kawas所屬各方位，有著一定的邏輯規則—凡與祖先起源、太陽和氣候有關的kawas位於東方（包括東偏北、東偏南位置），西方則為與作物生長及釀酒等工作有關的kawas，北方是外來文明，包括刀、火、筷子、縫紉等技術的kawas。而南方，則是掌管生命女神Dongi們居住的地方。換句話說，東方為祖靈與人死亡的歸宿方向，西方祈求農作物的生長與繁衍，南方是創造生命，北方則是文化蘊生，而每個sikawasay則透過血脈和家族，承嗣著不同的kawas。Mirecok一整天下來，即由伙伴陪同著，進行自己所屬kawas群的巡禮祭拜之路。

據sikawasay說法，calay是一種肉眼幾乎看不到，半透明、會黏手，像是蜘蛛絲的線。前往kawas所居住的世界進行巡禮，必須祈求Dongi女神給予calay的幫助，如此一來，才能走在正確的路上。而路這個概念，不僅是sikawasay，也無時無刻存在阿美族老人家的理解裡頭—i cowa ko lalan（路在哪裡？）、o' lalan ko epah（酒是我們的路），只有透過走在正確的路上，一遍又一遍走著過去祖先走過的路，那麼文化才有傳承下來的可能。

Lidaw的sikawasay仍然堅持走在祖先走過的路上，因為如此，我們才得以透過這扇窗戶，看到過去阿美族人的風景，知道來時以及未來的路該往那邊走下去。





引自《靈路上的音樂》，巴耐·母路整理，表格沿用其記錄的拼音方式
 Cited from Music on the Spiritual Road, arranged and list by Banai Mulu



The tradition of shamanic practice: Mirecok

既見傳承Mirecok

September,
Village: Lidaw



Traditional Amis people believe in animism. Various kawas (spirits) are in the nature, and once a person dies will go to the territory of toas (ancestral spirit), which can constantly visit back to the living. Between living and the spirit world, a shaman group called “sikawasay” is responsible to the worship and calling toas back for offering. The prefix “si- “ means “owning something,” and si-kawas-ay means people with the capacity to be with spirits or calling the spirits. It is generally understood as shaman.

To become a Sikawasay is mostly because specific kinds of “adada” (sickness). It is usually incurable by regular medicine and not by common causes. After diagnosed by experiences Sikawasay, it is determined that the sickness is caused by the need of family kawas, which is looking for the worshiper for them. As a makawasay (people enter the spiritual world), there are lots of taboos to observe in order to keep themselves clean.

Lidaw village has the most complete traditional ritual practice among Amis tribes. There are about 200 days in a year that is under the condition of “paising” (taboo). Other than specific ritual periods,



every household also intermittently needs Sikawasay for dealing with illness, offer ancestors, clean up the newly built house, or funeral rituals.

Before the ritual is carried out, villagers need to prepare standard offerings: toron (sticky rice or millet cake), icep (betelnut), fila (betel pepper), epa' (rice wine). Based on different purpose of the ritual, there are assistant plants to be prepared (shaman sometimes even specifies the location or the direction of the plant). When everything is prepared, Sikawasay will carry on by the power of these plants to ensure the effectiveness of a ritual.

Every year in the late September, Sikawasay will hold a series of individual rituals for the sake of their own good called mirecuk. The main purpose of mirecuk is to let every shaman worship the kawas carried by themselves or by their families, and in such way to renew the spiritual power and connection. Shaman in Lidaw still keeps very detailed knowledge about deity names and directions to worship. These kawas are from different direction to care the lives in Lidaw.

Researchers have pointed out, that every kawas has its specific corner or direction, which follows specific rules: kawas of ancestral origin, sun, and climate related locate at the East, kawas about plantation and brewry locate at the West, from the North are kawas representing outside techniques or skill power such as knife, firecracker, chopstick, stitch, etc. At the South, it is mainly the direction of life-giving female spirit Dongi. In other words, East is the ancestral and returning direction after death, West is the plantation and crops growth related direction, South is the life-creating side, and North is the encountering of cultures. Every Sikawasay is based on his/her own lineage and family trace to "inherit" different kawas. The purpose of a whole day ritual of mirecuk is particularly devoted to all history-laden and life-generating "road" to the realm of kawas.

According to Sikawasay, "calay" is an invisible, transparent, and sticky string that feels like silk produced by spiders. In order to go to the realm of kawas, Sikawasay have to ask calay as their lalan (literally means road) from the female spirit Dongi. This will guarantee the correct way to the spiritual world. Not only adopted by Sikawasay, most Amis elders also apply such concept in their

daily life—such as “i cowa ko lalan?” or “o’ lalan ko epah” (rice wine is our road). Only stepping on the collect road and over and over again to the ancestral path, the heritage of culture is then possible, to Sikawasay, to the Amis, and too all our humble researchers.

The Sikawasay of Lidaw still insist to walk on the road their ancestors have created. Because of such insist, we can then understand the landscape of the past through Amis’ window of life, and also learn how to continue to the future.







卷二

植物事典

Part 2 Uses of Plants



祭儀中的植物

Lidaw部落sikawasay祭儀中常見的植物，葉片方面有香蕉、生薑、檳榔、荖葉，特定儀式採用臺灣芒或杜虹花，南邊有些部落的sikawasay會用到柚葉，協助村民執行mipolpol（拍拂不潔祛病）儀式；果實最常見使用的是檳榔，每年mifahfah（驅疫祭）時，則採摘未成熟的柚子滾地拍趕，象徵受驅逐的Takenawan（貧窮之神）；莖幹方面則使用香蕉和刺竹，其中刺竹取朝東生長的竹節，剖成竹篾後，由竹占師執行e' raw（竹占）儀式。

祭儀中使用的植物，多在日常生活周遭，取得不致太過困難，似乎每種植物皆有深刻的象徵意涵，根據使用情境歸納出：

香蕉葉papa no paoli—拍拂、招請、承接

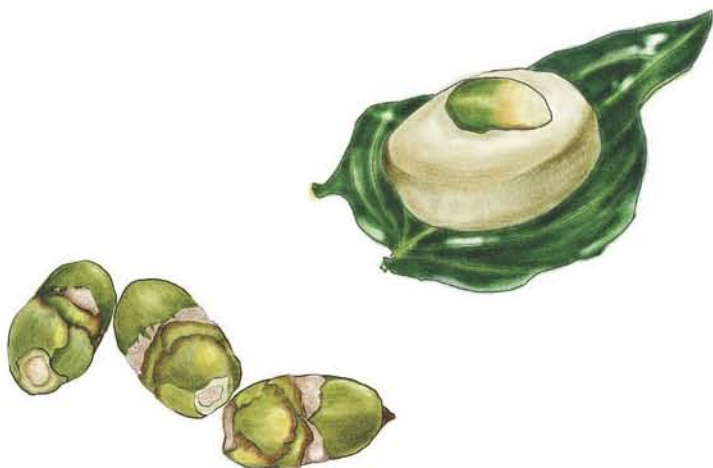
生薑taiyo，法力來源—避邪

檳榔葉papa no icep—掃除。檳榔子icep—轉替、盛放

荖葉fila—承載、送入

臺灣芒hinaliti'—劃分、隔斷

杜虹花papa no cihak—清醒



In general, the plants that are used in Amis rituals are readily available in their surroundings. Leaves of banana tree, ginger, betel palm, and betel pepper are commonly used in rituals in the Lidaw tribe. Some southern tribes replace banana leaves with shaddock leaves to wipe away illness and contaminants. Leaves of Chinese silvergrass and Formosan beauty-berry are also used in certain rituals. The Amis roll unripe shaddocks on the ground and beat and chase after them to symbolize driving out pests and plant diseases during the annual mifahfah ritual. In addition to leaves, stems of banana trees and thorny bamboos also have ritual usage. Stems of thorny bamboo that grow to the east are cut into thin strips in bamboo divination called e'raw.

Every ritual plant has its own meanings and usages:

- Banana leave (papa no paoli): Brushing away contaminants to the soul; summoning and receiving wandering souls and spirits.
- Ginger (taiyo): Source of magical power.
- Betel leave (papa no icep): Brushing away contaminants to the soul.
- Betel nut (icep): Substitutes for human bodies for spirits to attach to.
- Betel pepper leave (fila): Receiving the spirits; putting lost souls back into human bodies.
- Chinese silvergrass (hinaliti'): Making a space for the soul in order to separate it from contaminants and the dead and to maintain its shape.
- Formosan beauty-berry (papa no cihak): Awaking and refreshing the soul so that it won' t wander away.





香蕉

[學名] *Musa sapientum* L.

[阿美名] paoli

[英文名] Banana

[科名] Musaceae 芭蕉科

香蕉葉papa no paoli—拍拂、招請、承接

過去幾乎各家都有種植，主要供做水果。香蕉莖稱lo'o，連花苞也有專屬locoi稱呼，在有些部落，lo'o含括香蕉全株，paoli則專指香蕉果實。

香蕉葉子普遍用在諸多儀式，割取的人會特別挑朝東生長的完整葉片，族人相信東方為日出方向，也是toas（祖靈）歸屬之處，這樣的蕉葉，執行儀式特別有效。

Banana

Musaceae



檳榔

[學名] *Areca catechu* L.

[阿美名] icep

[英文名] Betel nut

[科名] Palmae 棕櫚科



檳榔葉papa no icep—掃除。檳榔子icep—轉替、盛放

任何儀式執行都少不了檳榔和荖葉。除作為祭品，呈祀給kawas或toas，在miang[^]ang to 'adingo（召回靈魂）的治病儀式，檳榔用來承接Dongi女神賜予tasoi（甘露水），sikawasay轉動檳榔由病人頭頂灌入，以安定尋回病人adingo（靈魂）。而檳榔葉子，儀式中作為掃除之用，包括miasik to loma'（家屋落成除穢）或每年小米採收前的mifahfah（驅疫祭儀）。

Betel nut
Palmae



薑

[學名] *Zingiber officinale* Rosc.

[阿美名] taiyo

[英文名] Ginger

[科名] Zingiberaceae 薑科

Ginger

Zingiberaceae



生薑 taiyo，法力來源—避邪

通常栽植於已種過其他作物的田裡，收成薑後該土地無法種植其他作物，暫時廢棄休耕，幾年後再度利用。族人相信薑能提昇kawas並具有避邪能力。在talatoas（祖靈祭）時，Sikawasay時刻不離薑葉，村民們也會準備一小把隨身攜帶，過程中不斷拍拂身體，避免沾染靈界的不潔。





Chinese silvergrass
Poaceae



臺灣芒

[學名] *Miscanthus sinensis* Anders. var. *formosanus* Hack.

[阿美名] hinaliti'

[英文名] Chinese silvergrass

[科名] Poaceae 禾本科

台灣芒hinaliti' — 隔斷

阿美族區別出penen和hinaliti' 兩種植物，促成植物學者從五節芒中區分出臺灣芒。

著名Alikakay神話傳說，提到勇士們在Malataw協助下，以hinaliti' 擊潰作亂的巨人，後來演變成男子到了野外，取hinaliti' 捆绑porong結界用以阻擋kawas侵擾，甚至更變成獵區劃分的依據。



杜虹花

[學名] *Callicarpa formosana* Rolfe

[阿美名] cihak

[英文名] Formosan beauty-berry

[科名] Verbenaceae 馬鞭草科

杜虹花papa no cihak—清醒

杜虹花屬於開闊地的先驅灌木。每年四月左右開粉紅色小花，成熟時滿樹紫色果實，因此又稱臺灣紫珠。過去老人家會取其樹皮作為荖藤的替代品，搭配檳榔食用，口感略為辛辣。在儀式中使用到cihak，據說是讓疲憊的身心得到恢復，並藉由揮打枝葉，保持頭腦清醒。

Formosan beauty-berry
Verbenaceae





Shaddock

Rutaceae

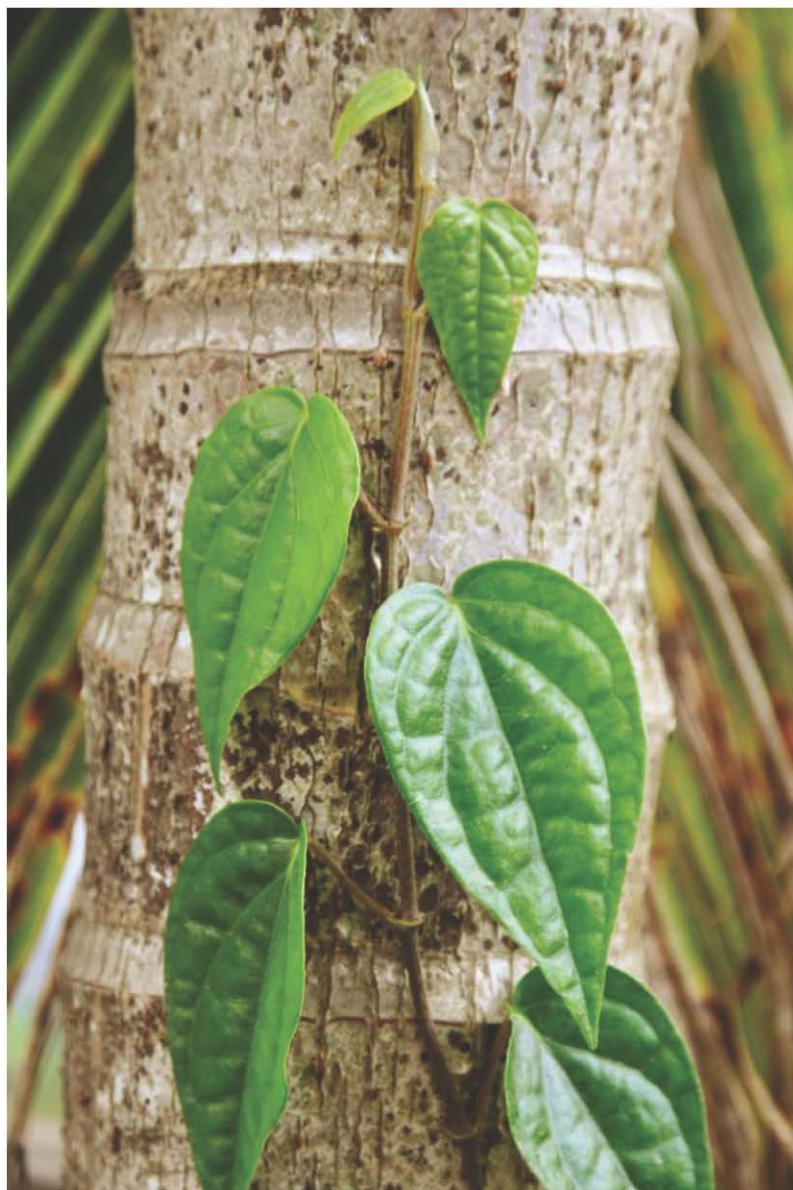
柚

[學名] *Citrus grandis* Osbeck

[阿美名] mami

[英文名] Shaddock, Pummelo

[科名] Rutaceae 芸香科



Betel pepper
Piperaceae



荖葉

[學名] *Piper betle* L.

[阿美名] fila

[英文名] Betel pepper

[科名] Piperaceae 胡椒科



阿美族居住於平原或淺山麓地帶，相較於他族在狩獵上較不特出，獵物有鳥禽、飛鼠、山羌和山豬，禁忌捕捉猴子和黑熊。

通常年老獵人會取latay（月橘）或lalilec（九芎）製弓，所製弓身強韌而有彈性，在海岸山脈幾處，長有玉山箭竹，為較佳的製箭材料，平常則用取得容易的包籜矢竹代替。近年由於熱衷從太魯閣族發起的射箭運動，特別在箭筒、箭架上，發展出精美的裝飾工藝。而陷木則多在獵區就地取材，像獵捕竹雞這類鳥禽，採用區內較細的刺竹。特別一提的是folao'law（細葉鰻頭果），據說是陷木的極佳材料，用作陷阱可保彈性達三個月。

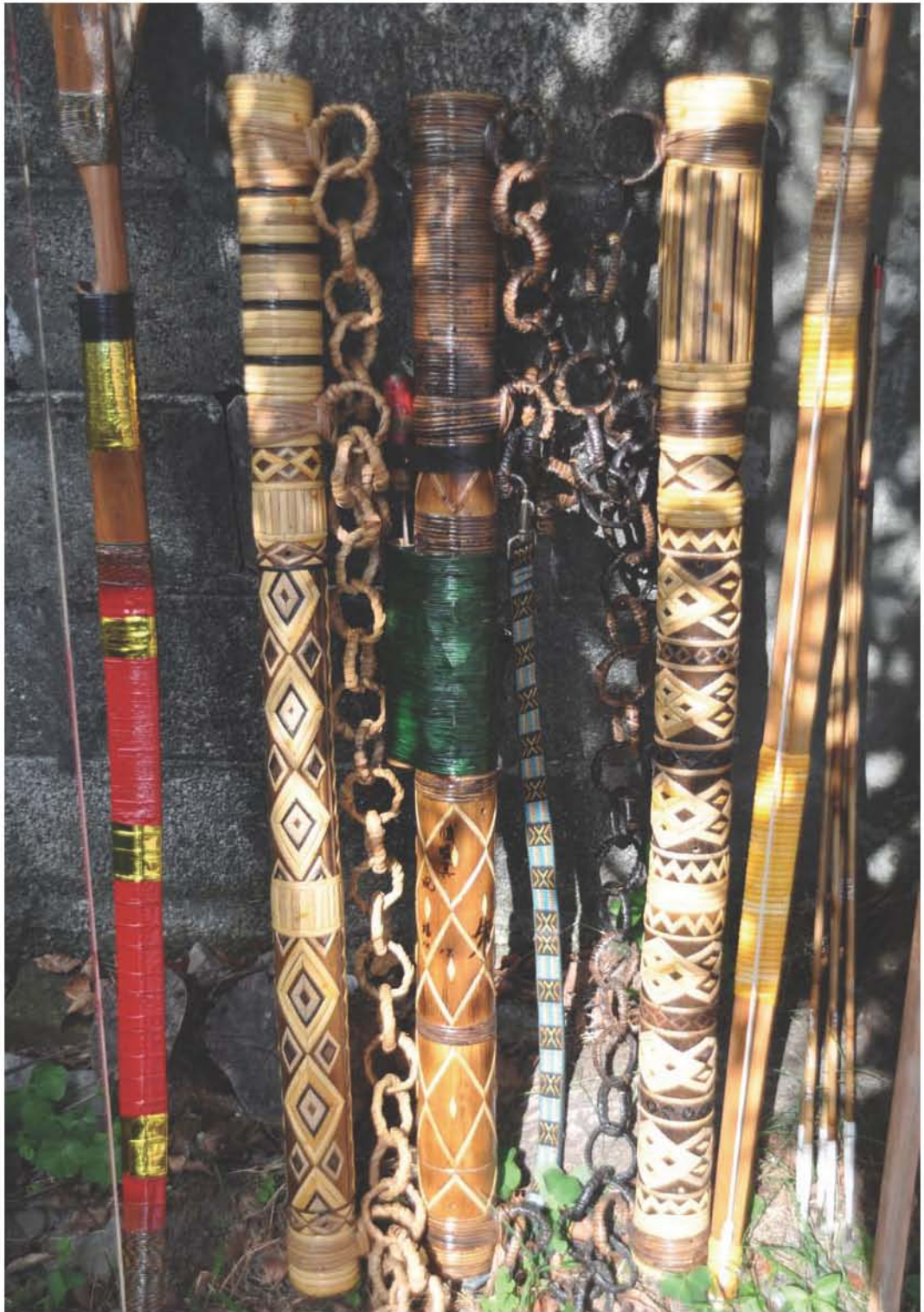
更早以前，縱谷仍有梅花鹿蹤跡，老人家回憶過去是靠rorang（構樹）與haloma（鱗球花）等植物，依其生長與分佈追蹤獵物，阿美語稱malonen。

The Amis do not rely on hunting as much as other tribes. They live on the plains or foothills and hunt birds, flying squirrels, Formosan muntjacs, and wild boars. They do not hunt monkeys and black bears.

Latay (common jasmine orange) and lalilec (Subcostate crape Myrtle) make strong and flexible bows. Yushan canes found in the coastal mountains are considered ideal material for arrows. However, arrows are usually made of usawa cane since they are easier to obtain. In recent years, shooting with arrow and bow has become a popular sport and decorations on hunting tools, especially arrow tubes, have been elaborated. To make traps, hunters usually use the materials that are readily available. Thorny cane, for example, can make bird traps. folao'law (common glochidion) is said to be ideal for making traps that can stay flexible for more than three months.

Plants not only provide the materials for hunting tools. When Formosan sika deers still roamed the coastal valley, hunters used to observe the growth cycle and distribution of certain plants such as rorang (paper mulberry) and haloma (lepidagathis formosensis) to trace them. This method is called malonen.







玉山箭竹

[學名] *Yu shania niitakayamensis* (Hayata) Keng f.

[阿美名] fangyaw

[英文名] Yushan cane

[科名] Poaceae 禾本科

狩獵-製箭

常吃的箭筍取自fol（包籐矢竹），生長於海岸山脈或中央山脈淺山麓地帶，用作箭材不容易烤直，以維持射程準確。因此多會千方求得fangyaw（玉山箭竹）使用。海岸山脈只有幾處長有玉山箭竹，餘則用其他物資與troko（太魯閣族）交換。

Yushan cane

Poaceae



月橘

[學名] *Murraya paniculata* (L.) Jack.

[阿美名] latay

[英文名] Common jasmine orange

[科名] Rutaceae 芸香科

狩獵

月橘又稱七里香，花開白色香氣遠播，野生於低海拔山區。由於其材質細緻極具彈性，為上好製弓材料。但因生長較慢，長至所需粗徑常供不應求（弓型微彎，常是整木削製），有時也取九芎或番石榴的材質代替。較細的月橘，也用來製作農具、鋤柄等。

Common jasmine orange

Rutaceae



構樹

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

[阿美名] rorang

[英文名] Paper mulberry

[科名] Moraceae 桑科

Paper mulberry
Moraceae



狩獵-追蹤

構樹毛絨紙質的樹葉，為野生梅花鹿最愛，過去獵人據以追獲鹿蹤。另外其成熟的漿果，常吸引許多野生鳥類，小孩也摘取作為零食。而其柔荑花序未熟時，婦女採摘回家作為菜餚。此外構樹的樹皮纖維堅韌，小股用作繩索綑綁，環剝後可搥製成樹皮布，廣見於各南島族群。





細葉饅頭果

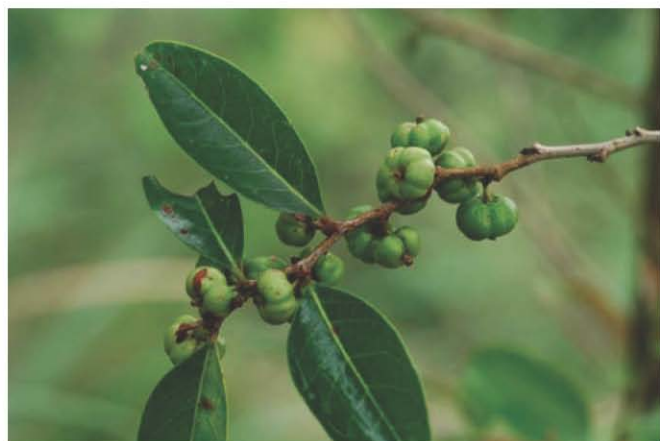
[學名] *Glochidion rubrum* Blume

[阿美名] folao'law

[英文名] Common Glochidion

[科名] Euphorbiaceae 大戟科

Common Glochidion
Euphorbiaceae





心筍與豆子

阿美族對rokec（心筍）和lala（豆子）情有獨鍾，許多祭典常特別強調禁吃dateng（青菜）和foting（魚），惟前兩者例外。

rokec是所有植物髓心通稱，辨別時再特別加上植物名稱於後，比如rokec no o' way（黃藤心）、rokec no falidas（山棕心）、rokec no palingad（林投心）等。不過也有專名的例子，如penen（五節芒）和hinaliti'（臺灣芒）剝出的芒心，另外稱為hinapelo'，林投心在南勢阿美稱teroc等。如平時無特別所指，提到rokec族人會直接聯想為黃藤心，顯見其重要。其他可剝出髓心的植物，包括icep（檳榔）、臺灣海棗、paoli（香蕉）等，筍的部分則有箭竹、孟宗竹、綠竹、蘆筍及筊白筍等。

阿美語裡lala 泛指所有豆類，只要過去或較為早期即常栽種者，幾乎有其專名，後來引進者則無。常見阿美名和中文名能相互對照者，包括fataan（樹豆）、tefi（鵲豆）、naliwac（綠豆）、fadas（翼豆）等；過去古老豆種，無法對應中文名者，則有lihon、lomingay、fayilo' 等。平時常吃的還有karitan（豇豆）、敏豆、四季豆。特別一提，雖然許多儀式都沒有豆子的禁忌，但lihon和fadas兩種，對巫師而言卻不能食用，而且終生避忌。



Rokec is the cover term for all bamboo shoots and (edible) inner pith of plants. To differentiate different kinds, names of the plants are added. For example, pith of rattan (Margaret rotang palm) is rokec no o' way, of Formosan sugar palm is rokec no falids, and of thatch pandanus is rokec no paringad. However, there are exceptions. Inner cores of silvergrass are called hinabelo' and the Nanshih Amis refer to pith of thatch pandanus as teroc. When not specified, rokec usually refers to pith of rattan. Other plants whose stems' piths are edible are betel palms, Taiwanese date palms, and banana trees. As for bamboo shoots, the Amis eat Usawa cane, maso bamboo, green bamboo, asparagus, and water rice.

Beans are called lala in Amis. Almost all beans that have been domesticated in the past have Amis names but introduced species don' t. Pigeon pea, hyacinth bean, mung bean, winged bean are among the species that have Chinese names. Others such as lihon, lomingay, and fayilo' have no Chinese equivalents. In addition, yardlong bean, kidney bean, and snap bean are also eaten. While there are no food taboos regarding beans in most rituals, shamans are not allowed to eat lihon and fadas (winged bean) and should avoid them all their life.



lihon



lomingay



形似短菜豆而有紅色火紋，阿美族人特稱其為火豆、火龍豆，因產期從八月開始，也有稱八月豆，推測為引進或園藝改良種。

The pods of August beans have red fire-shaped pattern. Therefore, the Amis sometimes call them fire beans or fire dragon beans. They are also called August beans because they ripen in August. They might be introduced species.





Tree bean
Fabaceae



樹豆

[學名] *Cajanus cajan* (L.) Millsp.

[阿美名] fataan

[英文名] Pigeon pea, Tree bean

[科名] Fabaceae 豆科

食材

樹豆生長迅速，每年約七、八月種下，年底到隔年年初即可採收，其植株可達一、二公尺，由於耐乾旱貧瘠特性毋須特別照料，族人常栽植於住屋、旱田周邊。而其鮮豆或乾豆均可採收食用，乾豆種子按不同品系，有黑、白、灰、棕或斑紋之分，曬乾極耐儲存。

翼豆

[學名] *Psophocarpus tetragonolobus* (L.) DC.

[阿美名] fadas

[英文名] Winged bean, Goa bean

[科名] Fabaceae 豆科

Winged bean

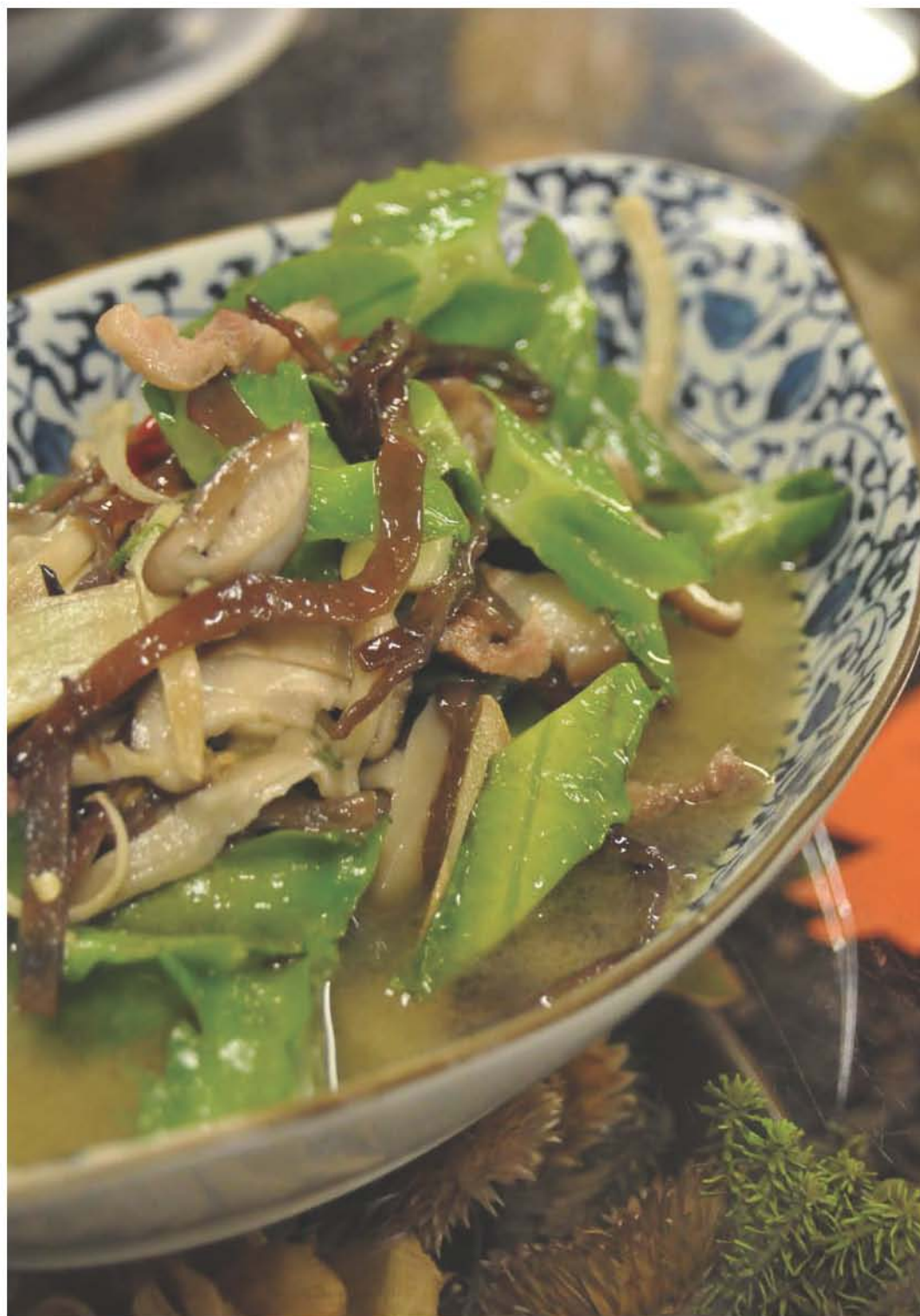
Fabaceae



食材

翼豆又稱角豆、楊桃豆，有綠色與紫色兩種，青嫩時採摘可連豆莢一起煮或炒食，每年約8、9月下種，約一個半月可持續採收，其四稜的獨特形狀，加上嫩脆口感，常讓初次品嚐的人驚豔。據說翼豆早在1910年由日人引進栽培，在阿美族翼豆已衍申特殊意義，另一種為古老的栽培豆lihon同為sikawasay終生禁食之物。





林投

[學名] *Pandanus odoratissimus* L. f.

[阿美名] palingad

[英文名] Thatch pandanus, Screw pine

[科名] Pandanaceae 露兜樹科

食材・用具

林投的葉緣及葉背中肋長滿銳刺，雖然如此，族人仍喜歡採其髓心作為菜餚，有些部落稱為teroc。林投葉去刺後，可交叉編製為alifonfon，阿里鳳凰是一種可填塞米飯煮熟的編織容器，工作時方便帶至野外。

Thatch pandanus Pandanaceae





五節芒

[學名] *Miscanthus floridulus* (Labill.) Warb. ex K. Schum. & Lauterb.

[阿美名] penen

[英文名] Apanese silvergrass

[科名] Poaceae 禾本科

食材，建材

在族人認知裡，penen（五節芒）常為婦女採摘，因而儀式僅使用hinaliti'（臺灣芒），但其實hinaliti'仍可剝出較細的rokec（髓心），而兩種可食的髓心都稱為hinapeloh。每年九月penen的花苞還未綻放時，族人也會摘取食用，稱為foaki。等到莖桿更老，則取其曬乾編製成壁片，建屋使用。

Apanese silvergrass
Poaceae







包籐矢竹

[學名] *Arundinaria usawai* Hayata

[阿美名] fol

[英文名] Usawa cane

[科名] Poaceae 禾本科

食材・建材

三月春雨過後，野生包籐矢竹新筍茂盛生長，族人到海岸山脈採摘，煮湯或直接烤熟來吃，味道鮮美令人難忘。箭筍阿美語稱laci，目前在光復太巴塢、瑞穗、萬榮，已有規模種植，成為當地特產。至於較老的箭竹，由於纖維硬化，族人取其莖桿，以藤皮細編成住屋的壁片或床面。

Usawa cane
Poaceae





阿美族人興建住屋，會先在預定位置夯實地基，接著才挖掘出柱洞，屋柱和樑的主要材料，包括烏心石、樟、毛柿、fangas（苦楝）、烏臼、alilem（小葉桑）等種類堅硬、不易受潮腐爛的木材。有時小屋或工寮會用筆筒樹當支柱，也有直接使用竹子的情形。樑和柱相交的接點，則先削出承接凹槽，套上樺頭後，以藤皮仔細束緊綁紮。

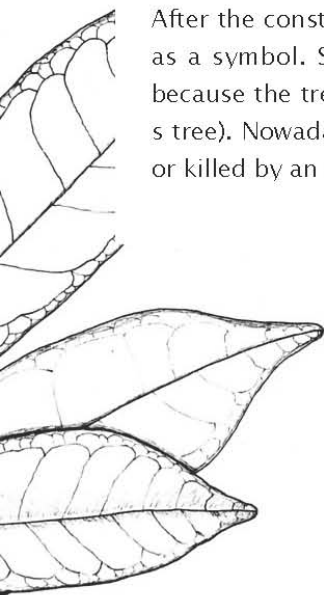
至於牆壁則取fol（箭竹）或penen（五節芒）莖桿，以藤皮上下穿梭後編製成面牆，不過也有用檳榔樹幹或木板者，屋頂上完桁架，最後取晾曬好的^Ali' 層層覆蓋。

過去個人建屋多仰賴lilio（換工群體）互助，收集材料並協同作業，若是部落會所，則由族眾全員出動。當我們試圖拼湊部落風景，則有幾種樹不得不特別提出，matoasay（老人家）時常提起，家屋旁必種哪些樹種—apalo（麵包樹）、icep（檳榔）、fila（檳榔）、kamaya（毛柿）、koawi（台東龍眼）、loliang（山刺番荔枝）、paoli（香蕉）、koa（木瓜）等。有些地方甚至認為種了apalo才算是kakitaan（有錢或富有人家）的象徵。過去許多集會所周邊，會著意栽植一或數棵tafingad（刺桐）作為標記，有人說是kawas no kilang（魔鬼之樹），據說與過去的馘首習俗有關，如今卻許多部落已砍伐殆盡，加上近年外來入侵刺桐釉小蜂危害嚴重，許多老樹已然不存。



Formosan Michelia, Camphor wood, Taiwan ebony, fangas (China berry), Chinese tallow tree, and alilem (small-leaved mulberry) provide hard and water-resistant building materials. They are the primary choices for columns. However, sometimes small huts would use bamboo or common tree fern for support. The frame is held together with ropes made of the skin of rattan. Stems of fol (thorny bamboo) and penen (Japanese silvergrass) are woven with the skin of rattan to make walls. The main roofing material is dried white cogongrass.

In the past, the Amis relied on a system of labor exchange to collect materials and construct houses. To mark a place as a dwelling place, the Amis would plant trees after they build their house. This process of making a place home is called *naloma'an*. Bread fruit tree, betel palm, Taiwan ebony, Fiji longan, mountain soursop, banana tree, and papaya tree were often found in Amis tribes in the past because they were the kinds chosen to be planted near houses. In some tribes, only those with bread fruit trees planted nearby are considered rich people's houses. The entire tribe comes together to build the tribal gathering house. After the construction is done, Indian coral trees would be planted as a symbol. Some say it is related to the head hunting custom because the tree is also known as "kawas no kilang" (the devil's tree). Nowadays, many "devil trees" have either been cut down or killed by an alien insect pest.





苦楝

[學名] *Melia azedarach* Linn.

[阿美名] fangas

[英文名] China tree, China berry

[科名] Meliaceae 楝科

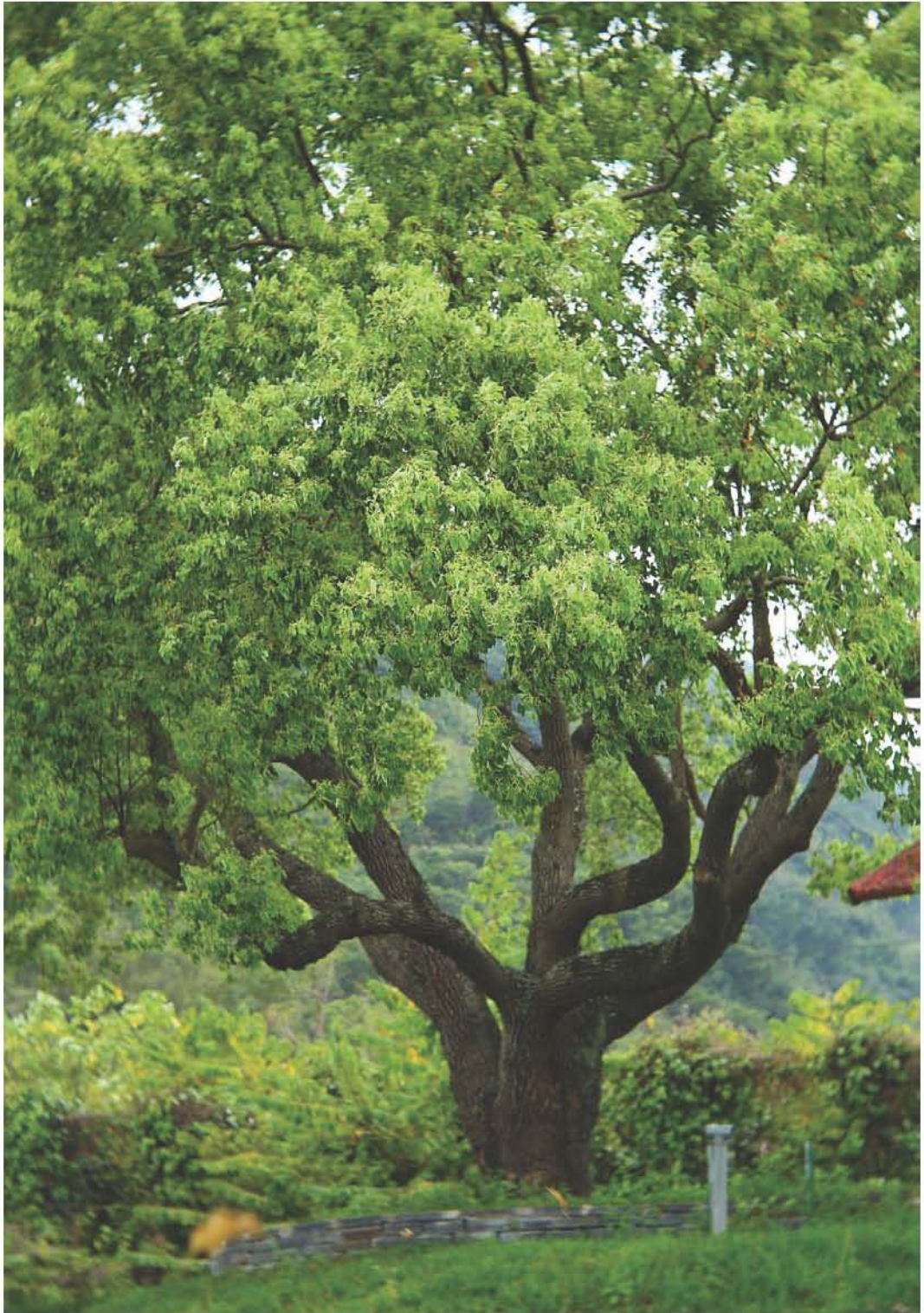
China tree

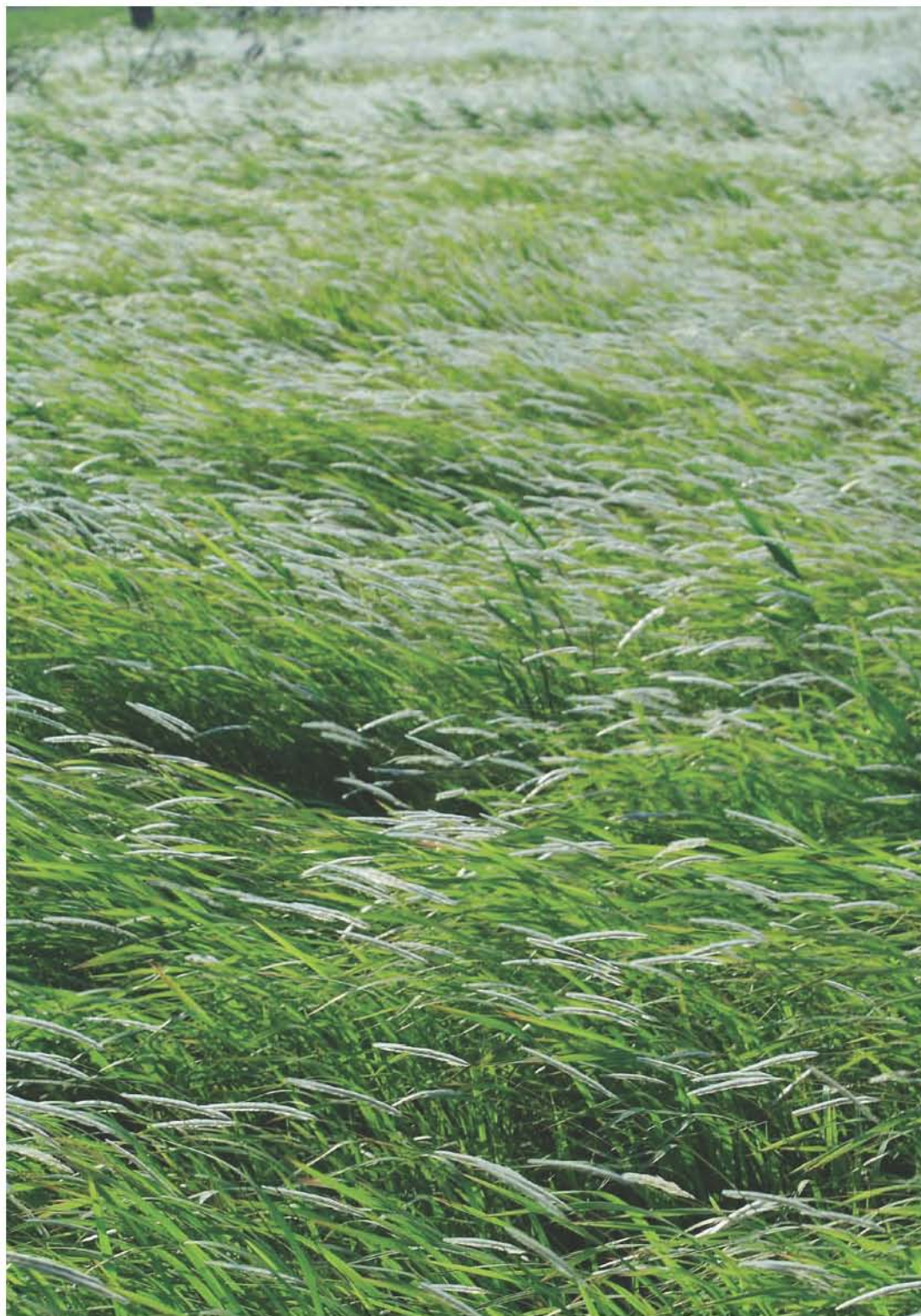
Meliaceae



建材・玩具

fangas (苦楝) 本身具毒蟲效果，以往族人建屋，除取烏心石、樟樹外，也會以其為主要屋柱。苦楝生長迅速且花開時節顯眼分明，花淡紫色，樹皮呈灰褐色具明顯不規則深縱裂紋，野外經常可見，小孩會摘取其黃褐色果實，作為彈弓子彈。南勢阿美的年齡階級，有以Alafangas作為級名。





白茅

[學名] *Imperata cylindrica* (L.) P. Beauv. var. *major* (Nees)
C. E. Hubb. ex Hubb. & Vaughan

[阿美名] [^]li'

[英文名] White cogongrass, Lalang grass

[科名] Poaceae 禾本科

Lalang grass
Poaceae



建材

[^]li' (白茅) 為多年生草本，是過去族人建屋的主要屋頂覆材，收集時由lilio（換工群體）到河床或野外找尋，割下後就地曬乾，再捆紮成束運回。使用時一層一層披覆到屋頂用藤皮綁好。由於細密疊置，兼具些微防水功能，甚至可耐大雨侵襲，而每年的住屋修繕，則逐層添加上去。





麵包樹

[學名] *Artocarpus incisa* (Thunb.) L. f.

[阿美名] pacilo/apalo

[英文名] Bread fruit tree

[科名] Moraceae 桑科

象徵：命名，果樹

麵包樹於每年3月至4月抽出花苞，並於5月中陸續結實，果實7、8月成熟，族人會採摘煮湯食用。由於樹冠和根系發達開展，族人認為只有kakitaan（有家有田的人）才可種植，過去是老人家交代遷徙住屋時，必須攜帶種植的植物。剛結的麵包果有時會萎凋掉落，取來晾乾後燃燒，可作驅蚊之用。

Bread fruit tree

Moraceae



毛柿

[學名] *Diospyros philippensis* (Desr.) Gurke

[阿美名] kamaya

[英文名] Taiwan Ebony, Taiwan persimmon

[科名] Ebenaceae 柿樹科

建材，果樹

Kamaya（毛柿）在某些部落稱kapohongay（用布包裹），果實密生褐毛可隨水漂流，海岸原始林生長緩慢，樹勢強健，材質黑色而堅硬，是良好的屋柱材料，頭目亦取用作為權杖，通常古老家屋周遭會種植，也當做水果，根據李壬癸先生關於南島族群語言和植物遷徙的研究證據，推測透過kamaya等植物，或許可追溯當年傳播和遷徙路線。

Taiwan Ebony
Araliaceae





刺桐

[學名] *Erythrina variegata* L.

[阿美名] talingad

[英文名] Formosan beauty-berry

[科名] Fabaceae 豆科

工具・界木

刺桐屬落葉性大喬木，因枝幹長有硬棘而得名，春天時滿樹紅花。過去許多部落集會所多有種植，包括現存壽豐鄉光榮村、光復太巴塢西北活動中心，以及已遭砍伐的南昌、東昌、砂朥部落大刺桐樹。刺桐的材質寬鬆孔隙眾多，中喬木時特別適合刨製蒸斗，更老的刺桐則易遭蛀洞。近年飽受刺桐釉小蜂危害，幾乎所有刺桐難以倖免。

India coral tree
Fabaceae





仿西班牙建築大師Gaudi風格的新穎創意太巴塱聚會所前老刺桐

野菜與食用植物

阿美族人常自稱是「吃草的民族」，也有人戲稱有阿美族的地方一定寸草不留，雖為玩笑，卻也標榜族人豐富辨認野生食用植物的能力。

有些野菜的生長週期甚至因應人類農作種植空檔，迅速開花結完籽散播，**hinalomay**（山芥菜）就是最好例子，每年稻作二次收割，族人趁此時到田裡採摘。另外長得像墨綠小木耳的**nalepera**（葛仙米藻，又稱雨來菇、情人眼淚），生長在下過雨的短草地上。對於植物生長節氣的知識，左右採摘野菜的效率，初秋好吃的菅芒花苞稱**foaki**，用在調味的植物則有**tana**（食茱萸）及**emoc**（山肉桂）。因應市場需求，有些野菜逐漸轉植到田裡，這些包括產業化栽培的蔬菜**pako**（過溝菜蕨）、**lokot**（山蘇）、**o'way**（黃藤）、**kakorot**（山苦瓜）等。

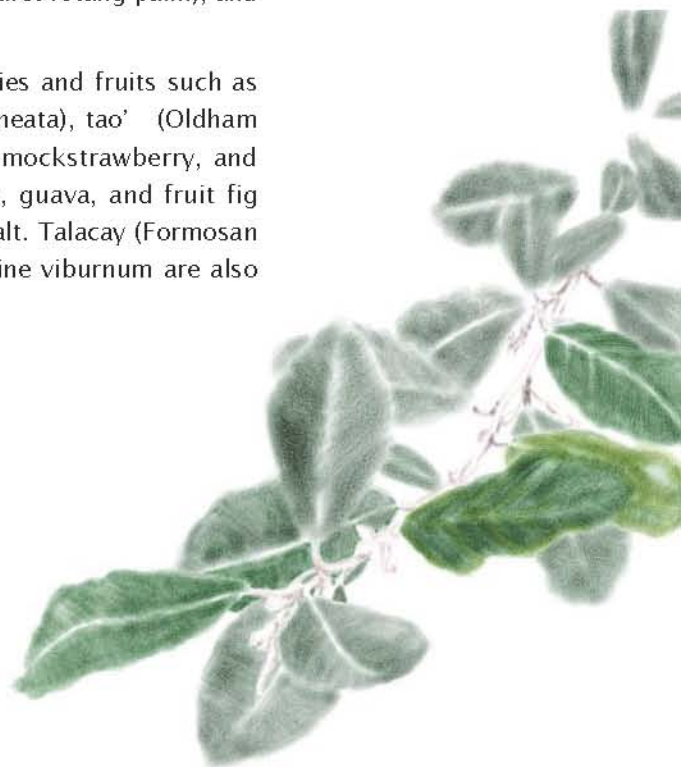
野外除供作菜餚的植物，老人家常津津樂道過去放牛時光，每到產季常能品嚐滿手的小野果—**alemet**（台東火刺木）、**kakohel'**（小葉黃鱈藤）、**tao'**（植梧）、**kamacal'**（刺莓）、蛇莓、檳榔懸鉤子等，甚至是採**fol'es**（羅氏鹽膚木）、番石榴、雀榕嫩葉揉鹽來吃。而**talacay**（大葉山欖）、**cengay**（菰莢）、**kanosolay**（呂宋莢迷）等也皆在零食之類。



The Amis often say that they are “herbivores” who would eat everything that grows on the ground. Although an exaggeration, this joke is a reflection of the extensive knowledge they have about edible plants.

The Amis knows when to collect different plants according to their growth cycles and characteristics. Some plants, such as hinalomay (whitlow), grow in the rice field between harvests. Nalepera, also known as “lover’s tear drops,” appear on grassy land after the rain. Foaki, flower buds of Japanese silvergrass, taste best in early fall. Tana (Alanthus prickly ash) and emoc (Taiwan cinnamon) can spice up food. Due to a growing market for edible plants, many have been cultivated in recent years. Paka (edible fern), lokot (bird’s-nest fern), o’ way (Margaret rotang palm), and kakorot (balsampear) are among them.

Elders also recall collecting seasonal berries and fruits such as alemet (fire-thorn), kakohel’ (Berchemia lineata), tao’ (Oldham Elaeagnus), kamacal’ (Taiwan raspberry), mockstrawberry, and Rubus. Leaves of fol’ es (roxburgh sumac), guava, and fruit fig tree make good snacks when rubbed with salt. Talacay (Formosan nato tree), cengay (China brier), and Philippine viburnum are also considered snacks.





fadas 翼豆

Phosphocarpus tetragonolobus (L.) DC.



tali no akak 野慈菇

Sogittaria trifolia L.



paho 水芋

Colocasia esculenta (L.) Schott



takacomoli 秋葵

Abelmoschus esculentus L. Moench



kenaw 蔞 (火蔥)

Allium chinense G. Don.



tafi 鵲豆

Lathyrus purpureus (L.) Sweet



kakorot 山苦瓜

Momordica charantia Linn. var. *abbreviata* Sieb.



taiyalin 紅茄

Solanum integrifolium Poir.



tali 芋

Colocasia esculenta (L.) Schott



hana notamola 南瓜花

Cucurbita moschata Duchesne ex Poir.



kilakil 構樹花序

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



sakato 瓦氏凤尾蕨
Pteris wallichiana Ag.



opaw 小葉碎米蕨
Cardamine flexuosa With.



cihin 野苋
Amaranthus viridis Linn.



lokot 南洋山蘇
Asplenium australasicum (J. Sm.) Hook.





kera 鴨兒腸
Stellaria aquatica (L.) Scop.



menal 昭和草
Crassocephalum crepidioides (Benth.) S. Moore



osale 蕺菜
Chenopodium serotinum Linn.



tatoken 龍葵
Solanum nigrum L.



kataongay 紫背草
Emilia sonchifolia (L.) DC. var. *javamica* (Burm. f.) Matfield



pako 過溝菜蕨
Pteridium aquilinum (L.) Kuhn subsp. *latiusculum* (Desv.) Shieh



papanosokoi 木鱗子
Momordica cochinchinensis (Lour.) Spreng.





Chinese onion
Liliaceae



薤

[學名] *Allium chinense* G. Don.

[阿美名] kenaw

[英文名] Chinese onion, Shallot

[科名] Liliaceae 百合科

食材

族人栽種kenaw（薤）的歷史悠久，但由於品系眾多，外來引種紛雜，農藝單位有時會稱阿美族的kenaw為火蔥或月眉蔥，由於在花蓮月眉地區生長良好且眾多，過去部落甚至據此命名。而後來引進的蔥、蒜、洋蔥，阿美語也都稱為kenaw，是sikawasay禁忌的食物。

龍葵

[學名] *Solanum nigrum* L.

[阿美名] tatoken

[英文名] Black nightshade

[科名] Solanaceae 茄科

Black nightshade
Solanaceae



食材

俗稱「黑甜仔菜」的tatoken（龍葵），生長遍佈低海拔平原或農地附近，由於毋須特別照料，加上煮湯或炒食皆可，成為普遍鄉間人家食用的野菜，族人通常取數種野菜混煮，形成特殊風味。而龍葵的黑色種子，除了小孩當作零食，老人家也會取來與葉搗爛，放入豢養的水牛鼻中，據說可以驅除喝水時侵入體內的水蛭。



豆瓣菜

[學名] *Nasturium officinale* R. Br.

[阿美名] cola

[英文名] Watercress

[科名] Cruciferae 十字花科

Watercress
Cruciferae



食材・野菜

豆瓣菜為引進外來種，但阿美族人普遍摘取食用，尤其是馬太鞍濕地區域，特別稱其為cola，有生長開展的意思，取其淺根匍匐，容易隨著水流蔓延。其他部落也有另稱為konanasay者，通常與濕地撈得的魚蝦同煮，或與薑絲清炒，滋味鮮美。





南洋山蘇

[學名] *Asplenium australasicum* (J. Sm.) Hook.

[阿美名] lokot

[英文名] Bird's nest fern

[科名] Aspleniaceae 鐵角蕨科

食材・野菜

lokot (山蘇) 俗稱鳥巢蕨，分南洋山蘇、臺灣山蘇及山蘇三種，前兩者生長於低海拔原始林或次生林內，後者生長在海拔較高處。族人取其卷曲的嫩葉食用，以往多清煮或加魚乾，後來發展一系列炒食方式，由於口感鮮脆頗受其他族群青睞，成為最普遍栽植的野菜，其中尤以南洋山蘇嗜口性佳，規模最大。

Bird's nest fern

Aspleniaceae





山肉桂

[學名] *Cinnamomum insulari-montanum* Hayata

[阿美名] emoc

[英文名] Taiwan Cinnamon

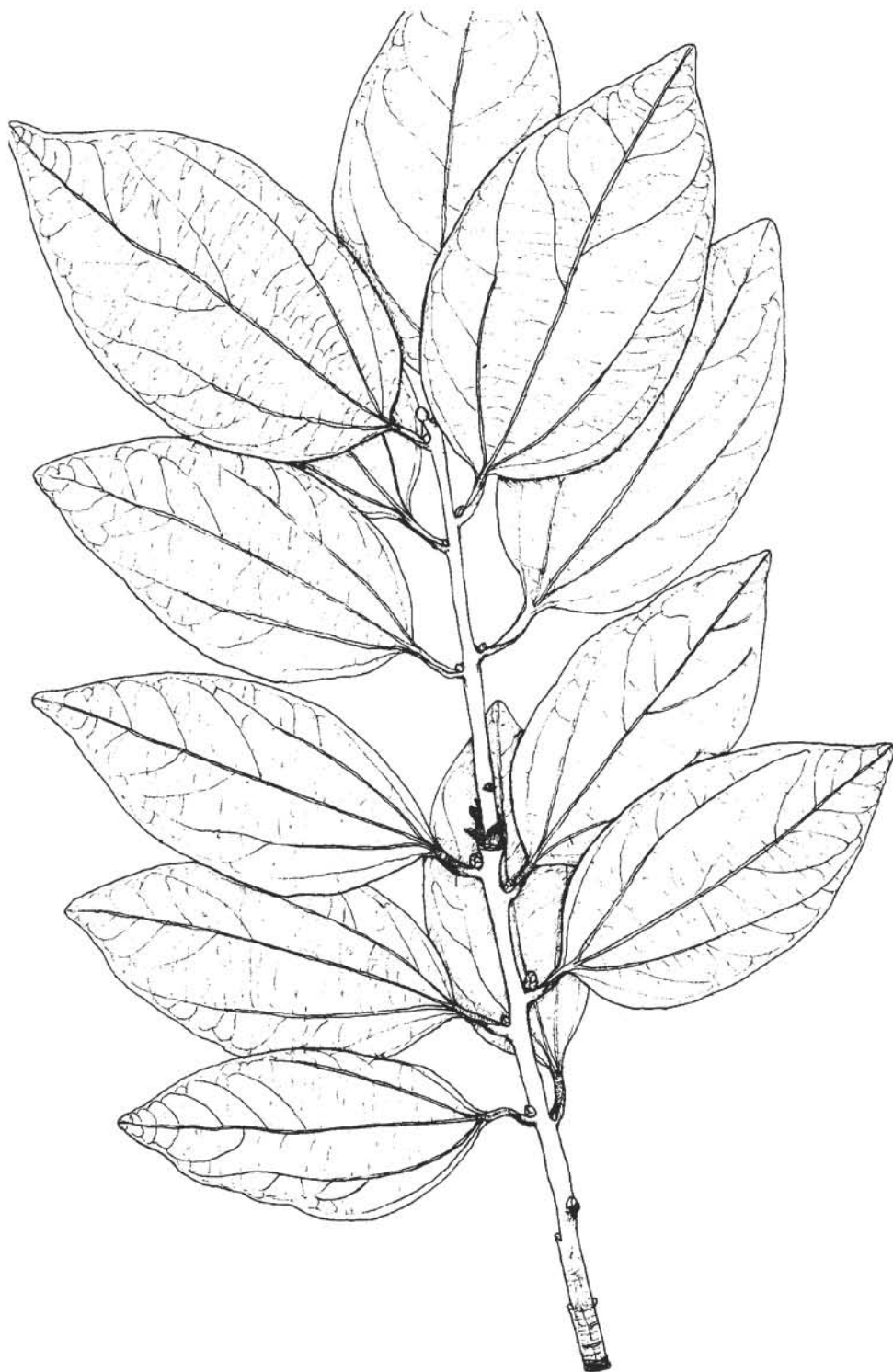
[科名] Lauraceae 樟科

Taiwan Cinnamon
Lauraceae



食材-調味

e m o c (山肉桂) 是常綠喬木，樹皮較其他樟屬植物光滑，全株芬芳。部分人家會栽植於庭園，每年11-12月時，族人會到野外採集種子，夾在檳榔裡頭作為香料使用，嚼食時氣味微辛卻芳香滿溢。



食茱萸

[學名] *Zanthoxylum ailanthoides* Sieb. & Zucc.

[阿美名] tana

[英文名] Alianthus prickly ash

[科名] Rutaceae 芸香科

食材-調味，樂器

tana（食茱萸）為芸香科喬木，俗稱紅刺蔥、烏不踏，通常長在森林邊緣，常被栽植於庭院，枝幹及葉脈處均有刺。僅需一、二片，即可讓魚湯香氣滿溢，是族人普遍使用的煮湯佐料，部分地區，也採其嫩葉炒雞蛋食用。Tana大樹枝幹可製作傳統的阿美族木琴，聲音清脆響亮。

Alianthus prickly ash
Rutaceae





臺東火刺木

[學名] *Pyracantha koidzumii* (Hayata) Rehder

[阿美名] alemet

[英文名] Fire-thorn

[科名] Rosaceae 薔薇科

食材-零食

alemet（臺東火刺木）俗稱狀元紅，僅分布在花東縱谷溪床的特有種，每年 3-4 月間滿樹白花，5月以後開始結果，9月時果實逐漸成熟，轉成豔紅顏色，一直延續到隔年元月，火刺木果實約指甲片大小，嚐起來味道酸澀，因與蘋果同屬薔薇科，果實猶如縮小版的蘋果，常常被老人家戲稱為「小蘋果」。

Fire-thorn
Rosaceae





臺東漆

[學名] *Semecarpus gigantifolia* Vidal

[阿美名] kenoe

[英文名] Large leaf markingnut, Giant-leaved markingnut

[科名] Anacardiaceae 漆樹科

食材-零食

kenoe (臺東漆) 為常綠大喬木，樹皮光滑呈灰褐色，花朵白色顯目，果實有明顯果托，且顏色從綠、黃、紅轉到褐黑，色彩斑斕。據說部分人會採果托當零食食用，但由於具毒性，有些族人的體質，則對其過敏，甚至毋須碰觸樹液，風吹過即會引起皮膚紅腫、奇癢等症狀，目前部落附近及淺山麓地帶，幾乎已少見kenoe (臺東漆) 的蹤影。

Large leaf markingnut Anacardiaceae





Small goosefoot

Chenopodiaceae

小葉藜 (小葉灰藿)

[學名] *Chenopodium serotinum* Linn.

[阿美名] o'sale

[英文名] Small goosefoot

[科名] Chenopodiaceae 藜科



Balsampear

Cucurbitaceae

山苦瓜

[學名] *Momordica charantia* Linn. var. *abbreviata* Ser.

[阿美名] kakorot

[英文名] Balsampear

[科名] Cucurbitaceae 葫蘆科





Solanaceae

紅茄

[學名] *Solanum integrifolium* Poir.

[阿美名] taiyalin

[科名] Solanaceae 茄科



India trumpetflower seed Cucurbitaceae

木甌子

[學名] *Momordica cochinchinensis* (Lour.) Spreng.

[阿美名] sokoi

[英文名] India trumpetflower seed

[科名] Cucurbitaceae





Taro
Araceae

芋

[學名] *Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott

[阿美名] tali

[英文名] Taro

[科名] Araceae 天南星科



Mockstrawberry
Rosaceae

蛇莓

[學名] *Duchesnea indica* (Andr.) Focke

[阿美名] kamacal'

[英文名] Mockstrawberry, Wild capegooseberry

[科名] Rosaceae 薔薇科



Taro
Araceae

紫梗山芋

[學名] *Colocasia tonoi* Nakai

[阿美名] tali

[英文名] Taro

[科名] Araceae 天南星科



Rhamnaceae

小葉黃鰭藤

[學名] *Berchemia lineata* (L.) DC.

[阿美名] kakohel

[科名] Rhamnaceae 鼠李科





栽培作物

阿美族人主要食糧作物，過去以hafay（小米）的栽培為主，按食用、釀造或具糯性適合搥製麻糬，再細分不同品系，各擁有不同稱呼。

早稻的阿美語稱panay，是指過去山田燒墾時山坡地所種的稻種，以區別於後來引進的 tipos（水稻），tipos分蓬萊米與再來米兩類，早稻在馴化過程，擁有各式多元品系。目前大家耳熟能詳的panay是光復特產的紅糯米，農藝界稱光復香糯，族人則稱shifanohay a panay，是指穀粒尖端帶有長芒的panay。

至於後來引進的alelay玉米、fonga地瓜、falinasan高粱等，也已時日久遠，早是族人平常栽植的作物，過去文獻甚至記載過相關祭儀。

Hafay (millet) was the staple food. There are different names for different kinds according to whether they are good for eating, making wine, or making rice cakes.

In the past, the Amis practiced shifting cultivation and grew upland rice. Later on, paddy rice was introduced. To differentiate, the Amis call upland rice panay and paddy rice tipos. Today, the best-known panay is "tropical japonica rice", a glutinous rice grow in Kuangfu township of Hualien County. Locals call it shifanohay a panay, meaning the rice with grains that have tassels.

Alelay (corn), fonga (sweet potato), and falinasan (sorghum) have long been introduced to Amis diet and are commonly cultivated. There are even records of rituals related to their cultivation.



小米

[學名] *Setaria italica* (L.) P. Beauv.

[阿美名] hafay

[英文名] Millet

[科名] Poaceae 禾本科

Millet

Poaceae



食材・主食

hafay (小米) 為過去臺灣各族主要的栽培作物，在阿美族部落，每年約一月初播種，到六月中收成，期間擁有繁雜的農事與各項祭儀。小米按其品系，有適合炊煮、製作麻糬以及釀造的不同品種，可惜這裡收集較少。通常釀造時會先以植物製成的酒麴，均勻撒在勻涼的小米飯上，之後兌水放入甕內等待發酵，小米酒作為款客之用。





旱稻

[學名] *Oryza sativa* L.

[阿美名] panay

[英文名] Upland rice

[科名] Poaceae 禾本科

食材・主食

族人過去燒墾山田後栽植panay（旱稻），其品系眾多口味豐富，可惜漸漸不敵tipos（水稻）的產量穩定，因其植株高大容易倒伏，加上多擁有長芒收穫不易，且產量較低，逐漸不再種植。如今少數珍貴品種，多可利用水田栽培，而且口感出眾，方得流存。

Upland rice

Poaceae





大葉田香

[學名] *Limnophila rugosa* (Roth) Merr.

[阿美名] fanglay

[英文名] Big-leaved marshweed

[科名] Scrophulariaceae 玄參科

Big-leaved marshweed
Scrophulariaceae



高粱

[學名] *Sorghum bicolor* (L.) Moench

[阿美名] falinasan

[英文名] Sorghum

[科名] Poaceae 禾本科

Sorghum
Poaceae









海與水裡的植物

北邊的族人稱常見的海菜為sarol，台東以南的部落sarol特別指蜈蚣藻，這類海藻屬於褐藻類，牢牢附著在礁石壁上生長，可長達20公分左右，視不同生長環境，顏色與斑紋不同。採摘sarol一般會戴上手套，持小鏟刀割下後，可復原生長。經常趁退潮時前往潮間帶採摘，採摘過程有時會拉扯而黏附細小的珊瑚岩，因此清洗時得額外細心。除了海菜，常見的淡水食用藻類有nalepera（葛仙米藻）及lamay（水綿），水綿採集時用長竹筷纏繞，經驗豐富的族人知道乾淨好吃的lamay，拿取時易斷，而生長水流湍急或淤塞的河段，lamay則顯得長而虛白，食用會有明顯苦味。通常lamay拌蒜泥、薑、辣椒與醬油食用，也有人加入豆腐乳，味道鮮美。

另外還有兩種醃漬的海菜稱liengatong及kelio，kelio原指陸上的苧麻或其加工後的線，這裡指海中生長形態像「線」的褐藻，洗淨後瀝乾裝瓶醃漬，約兩個月轉為類似山葵的口感，因採取不易，被老人家視為珍品。



The northern tribes call edible seaweed sarol while in the tribes reside south of Taitung, sarol refers specifically species whom grows on the reefs and can be as long as 20 centimeters. They are collected on the ebb. The Amis carefully cut them with small sickles to make sure that they grow back quickly. In addition to sarol, other edible plants grow in or near water are nalepera (blue-green alga) and lamay (green alga). These two algae grow in freshwater where water is clear. The Amis know where and how to find clean and edible algae. They collect them by wrapping them around chopsticks. It is said that those that break or those that grow in the rapids taste bitter. Green algae are usually eaten with garlic, ginger, chili pepper, and soy sauce. Some also add fermented bean curd.

Liengatong and kelio are pickled water plants. Kelio originally refers to ramie or strings made from ramie. Here it refers to algae that look like strings. They are cleaned, dried, and then preserved in jars for two months before being eaten. Because they are difficult to collect, elders regard them as precious food.



蜈蚣藻

[學名] *Grateloupia filicina* (Wulfen) C. Agardh

[阿美名] sarol

[科名] Halymeniaceae 海膜科

海藻

食材・海藻

北邊的阿美族部落由於礁岩不太發達，因此還留存的海菜詞彙有限，一般以sarol泛稱。而其中又以一種形狀扁平分叉的蜈蚣藻最為常見，過去採得的sarol，直接生吃或煮湯，部分用鹽巴醃漬。到近年才有用辣椒、蔥、蒜等切末，再拌上醬油的吃法。

Halymeniaceae





棒形總狀蕨藻

[學名] *Caulerpa racemosa* var. *laete-virens* (Montagne)
Weber-van Bosse

[阿美名] moli

[英文] sea grape

[科名] Caulerpaceae 蕨藻科

海菜

Sea grape
Caulerpaceae



食材・海菜

每年四月，阿美族人見到陸上雀榕發出新芽，即可推測海裡的moli正蓬勃生長，因此族人陸續會到往年有moli生長的潮間帶採集。moli翠綠色肉質口感特殊，一年一次兼又不易保存的特性，反而在生長季，召喚著族人來到海邊。



angtis 異枝軟骨四頂藻

Chondrophycus intermedius (Yamada) Garbary & Harper



kolia 日本石花菜

Gelidium japonica (Harvey) Okamura

lalika (sarol) 蜈蚣藻

Grateloupia filicina (Wulfen) C. Agardh



nganga e' 厚葉馬尾藻

Sargassum crassifolium J. Agardh



OngOng 乳頭軟骨凹柄藻

Chondrophycus papillosus (C. Agardh) Garbary & Harper



moli 棒形總狀蕨藻

Caulerpa racemosa var. *laete-virens* (Montagne) Weber-van Bosse



liliga 小杉藻

Chondracanthus intermedius (Suringar) Hommersand



larokirok



aliping



linkalin



海木耳

Sarcodia montagneana (Hooker & Harvey) J. Agardh

葛仙米藻

[學名] *Nostoc commune*

[阿美名] nalepera

[科名] Nostocaceae 念珠藻科

淡水藻





水綿

[學名] *Spirogyra* spp.

[阿美名] lamay

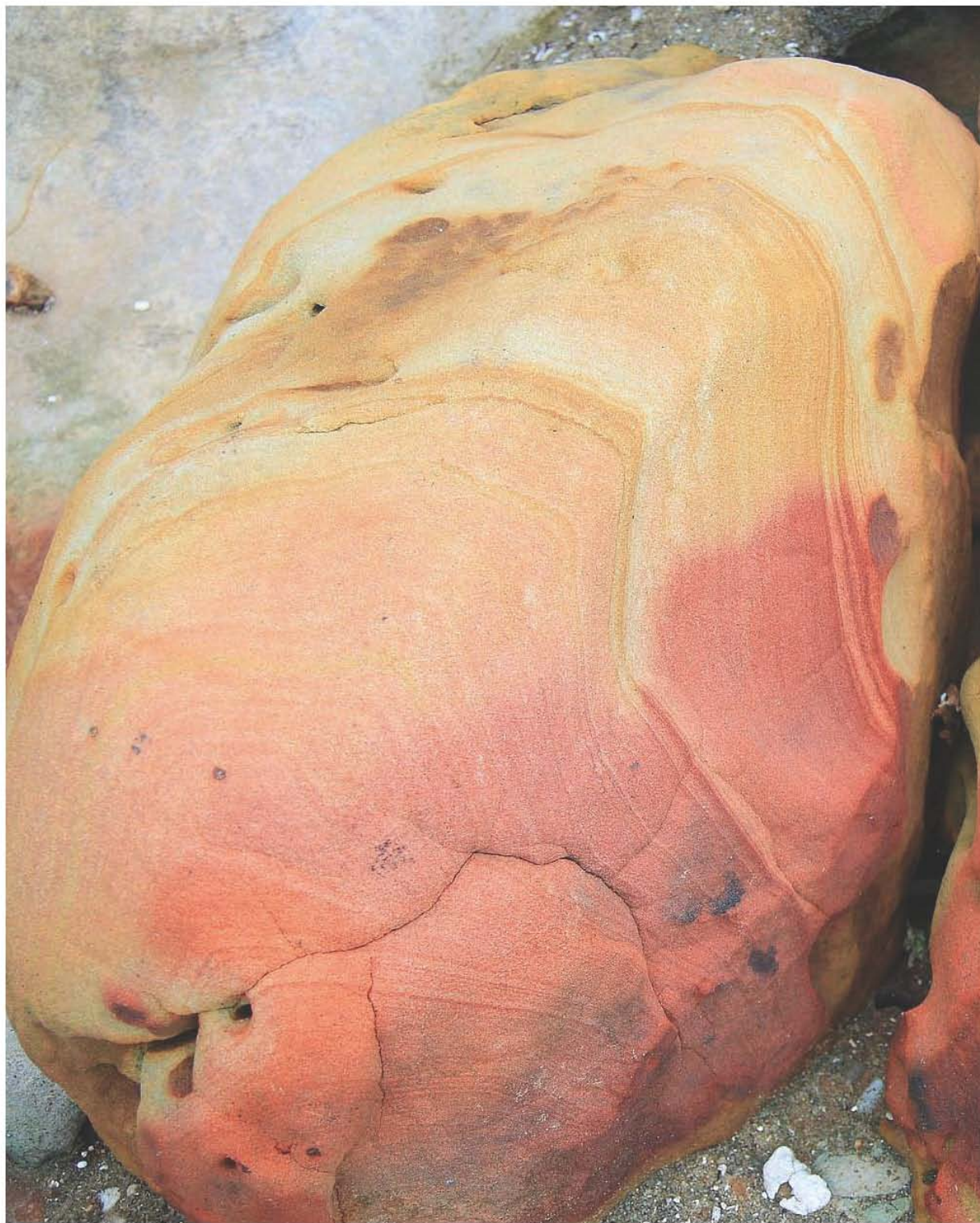
[英文名] Spirogyra

[科名] Zygnemataceae 双星藻科

淡水藻

Spirogyra







取黃藤的髓心過程備極艱難，通常種植的黃藤大約得等三年或四年才能採收，黃藤的生長部佈滿尖銳的棘刺，成長後棘刺才會脫落留下木質的藤，取這部分切削浸水後用來編織，只有佈滿棘刺的前端約一公尺才是拿來食用的部位。

其他用來編織的植物則有竹、山棕與燈心草，其中竹剖成竹篾，山棕則取其葉柄之葉鞘纖維，兩種皆用來編織較不耐久或需求量大的器物。至於燈心草會特別以水田種植，採收後曬乾編成草蓆。另外有取細芒草編織簾狀的雨遮，稱為kiling。

Margaret rotang palm is the Amis' primary weaving material. It takes 3 to 4 years for cultivated Margaret rotang palm to grow before its thorns fall off and it can be harvested. Inner pith from the tip of its stem can be cooked and is a favorite food item. The bark of the rest of the stem is removed, washed, and soaked in water until it is soft enough for weaving.

Other weaving materials include bamboo, Formosan sugar palm, and common rush. Thin bamboo stripes and petiole's fibers of Formosan sugar palm are usually used to make things that do not have to be durable but are needed often. Common rush is cultivated and used to make mats. The Amis also use thin silvergrass to make sun-shielding mats called kiling that can be strapped onto the body and "worn" like raincoats.







黃藤

[學名] *Calamus quiqu esetinervius* Burret

[阿美名] o'way

[英文名] Margaret rotang palm

[科名] Palmae 棕櫚科

食材・建材

O'way (黃藤) 生長於中低海拔山區，老的藤莖呈木質化，幾乎可達三十公尺以上，生長部幼嫩卻佈滿棘刺，採食的藤心即取這段部位。黃藤每年約於春末開花、夏日結果，果實累累，嚐起來味酸。晾乾之後的藤條剖成藤條，透過各種編織技法，可捆紮物品或製作各種精美耐久器物。

Margaret rotang palm
Palmae







燈心草

[學名] *Juncus effusus* Linn. var. *decipiens* Buchen.

[阿美名] sim

[英文名] Common Rush

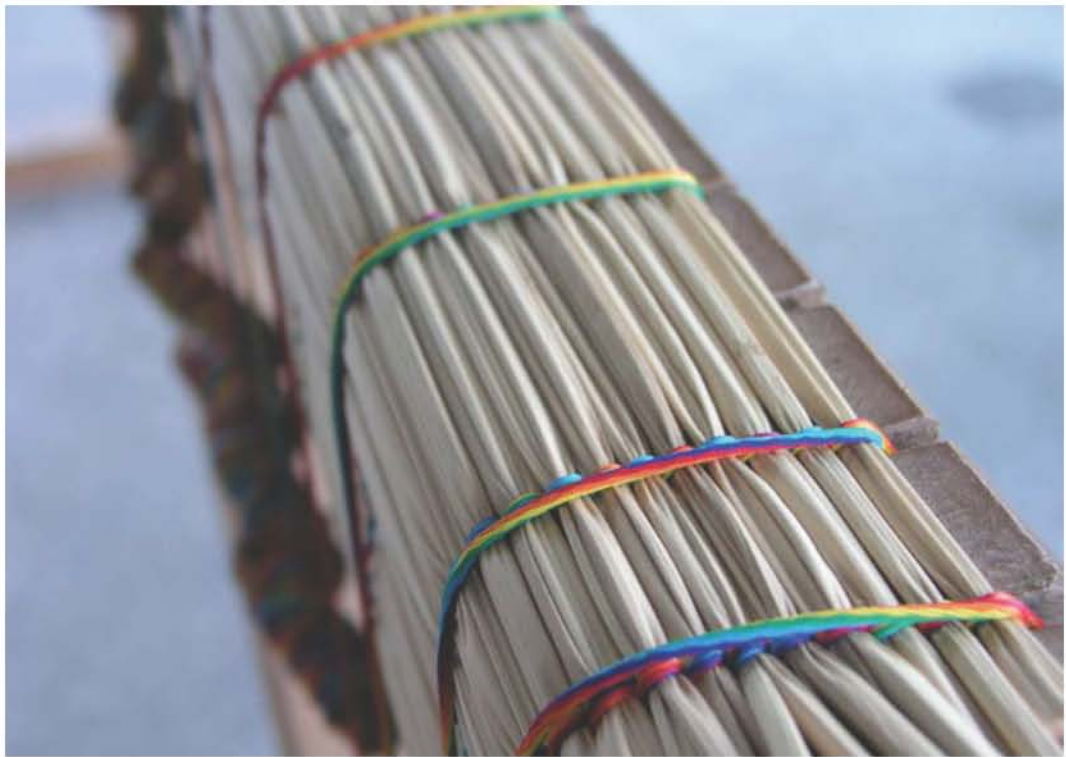
[科名] Juncaceae 燈心草科

編織

sim（燈心草）過去野生生長於水澤、河邊地帶，如今有需要者，會另闢一小塊田地栽種，特別在花蓮豐濱、港口地區，每年也約兩次收穫採收。收割的燈心草曬乾後，可作為良好編織材料，用來編製起居作息用的草蓆，觸感涼爽卻柔潤。

Common Rush Juncaceae





形形色色的日用工具各有專屬功能，保留了最豐富的植物智慧，這些植物多垂手可得，比如以海金沙、漢氏山葡萄作為捆綁輕物的繩索，山棕或竹皮用來綁紮小米束，而三葉崖爬藤質地較韌，且老化時形狀變扁，最適合用來捆木柴。

而以菲律賓鰻頭果，製作質輕卻不容易裂開的刀柄，用山黃麻製作刀鞘，帶馬蘭、山棕用作掃把，刺桐刨空作蒸斗等。蓮草的髓心材質像保力龍，可製作葫蘆壺的瓶塞，至於其葉，據說婦女們到田裡工作，會用來包裹小腿，可防止皮膚龜裂兼具防曬，一般也用作衛生紙的替代品。

平常裝載食物，會用隨手可得的姑婆芋、月桃葉子，分肉時則墊香蕉葉。檳榔葉鞘製成的cifar用來裝湯，由於極度耐熱，野外更可丟入燒紅麥飯石，將湯煮熟。較為講究的人，則會用木頭製作各種碗或盤子。

提到柴薪部分，最優秀的植物非九芎莫屬，九芎木柴極硬且含水量少，過去用作農具和建築，作為薪炭材之一，幾乎砍下後可直接起火燃燒。

Traditional Amis knowledge of plants is best preserved when it comes to everyday tools made of locally available plants. For example, Japanese climbing fern and vines of Taiwan wild grape are used as ropes to tie light-weight objects while Formosan sugar palm and bamboo are used to bundle millets. Taiwan testrastugma is strong and is suited for packaging firewood.

Philippine glochidion makes sturdy knife handles that don't crack and India-charcoal trema makes good sheathes. Sweeps are made of Formosan sugar palm and Aster subulatus Michaux var. subulatus. The timber of India coral tree can make a steamer. The pith of rice-paper plant is light and impermeable and can be used as gourd bottle stoppers. Its leaves can substitute for toilet paper.

The Amis carry and serve food on leaves of Chinese taro and beautiful Galangal. For large quantity of meat, leaves of banana tree are used. Cifar, a container made of betel nut leaf sheath, is used to serve soup. Because the material is heat-resistant, the Amis put hot rocks into cifar to cook soup. Some Amis also make wood plates and bowls.

Subcostate crape myrtle is the primary firewood because it is very hard and burns easily.





山棕

[學名] *Arenga tremula* (Blanco) Becc.

[阿美名] falidas

[英文名] Formosan sugar palm

[科名] Palmae 棕櫚科

Formosan sugar palm

Palmae



工具

falidas (山棕) 生長於低海拔山區，莖矮小約1-3公尺，葉呈羽狀叢生於基部，表面濃綠、葉背呈灰白色，常被用來綁製掃把，或交叉編成撈魚的篩漏，葉軸分割可製繩索，過去作為小米收成時捆綁之用。棕毛則可編製蓑衣，棕皮可編織成簡單器物，至於其髓心也可食用。

蓮草

[學名] *Tetrapanax papyriferus* (Hook.) K. Koch

[阿美名] koa

[英文名] Rice paper-plant, Pith paper-plant

[科名] Araliaceae 五加科

Rice paper-plant
Araliaceae



工具

koa (蓮草) 生長於中低海拔樹林，為高2-4公尺的常綠小喬木，其樹幹通直，內有類似保麗龍的髓心。嫩葉、葉裡均披有黃色星狀毛，形似木瓜葉鈍狀而更為巨大。一般是取其髓心作為葫蘆瓶塞，而葉子用作婦女勞動時包覆小腿的保護。因為開花有特殊臭味，因此族人不喜在住屋附近栽種。中部阿美族有用Lakoa作為年齡階級的級名。



海金沙

[學名] *Lygodium japonicum* (Thunb.) Sweet

[阿美名] kiwit

[英文名] Japanese climbing fern

[科名] Schizaeaceae 海金沙科

Japanese climbing fern

Schizaeaceae



三葉崖爬藤

[學名] *Tetrastigma formosanum* (Hemsl.) Gagnep.

[阿美名] kotepa'eay a masay

[英文名] Hemsley's rockvine

[科名] Vitaceae 葡萄科

Hemsley's rockvine

Vitaceae





Shell-flower

Zingiberaceae

月桃

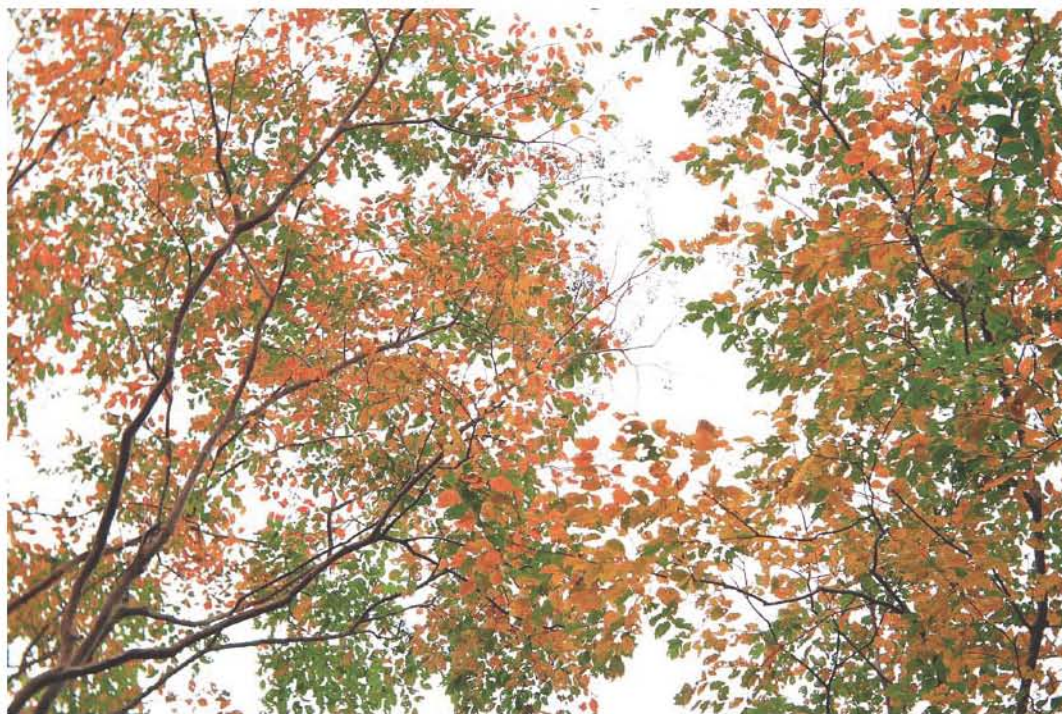
[學名] *Alpinia zerumbet* (Persoon) B. L. Burtt & R. M. Smith

[阿美名] liengac

[英文名] Beautiful Galangal, Shell-flower

[科名] Zingiberaceae 薑科





Subcostate crape Myrtle

Lythraceae

九芎

[學名] *Lagerstroemia subcostata* Koehne

[阿美名] lalilec

[英文名] Subcostate crape Myrtle

[科名] Lythraceae 千屈菜科





刺竹

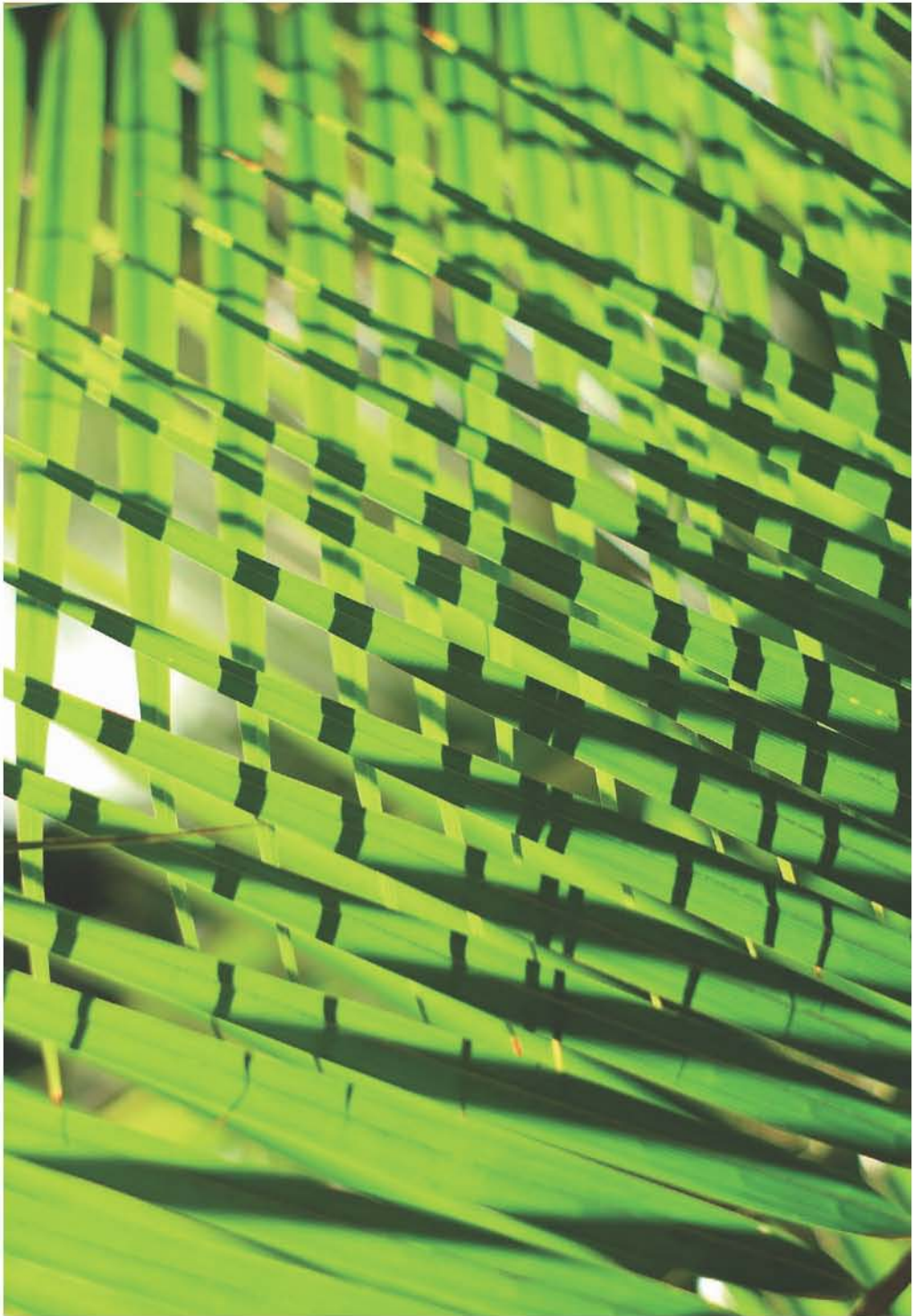
[學名] *Bambusa stenostachya* Hackel

[阿美名] tekes

[英文名] Thorny bamboo

[科名] Poaceae 禾本科

Thorny bamboo
Poaceae



阿美族男子所使用的漁網，是以kelio苧麻揉成線後，浸泡薯榔染色加固，再視用途編織成不同網目的漁網，或加竹子做成手執三角網。個人捕魚常見的即為matafoko（撒網）及持三角網捕撈兩者。

部落性較大型的共同捕魚，有時會先在溪底用石頭築成堰提，以截住或改變水流。使用sasalim（魚藤）毒魚，稱為pasadim，有些地方則以揚波替代。

Amis men use threads made of kelio (ramie) to make fishing nets. Fibers are extracted from ramie and yarns are soaked in liquid made from dioscorea cirrhosa for better strength. Threads are then woven into nets of different sizes. The most common fishing nets used by individual fishermen are cast nets and triangular hand nets with bamboo handles.

Entire tribes also fish together by building stone walls in the rivers to block or redirect the flows and trap fish. Toxins are also used to stun fish. Sasalim (thickfruit millettia) and Asiatic butterfly-bush are two fish stupefying plants.



裏白葉薯榔

[學名] *Dioscorea matsu dai* Hayata

[阿美名] kolo'to

[英文名] *Dioscorea cirrhosa*

[科名] Dioscoreaceae 薯蕷科

Dioscorea cirrhosa
Dioscoreaceae



染料

kolo'to一般稱為薯榔，生長於中低海拔山區，為多年生藤本，是臺灣各族原住民常用的染料植物。使用時採其塊根，由於富含膠質，切成細條狀即可與捻好的麻線，一起放在臼中搥打，稱為生染，染色後的麻線纖維變成更加堅韌，可耐海水，因此所編製的漁網持久耐用。至於熟染，即取適量薯榔放入鍋中熬煮出汁液，再將織好的麻匹浸泡，可得紅到褐色的變化。





臺灣魚藤

[學名] *Millettia pachycarpa* Benth.

[阿美名] sasalim

[英文名] Thickfruit Millettia

[科名] Fabaceae 豆科

Thickfruit Millettia
Fabaceae

漁法

sasalim（臺灣魚藤）又稱魚藤、毒魚藤，屬豆科木質藤本，葉子呈大型羽狀複葉，嫩葉時紅褐色為其辨識特徵。由於具有毒性，通常族人不種植於家屋附近，只有使用前才上山採集，使用時將枝條搗爛，放入築好堤堰的河流之中，下游則有人等候撿拾昏迷的魚。利用魚藤捕魚，稱為pasalim。有些地方則用揚波代替，毒性較弱。





命名panganngan

阿美族許多的命名，是以植物為依據，從個人人名、年齡階層，甚至是部落地名屢見不鮮。而其形容人事的美好，也經常使用切身相關的植物作比喻，有首流傳許久的歌謠，即以tatoken龍葵形容女子的嫵淑窈窕，另外也有用花生葉片，比喻眼睛靈動優美的例子。

許多阿美族的部落，也會根據植物的分佈，或擁有特殊地標植物來命名，此外也可能是歷史掌故、族人來源或所在位置地形。以植物命名的地名，從北到南整理於下：

Cipahpahlan花蓮市主農里，用麵包樹葉過河

Talacan吉安仁和村，talca大葉山欖樹，是過去Polpol社分支

Nata'olan吉安宜昌、南昌兩村，ta'o為植梧

Cikasoan吉安七腳川，柴薪很多的地方

Ciapaloay壽豐上月眉，apalo為麵包樹

Kenaw壽豐下月眉，薤

Cihak壽豐志學，杜虹

Salim壽豐水璉南坑，魚藤

Cikor壽豐蕃薯寮，砍伐林木的地方

Ci'alopalay壽豐車站西邊，alopa為柿子

Fataan光復馬太鞍，樹豆

Fakong豐濱貓公部落，文珠蘭

Kiwit瑞穗奇美，海金沙

Liengacay瑞穗德武，liengac為月桃

Afih玉里東豐，米糠

Cilakesay富里新莊，lakes為樟樹

Cilamitay富里豐南，lamit為大樹根

Cidataiay台東長濱烏石鼻，datay為黃楊

Panganngan (Nomenclature)

The Amis often name people, age groups, and places after plants and associate things with certain attributes of familiar plants. One old song uses the tasty and commonly seen tatoken (black nightshade) to describe beautiful and hard-working women while another compares expressive eyes to peanut leaves.

Many tribes and places got their names because of the plants growing in the areas. Below is a list of such names (from north to south):

Amis Name	Location (Today' s Place Name)	Meaning / Origin of Name
Cipahpahlan	Zhunong Li, Hualien City	Crossing the river with leaves of bread fruit tree.
Talaan	Jenhe Village, Ji'an Hsiang	Named after talacay, Formosan nato tree.
Nata'olan	Yichang and Nanchang Villages, Ji'an Hsiang	Named after ta' o (Oldham Elaeagnus).
Cikasoan	Chichiao River, Ji'an Hsiang	Where firewood is abundant.
Clapaloay	Upper Yuemei, Shoufeng Hsiang	Named after apalo (bread fruit tree).
Kenaw	Lower Yuemei, Shoufeng Hsiang	Shallot.
Cihak	Chihshue Village, Shoufeng Hsiang	Formosan beauty berry.
Salim	Shuiliang Village, Shoufeng Hsiang	Thickfruit millettia.
Cikar	Fanshuliao, Shoufeng Hsiang	Where people cut trees.
Cl' alopalay	West of today' s Shoufeng train station	Named after alope (persimmon).
Fataan	Kuangfu Hsiang	Pigeon pea.
Fakong	Maogang Tribe, Fengbin Hsiang	Poison bulb.
Kiwit	Chimei, Ruisui Hsiang	Japanese climbing fern.
Liengacay	Dewu, Ruisui Hsiang	Named after liengac (shell-flower).
Afih	Dongfeng, Yuli Township	Rice bran.
Cilakesay	Hsinchuang, Fuli Township	Named after lakes (camphor tree).
Cilamitay	Fengnan, Fuli Township	Named after lamit (tree root).
Cidatalay	Wushi Cape, Changbin Hsiang	Taiwan box.

界木sangannganan

在阿美語裡，nganngan意思是名字，而sa-nganngan-an即為擁有名字之地，有趣的是這字不用在形容命名的過程，而是指在土地上種植某種特定植物，藉以區隔土地的分界。而這類的植物稱為界木。

界木通常擁有生長快速，甚至扦插即能成活的特性，隨著各地的風土不同，適合用作界木的植物也會略有差異，最常用被族人拿來當作界木的植物為fakong（文殊蘭），其他還包括kamolaw（榕樹）、koke（白榕），部分地區也會扦插tafingad（刺桐），近代有些則用引進不久的馬拉巴栗。

過去許多部落會在集會所前，特別種植一株或數株較大的刺桐樹，每年初春火紅花開，儼然成為部落的象徵。

Sangannganan and Boundary Trees

While sa-nganngan-an literally means giving a piece of land name and can be extended to mean “land with names” in Amis, “naming a piece of land” actually refers to the practice of planting certain plants to form boundaries and/or to indicate that the land is under the care of someone.

The Amis usually choose plants that grow fast to be boundary trees. The most common kinds are fakong (poison bulb), kamolaw (Indian laurel fig), and koke (white bark fig). Some also uses tafingad (Indian coral tree) or the recently introduced Malabar chestnut.

In the past, many tribes would plant one or several large Indian coral trees near the tribal gathering houses. These trees and their bright red flowers have become distinctive images of Amis tribes.



文珠蘭

[學名] *Crinum asiaticum* L.

[阿美名] fakong

[英文名] Poison bulb

[科名] Amaryllidaceae 石蒜科

界木

fakong（文珠蘭）俗名允水蕉，每年六月下旬開白色花，其球根植叢茂盛、生命力耐旱及花開明顯的特性，因此常被族人種來當作界木，作為區別不同田地的指標。而豐濱的貓公部落，即取fakong的音轉，據說是過去這裡生長許多fakong的緣故。

Poison bulb

Amaryllidaceae





臺東龍眼

[學名] *Pometia pinnata* J. R. Forst. & G. Forst.

[阿美名] koawi

[英文名] Fiji longan, Langsir

[科名] Sapindaceae 無患子科

果樹。木材

Koawi（臺東龍眼）產於花東縱谷與蘭嶼地區，過去也被稱為「番龍眼」，樹形高大，羽狀複葉互生，新芽時為紅色，很容易辨識，每年七、八月結實，像龍眼的放大版，頗受小孩歡迎。木材厚重但易腐壞，只用作簡單工具或家具。在水璉地區，過去曾有聚落稱為koawi，因曾出土數人合抱大的臺東龍眼樹根。

Fiji longan
Sapindaceae





植梧

[學名] *Elaeagnus oldhamii* Maxim.

[阿美名] ta'o

[英文名] Oldham Elaeagnus

[科名] Elaeagnaceae 胡頹子科

Oldham Elaeagnus
Elaeagnaceae



大葉山欖

[學名] *Palaquium formosarum* Hayata

[阿美名] talacay

[英文名] Formosan nato tree

[科名] Sapotaceae 山欖科

命名

talacay (大葉山欖) 為山欖科高大型喬木，長大時樹冠開展樹形優美。每年冬天大型葉片轉紅掉落，春天時冒出新芽，形成明顯對比。過去阿美族小孩會取其果實醃漬鹽巴後，當作零嘴食用。在港口部落，talacay是指林投。



Formosan nato tree
Sapotaceae







通常族人面對生病時，原因不明者多會求助sikawasay，看看是否人與kawas間的和諧失去平衡，力求人世與靈界兩造不會互相沾染。不過仍有一些藥用植物，在日常生活中普遍被流傳使用。這些被認為可處置的adada（疾病），通常有其明確病因—勞動時不留心造成的刀創傷、吃壞東西拉肚子等，只要透過某些植物即可快速處理。阿美語稱藥物為sapayio，用上saipayio的病，表示即與adingo（靈魂）走失或kawas希望接受餉食無關。

常見處理外傷的植物為masay（山葛），山田或野外工作遇有刀創傷，老人家即快速砍開一段masay，並將汁液吹到傷口上止血，接著才取嫩葉進行包紮。masay在阿美語裡泛指所有藤本，惟單獨稱呼時多指大葛藤。若遇到骨折情形，則取cal'ehan（有骨消）枝葉搗爛後，再以lo'o（香蕉莖）固定包紮。另外止血的方式還有以kasipilay（咸豐草）搗爛調上黑糖敷治。其他較常用者包括用鹽巴揉土芭樂、茄苳或九芎嫩葉服下，據說過去很常用來治療腹瀉與咳嗽。

由於勞動的感情，遇到牛隻生病，比如變瘦且排遺呈鼻涕狀，會取茄苳搗碎加洗米水使其服用，據說可驅血吸蟲。喝水時不小心遭widi（水蛭）侵入，則將tatoken（龍葵）的黑色漿果搗爛，由鼻孔送入驅之。

一般而言婦女生產完，沒有漢人坐月子的習慣，下田後如感到不舒服，過去會採用一些藥草進行簡單藥浴，這些植物包括破布子、文珠蘭、石菖蒲等。另外嚴重的瘀血未消，則取銀脈爵床，作法是用水煮過後置於盆內，將患部用棉被蓋住，藉其蒸汽燻浴，據說如此可將瘀血化散或排出。

When they do not know the natural origins for their illness, the Amis attribute it to disharmony between human and the kawas and go to the sikawasay (shamans) for help. For adada, that is, injuries and ailments with natural origins such as small cuts or gastrointestinal ailments, the Amis use sapayio (medicinal plants) to treat them. They believe that the adada that can be cured by sapayio is not caused by the kawas or by the soul wandering off and losing its way.

Masay (kudzu) is often used to treat wounds such as knife cuts. The sap from kudzu stem can stop bleeding and fresh leaves are applied on the wounds. The mixture of raw sugar and crushed kasipilay (big bidens) can also stop bleeding. To mend broken bones, the Amis crush cal' ehan (Formosan elderberry) leaves and branches to form paste and apply it on injured parts and then use lo' o (banana tree) stalks to help stabilizing the bones. Upset stomach and cough can be treated with leaf shoots of guava, autumn maple tree, and Subcostate crape Myrtle.

Because water buffalos are valued for the labor they perform, there are also plant drugs for them. When water buffalos are sick, the Amis would feed them mashed autumn maple tree fruit. If widi (leech) gets into a water buffalo's nose, the Amis would pour mashed tatoken (black nightshade) into its nostrils to get rid of it.

In addition to taking medicinal plants, the Amis also utilize herbal baths. After giving birth, Amis women would return to work in the field shortly. If they feel unwell, they would take herbal baths using sebastian plum cordial, poison bulb, and sweelflag. Sarana (*Kudoacanthus albo-nervosa*) is used to treat serious bruises.

山葛

[學名] *Pueraria montana* (Lour.) Merr.

[阿美名] masay

[英文名] Taiwan Kudzubean

[科名] Fabaceae 豆科

Taiwan Kudzubean
Fabaceae



治療

masay (山葛) 為低海拔山區常見的多年生藤本，葉呈菱形三出複葉，全株披覆褐色毛，開花時紫紅色特徵明顯，由於生長遍布加上汁液具止血功效，過去老人家在山區活動，當遭遇刀創傷時，多取來緊急處理傷口，之後再取其藤葉包紮綑綁。







Acanthaceae



銀脈爵床

[學名] *Kudoacanthus albo-nervosa* Hosokawa

[阿美名] salana

[科名] Acanthaceae 爵床科

沐浴

salana (銀脈爵床) 有些部落稱halana，屬爵床科，分佈於花東海岸山脈及中央山脈東南部低海拔山區林下，葉色濃綠卻披覆銀白光澤為其主要特徵。部份族人會栽植在住屋附近，便於採用，過去阿美族老人家，用來治療瘀血，使用時採其枝葉沖入熱水，以其蒸汽燻蒸患部（用布或棉被包裹），據說不久瘀血即可漸退。



無患子

[學名] *Sapindus mukorossi* Gaertn.

[阿美名] o'laloc

[英文名] Soap nut tree, Chinese soap berry

[科名] Sapindaceae 無患子科

Soap nut tree
Sapindaceae







跋 海與陸

於是決定了不再流動，靠岸停泊。邦查祖先最初的一支在黑潮湧動下，掌舵著行舟，遠望見福爾摩沙東部陸塊上聳立的群山，暗自立下決心。

航海成為一種技能，如同Jared Diamond所說，擁有行舟能力，南島語族人終於成為地球上分布最廣袤的民族，他們古老的旅途可以透過這個美麗小島窺見——這是福爾摩沙給世界的禮物。

而對於擁有航海能力的南島人來說，海洋是藍色的高速公路。

出走與停留，並不是太過困難的選項，畢竟資源有限，環境所能承載的人群數量，壓力大時就出走到另一個島嶼，或許等待的機會，提供著更好的安身立命之所，或許遠方的某個島嶼，是流著奶與蜜的土地。

剛開始時，還有轉圜的餘地，可能只是鄰近小島間的交換貿易，透過一點一點的距離擴展，直到漂流到另一個天邊的島嶼，那兒水草豐美獵物繁盛。一旦泊舟停留，更意味著，此後必須謹慎地學習新的資源使用，萬物生剋，參透道理固定下來，逐漸變成另一個海島人，於是開枝散葉，聚成部落凝成家鄉。

陸地的生存戰爭，天擇註定偏愛謹慎利用資源的人，島嶼是一個小型生態系，攜帶的舊植物與接受的新植物，不僅提供日常、行舟、照明、烹煮所需，更在祭典中、在人觀、在來源鄉愁的時空中，某種程度形而上的存在著。生存在島嶼的陸地上，透過積累和試誤得來的植物學知識，成了部族存活的硬道理。

因著歷史的偶然與必然，不同族裔在歷史的長流中，被歸群為一個叫做邦查的民族，在黑潮流經的山與海之間，在東台灣的晨光裡，睿智的使用資源，快速的與異族人融合學習，擁有極佳的環境適應力，縱使漸漸隱身都市，或者流浪到海外，仍然記得互古悠久的傳唱，還知道古老神話頌揚的植物知識，透過祭典與日常行事，感知島嶼的春夏秋冬，明瞭自己的祖先曾是海洋的吉普賽人。那麼，會有更多的力量同時容納傳統與現代，知道如何謙卑虛心的敬畏環境。

The Ocean and the Land

Settled on the plan to anchor for good. Pangcah ancestors, incited by the Black tide, made up their minds to sail toward the mountainous island – Formosa.

“Sailing in the ocean is a blessed skill.” said Jared Diamond. With such a gift, the Austronesians became the most wildly distributed groups of people on earth. Their journeys can be traced from, through, to Formosa. Providing the whole world the evidence for these routes is the Formosa’s best gift to the world.

To the sailing Austronesians, the ocean is their blue freeway.

To leave or to stay is not a difficult decision as it may seem. When the resources are not enough, Amis leave to find another settlements. The unknown long star island means unmeasurable chances and hopefully an appealing habitation.

At the dawn of everything, they merely traded in islands close by. Gradually, they drifted to an island which seemed at the end of the world. The island welcomes them with great food sources and abundant games. They anchor, connect with this new island with their heart and call Formosa home.

Surviving on an island is a battle. The nature embraces people who live in agreement with the ecosystem around them. With some old plants from the old world and some new plants from the new land, Amis sail, illuminate, cook and perform rituals. With the knowledge about plant, they thrive.

By coincidences or perhaps fate, several groups of Austronesian people who lived in the eastern mountains by the ocean where Black tide swirls through gained the name “Pangcah” . With their great wisdom, they live in harmony with the environment and peoples around them. Although Amis people have wandered to other lands or even continents, their great command of plants and living in sync with seasons leave an inscription that their ancestors are gypsies from the sea. May more energy be collected to subsume modern in Amis’ heritage and enlighten all human beings to be more humble to Gaea – mother of us all.





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文中若有謬誤和疏漏，還望讀者不吝指正。







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