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The Study of Rice Prices in Qing Taiwan

Mei-E Hsieh

Translated by Diane I-Hui Fu



Scholars working on Taiwan's economic history during the Qing dynasty have devoted a great deal of effort toward understanding the land reclamation history and commercial history. Less attention has been paid, however, to the history of the production and distribution that related to economic development. The history of prices, in particular, has been a neglected topic. But traditional economies are based on agricultural production, and the price of rice is indicative of prices in general. Understanding rice prices is also a way of understanding economic development. Thus, in recent years increasing

attention has been paid to fluctuations in rice prices. However, more work still needs to be done, as can be seen by a consideration of three factors: (1) historical documents on rice prices are still underutilized; (2) it still has not been determined if the price of rice rose, or fell, over the secular trend; (3) no explanation or analysis has been offered concerning those factors that have a long-term influence on rice prices. To address these issues, researchers should first conduct the basic research of rice prices. The method is to examine the data on rice prices with reliable and comprehensive historical materials on rice prices, establish a time series on rice prices, analyze price changes and seek a reasonable explanation for the changes. The present work seeks to resolve the above three problems with the help of the two historical materials compiled and edited by Wang Yeh-Chieh: *The Qing Grain Price Databank* and *Chao Dang* (hand copying documents of grain price lists in the Qing Dynasty).

This research has gone through five stages: arranging and sorting through a variety of historical materials on rice prices; examining the reliability of these documents; establishing a time series of rice prices; doing time series analysis of rice prices; and explaining the changes in rice prices. The arrangement of chapters in the book reflects the research process. Chapter One is an evaluation of the historical materials on rice prices; it represents the first and second research phases. Using *The Qing Grain Price*

Databank Grain Price Database of the Qing Dynasty and Chao Dang as a data source, the author discovered six price series existing in the Taiwan Prefecture from 1736 to 1875. Rice belonging to the first, second and third price grades all had low and high price series respectively. The author adopted the percentage of the months in a year when rice prices stayed unchanged as an assessment indicator of the quality of the price series. She discovered that the quality of the price series of Second-Grade rice was the best, especially during the rule of Qianlong. Thus the author used the price series of Second-Grade Rice as the raw data for statistical analysis on rice prices during the Qing dynasty.

Chapter Two compares the price series from different sources with the price series of the Second-Grade Rice. It also examines the relationship between extreme rice prices and the occurrence of major natural disasters or man-made tragedies to determine the reliability of each price series in the secular trend. To achieve this aim, the author used the rice price series in Zhangzhou and Quanzhou Prefectures, which both belonged to the government's price series, as well as the rice price series of the private company Guang Ji in Tamsui Subprefecture, as comparison bases. A comparison shows that during the rule of Qianlong, the price series of the Second-Grade Rice exhibited the same changes as rice series in Zhangzhou and Quanzhou Prefectures. The extreme prices also corresponded to the years when major disasters occurred. This once again confirms the high quality of the price series of the Second-Grade Rice. The research analyses the period from 1738 to 1850 and divides it into a period of rising prices (1738-1838) and a period of falling prices (1839-1850) based on the trend of price movements in the Second-Grade Rice price series. By analyzing the price series, the author discovered that the average rice price during the rising period is 1.8294 taels of silver. The price rose by 0.0121 taels of silver every year at a mild, steady, pace. In the price-falling period, the average rice price was 1.9159 taels of silver and the price fell by 0.0324 taels of silver every year on average.

After clarifying the secular trend in rice prices, Chapters Three to Six proceed to explain the reasons behind the price fluctuations. The author seeks to provide an explanation from the perspective of four major factors: arable land population, grain circulation and currency. Arable land area increased at the fastest rate from the beginning of the Qing Dynasty through the first half of the 18th century and then increased at a mild pace thereafter. The increase was more evident in the 18th century than in the 19th century. From the mid-19th century onward, the amount of arable land did not witness a sharp increase. The annual rate of population growth was between 3.63% and 3.78% from the end of the 17th century through mid-18 century;

the rate was 1.20 ~ 1.39% from mid-18th century through the beginning of the 19th century. In the 19th century, the growth rate was 0.33%. After observing the population, arable land and rice prices all together, the author discovered that during the period of rising prices, population and arable land also grew, and the population grew at a faster rate than rice prices. But in the period of falling prices, though population and farm land still both witnessed growth, rice prices did not. Therefore, the increase in arable land could explain the trend for lower rice prices before the mid-18th century. However, though the rise of population could explain the trend for higher rice prices after the mid-18 century, the effect was mild. From the mid-18th century through the price-rising period in the 19th century, the year-on-year increase rate in arable land and population did not exhibit any extreme changes. Rice prices also rose mildly at that time, suggesting that the effect of population growth on prices was not significant. However, during the price-falling period, though export failed to rise along with the population, surprisingly, rice prices fell. The reasons behind the fall lie in grain circulation and currency circulation, especially the latter.

The author also sought to investigate the fluctuations in export volume. In the 18th century, Taiwan's grain exports rose gradually but fell from the mid-1830s through the mid-19th century. When comparing this trend against the long-term trend in rice prices, the author had three findings:

1. During the price-rising period(1738-1838), the grain exports was also on the rise, exhibiting a same trend along with the rising rice prices. From the 18th century through the early 19th century, the grain exports was on a gradual rise, which could explain the slow rise in grain prices during this period.
2. Starting in the 1830s, the grain exports began to drop, but rice prices were still on the rise. The situation shows that the factor of grain exports still mattered, though to a lesser degree. That means during the price-rising time period in the 1830s(1830-1838) when rice prices rose, factors accounting for the gradual rise of rice prices include the amount of grain exports, population and arable land. This shows that while Taiwan's population grew mildly at that time, and that both the growth of arable land and the land's grain supply capacity fell gradually, Taiwan still needed to supply grain to other places.
3. During the price-falling period(1839-1850) , grain exports was on the decrease, exhibiting the same trend as rice prices. This shows grain exports was not a major determinant of the fall of rice prices in this period. In addition, the population grew during this period. Population then cannot explain the phenomenon of falling rice prices either. Therefore, the situation should be better understood from the perspective of currencies.

The author analyzes the fluctuations in the exchange rate of silver and copper money (the latter was also known as the “state currency”). Silver ingots’ entry into Taiwan was related to the government’s affairs (i. e. finance and military wages) and the entry started to grow at the beginning of when Taiwan under the Qing rule. On the other hand, the entry of silver coins into Taiwan was related to trade. The prime era of trade was also when the flow of silver coins into Taiwan reached a climax. From the beginning of Taiwan under the Qing Dynasty rule through the 1830s, the inflow of silver into Taiwan reflected a pattern of growth. When comparing this trend with the price-rising period, it shows that when more silver was brought into Taiwan, rice prices grew steadily as well. The two experienced the same pattern. Currency factor could explain the rise of rice prices. In addition, the price series shown by two accounting books (Tamsui Subprefecture, Zhu Qian) from the period of the development of silver value in the 19th century indicates that from 1839 through 1850, the value of copper coins went down, while that of silver went up. In the rice-falling period, the increase of arable land could not keep up with the increase of population, and the rice prices fell instead of rising. Only the increase in the value of silver could account for this phenomenon.

Three conclusions follow from the above analyses. First, the author has used the data about rice prices in the Grain Price Database of Qing Dynasty and Chao Dang to establish a reliable price series on rice in Qing Taiwan from 1738 through 1850. Secondly, the author has shed light on the issue of the rise and fall of rice prices in Qing Taiwan, a problem that previous scholars were unable to solve. There was a price-rising period (1738-1838) and a price-falling period (1839-1850). Rice prices rose slowly and steadily from the beginning of the 18th century through the end of the 1830s and then started to fall. Thirdly, the author confirmed that a few factors account for or affect the movements of rice prices in the Qing dynasty:

1. During the price-rising period, the main contributors to the price rise were grain distribution and currency. Though arable land growth began to fall behind as compared to population growth in this period, population did not have a strong impact on the rise of rice prices. Since Taiwan was still a major grain exporter, it can be inferred that the rise of grain exports impacted rice prices more than the factors of population and arable land. In addition, during this period, more silver ingots and silver coins flowed into Taiwan than before and reflected a trend similar to the upward trend of rice prices. Thus the factor of currency could explain the movements of rice prices.
2. During the price-falling period, currency determined the fluctuations in rice

prices. During this period, though Taiwan continued to export grain, the amount fell, exhibiting a trend similar to the downward trend of rice prices. The amount of grain exports only exercised a mild impact on the fall of rice prices during this time. Moreover, the population grew during this period, but rice prices fell instead of rising. Thus only currency factor can best explain the gradual fall in rice prices. That is, as the price of silver went up, the price of rice went down. The above analyses help clarify the influence that arable land, population, grain circulation, and currency had on the movements of Taiwanese rice prices in different phases of the Qing Dynasty in Taiwan. From the mid-18th century through the mid-19th century, both grain circulation and currency had a stronger bearing on the long term trend of rice prices than population and arable land.

清代臺灣米價研究

謝美娥



清代臺灣經濟史研究在開發史與商業史方面著力已久，但與經濟發展有關的生產與分配的研究較缺乏，物價史的研究即是其一。傳統經濟以農業生產為主，米價不但代表物價，更是探討經濟發展的途徑之一。近人研究已開始注意米價的變遷，但研究的不足反映於三方面：1. 對米價史料的利用不充分；2. 沒有釐清米價長期變動趨勢是升或降；3. 對影響米價長期變動的因素缺乏具體的解釋與驗證。解決之道是先進行米價的基礎研究，運用可靠而完整的米價史料來檢測米價數據，據此建立米價時間數列，再進而分析價格變動，並對米價的變動尋求合理的解釋。本書即以王業鍵

編的「清代糧價資料庫」和「抄檔」兩種糧價史料為基礎，解決上述三個問題。

本研究歷經五個階段：不同米價史料的整建、檢驗米價史料的可靠性、建立米價時間數列、進行米價時間數列分析、解釋米價變動。本書章節也反映上述研究歷程，第一章是關於米價史料的評估，反映前述第一與第二研究階段，研究者選定「清代糧價資料庫」和「抄檔」為來源，取得臺灣府 1736-1875 年 6 個米價數列，上米、中米、下米各有低價和高價數列。作者以米價連續不變月數比例為檢測指標，評估數列的品質。在此，作者發現中米數列品質較佳，以乾隆時期最好，因此以中米數列做為清代米價統計分析的原始資料。

第二章則以不同來源的價格數列與中米數列比較，並且觀察米價極端價格與重大天災人禍事件間的關聯，進一步檢測該數列在長期趨勢上的可靠性。在此，作者使用的數列為：同屬官方糧價系列的漳、泉二府米價數列，以及屬於民間的淡水廳廣記米價數列。比對後發現，乾隆時期臺灣的中米價格數列與漳、泉二府米價數列的變動一致，且極端價格也與重大災禍的年份對應，再次確證中米價格數列具有相當高的可靠性。而本研究選取 1738-1850 年為分析斷限，根據中米價格數列的變動升降趨勢，區分出米價上升期（1738-1838）和米價下降期（1839-1850）兩個時期。在米價時間數列分析中發現，上升期平均米價為銀 1.8294 兩，每年平均以銀 0.0121 兩的速度增加，增長率不算快，緩緩上揚。下降期年平均米價為銀 1.9159，平均每年以銀 0.0342 兩的速度減少。

在釐清米價長期變動狀態後，第三至六章均在解釋米價的變動。作者分別由

耕地、人口、糧食流通、貨幣四大因素進行解釋。在耕地方面，從清領到 18 世紀前半期增加最快，其後較緩，18 世紀較 19 世紀顯著，19 世紀中期起耕地量增加不明顯。在人口方面，17 世紀後期到 18 世紀中期的年增率為 3.63% - 3.78%，18 世紀中期到 19 世紀初期為 1.20% - 1.39%，19 世紀為 0.33%。將人口、耕地與米價長期趨勢並同觀察，發現：在米價上升期，人口與耕地都上升，人口增加速度比米價快；在米價下降期，人口與耕地變動趨勢還是上升，但與米價背向而行。因此耕地的增加可解釋 18 世紀中期以前的低糧價趨勢，人口增加則可解釋米價上升期的 18 世紀中期以後，惟其作輕微。18 世紀中期到米價上升期的 19 世紀時段，耕地和人口的年增率落差未極化，米價上升也緩，未見激烈揚升，可見人口增加的作用程度微微存在。不過在米價下降期，糧食供給漸不能與人口同步成長，但米價反而趨降，其原因出在糧食流通及貨幣流通兩方面，尤其是後者。

糧食流通為考察米糧輸出量的變動。18 世紀米糧輸出漸增，1830 年代中期起轉折，米糧輸出減少，直到 19 世紀中期減勢不變。以此盈消對照米價長期趨勢可知：1. 米價上升期，糧食輸出量為增勢，與米價上升趨勢一致；18 世紀至 19 世紀初期這一段，糧食輸出漸增，可解釋此期價格的緩步上升。2. 1830 年代開始糧食輸出量轉降，但米價仍是增勢，表示糧食輸出量因素存在但程度降低。因此米價上升期的 1830 年代一段，米價緩步上升的影響因素應包括糧食輸出量、人口和耕地。亦即人口增加稍緩，耕地的擴張及其糧食供給能力漸為下降，又有糧食輸出的需求。3. 米價下降期，糧食輸出為減勢，與米價下降趨勢一致，表示糧食輸出並非此期米價下降的主要影響因素。又，此期人口增加，故人口因素也不能解釋米價趨低的現象，應從貨幣方面探索。

貨幣方面，以銀與銅錢（制錢）比價的變動來觀察。銀兩進入臺灣與官方事務的運作（財政、軍餉）有關，自清領開始即漸增加；銀元流入臺灣則與貿易相關，貿易興盛期即是銀元流入的高峰期，可知清領後至 1830 年代銀的流入為增勢。以此變動與米價上升期並同觀察，則銀流入增加時米價也逐步上升，兩者趨勢相同，貨幣因素可解釋米價之升。又，透過帳簿（淡水廳、竹塹）建立的 19 世紀銀價變動數列可知，1839-1850 年錢價趨賤，銀價升貴。米價下降期的耕地之增不能與人口之增同步，米價卻不升反降，此現象只有銀價上升能解釋。

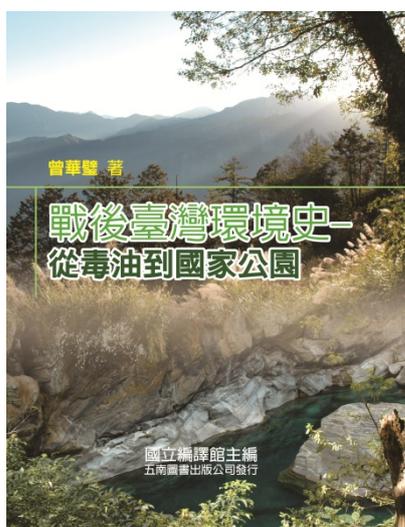
歸納以上探討，獲得三個研究成果：首先，利用「清代糧價資料庫」和「抄檔」中的米價數據，建立一條可靠的 1738-1850 年米價數列。其次，解決近人未釐清的米價升降問題，分為上升期（1738-1838）與下降期（1839-1850），18 世紀至 1830 年代末期緩步持續上升，之後波動趨勢轉為下降。再其次，具體解釋、驗證影響米價變動的因素，結果證實：1. 在米價上升期，以糧食流通與貨幣因素的影響為主。雖然此時期耕地增加漸落後於人口增加，但人口因素對米價上升的作用並不強烈，因為臺灣仍有大量糧食輸出，可知糧食輸出量的增加所起的作用大於人口與耕地。此時期銀兩和銀元流入增加，與米價上升趨勢相同，故貨幣因素可解釋米價變動。2. 在米價下降期，貨幣因素是左右米價波動的因素。此時期糧食仍然輸出，惟數量趨減，與米價下降趨勢一致，表示糧食輸出量對此期

米價下降的影響較微。此期的人口為增加，米價不升反減，故只有貨幣因素最能解釋米價趨低現象，因為銀價趨貴，使得米價水平趨降。以上，釐清了耕地、人口、糧食流通、貨幣四種因素在不同階段對清代臺灣米價變動的影響程度，18世紀中期到19世紀中期，糧食流通與貨幣因素對糧價長期變動趨勢的作用，遠比人口和耕地因素為大。

An Overview of Taiwan's Post-war Environmental History: From the Toxic Oil Pollution Incident to the Establishment of National Parks

Hua-Pi Tseng

Translated by Diane I-Hui Fu



The mid-1970s saw an expansion in the study of environmental history in the United States. The academic goal of the discipline is to explore the evolution of the natural environment over time, and the interactive relationships between this evolution and human behavior. In examining the earth's natural environment/biology (e.g., rivers, forests, soil, air, and water) the discipline thus touches upon areas normally unexplored by traditional historical studies.

This book contains six chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion. It is a field study of post-war environmental history in Taiwan. The author aims to present the relationships among Taiwan's natural environment, political developments and social developments after 1950. The topics and arguments of each chapter of the book are as follows:

Chapter One focuses on public hazards and discusses the beginning of an awareness of the importance of environmental protection in Taiwan, and the actions generated from this awareness. This chapter draws on the example of the PCB Incident of pollution related to cooking oil, which took place in central Taiwan, to examine the relationship between media reports and environmental awareness within society. Upon the outbreak of the incident, the local newspaper China Times ran a feature story titled "Ecological Agenda in Taiwan" for over a year to elaborate on the cooking oil case and various ecological issues plaguing the island, such as soil pollution, water pollution and industrial pollution. As the incident evolved, the media played the role of "enlightener" to the public. The incident and the public debate helped turn Taiwan

into a perceived “risk society” and became an important turning point in Taiwan’s environmental history after World War II.

The author studied three cases about the contradiction and options Taiwan faces between ecological protection and economic development: the three protected areas of Yangmingshan National Park, Taroko National Park and Wetlands of Taijiang Inner Sea. In Chapter Two, using the example of Yangmingshan National Park, the author proposes that the system of national parks can serve as an indicator of the state’s tool in evaluating the necessity of ecological sustainability of a region or country. But with regard to the effectiveness of preserving natural resources, there remains a disparity among these national parks. When a development project is limited to a certain area or region, it is possible to set up a national park in order to protect the environment. However, when a country’s economic development hinges on the success of a development project, the implementation of regional ecological protection tends to rank secondary in importance and to yield to the cause of economic development. Therefore, in Chapter Three, the author analyzes the case of the establishment of Taroko National Park in eastern Taiwan and shows that a dilemma does exist between regional environmental preservation and national economic benefits. The case of Taroko National Park best illustrates how a country’s economic policies take precedence over regional ecological protection.

Chapter Four again demonstrates the clash between ecology and economy. The author uses the Qigu Wetland of Tainan, where the present Taijiang Inner Sea Park is located, as an example to explain how the following factors have impacted the movement to preserve the Qigu Wetland: government policies on the development and utilization of tidal flats in Taiwan, regulatory measures on the greenhouse gas effect around the world after 2005, the global awareness about wetlands and endangered species, and the support of international ecological activists. The author discovers that, compared with the various environmental movements emerging in Taiwan since the 1980s, the movement of preserving the Qigu Wetland involved the most complex political elements, and was deeply influenced by global and local environmental beliefs. Various factors came into play in the process in a conflicting manner.

In Chapter Five the author seeks to analyze the historical significance of the establishment of national parks in Taiwan in the 1980s, and the effectiveness and role of national parks in terms of ecological preservation policies from the perspective of zoning in Taiwan. From 1984 through 1986, Taiwan built four national parks: Kenting National Park, Yushan National Park, Yangmingshan National Park and Taroko

National Park. Establishing national parks has become a useful way to enhance a country's natural capitals. The regulation of national parks thus was effective in preserving Taiwan's forests after martial law was lifted, and in avoiding environmental destruction out of people's activities only to satisfy their own needs in tourism. By reviewing the initial design of the law of national parks in Taiwan, the author discovered that it disregarded the rights of the aborigines. The initial law was flawed at this particular point, though it has been revised afterwards; nevertheless, it reflected some people's thoughts on the environmental protection in Taiwan society at that time.

In chapters up to this point, the issue of environmental protection is discussed from the perspective of geographical location and of overall zoning in Taiwan through the case studies of ecological protection in central, northern, eastern and southern Taiwan. In Chapter Six the author adopts a chronological approach and applies the theories of ecological modernization and ecological states to analyze state policies of environmental governance in post-war Taiwan from the 1950s to 2000. The author suggests that the policy-making history of environmental governance in Taiwan can be divided into two periods: the state-dominant period (1950-1979) and the multiple-forces period (1980-2000). In response to environmental crises, the government set up two Institutions— "Taiwan Provincial Bureau of Environment and Health" in 1955, and "Taiwan Provincial Bureau of Water Pollution Prevention" in 1975— to deal with environmental problems such as various water pollutions resulting from serious industrial hazards. She argues that during both periods, the policies were intended for people's well-being and social welfare with great emphasis on production models. However, the environmental governance implemented was marred by weak sustainability and contradictions.

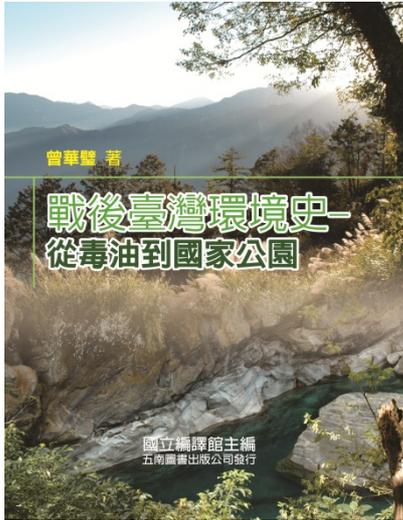
The conclusion offers a review of the research approach and value of this book. It examines all the arguments presented in the book and provides a panoramic view of its structure, as well as the significance of the arguments in each chapter within the framework of global environmentalism and environmental history. The industrial developments after World War II led mankind to face environmental crises, known as the "1950s' Syndrome". Since the rise of global environmentalism, both radical and reformist divisions have provided their solutions to such crises; the path that Taiwan chooses is apparently characterized by anthropocentrism, which acknowledges the importance of ecological preservation and hazard prevention, but does not oppose policies leaning towards development and utilization of natural resources.

In sum, Chapter One begins the discussion by exploring how the incident of PCB cooking oil in Taiwan alerted the nation to the importance of ecological awareness and how the media played the role of an “educator” on environmental protection after the incident broke out. Chapter Two, Three and Four then go on to analyze the differences in effectiveness of preserving natural resources due to the location of a national park by examining the examples of Yangmingshan National Park, Taroko National Park, Qigu Wetland, etc. Chapter Five explores the historical significance of the establishment of national parks in Taiwan’s post-war environmental history in the context of the country's zoning. Chapter Six discusses the different phases of Taiwan’s post-war environmental governance with the theories on ecological modernization and ecological state.

In the course of industrialization in Taiwan, it has been important to seek both economic development and environmental protection, although the two goals often clash. As environmental protection becomes a global concern, what stand should Taiwan take on the issue? The author conducted a long-term empirical research by examining the latest trends of environmental history in the context of Taiwan’s economic developments since the 1950s. Her arguments highlight the roots of Taiwan’s environmental history: Taiwan has wavered between economic developments and environmental protection in its policies over the last five decades of the 20th century.

戰後臺灣環境史：從毒油到國家公園

曾華璧



環境史研究於美國 1970 年代中期興起。其學術宗旨為：探討自然環境隨著時間而生的變遷，以及此變遷與人類行為間的互動關係。同時，環境史研究也將地球的「自然環境」／「生態體系」（如河川、森林、土地、空氣、水）等視為研究對象，接觸到傳統史學未曾觸及的面向。

本書是作者自 2001 至 2008 年間，研究臺灣本土環境課題的成果。作者期望藉此書呈現戰後臺灣環境、政治與社會發展的關係。全書共分四大篇，各篇主題、論點分別敘述如下：

第一篇主題為公害污染，旨在論述臺灣社會環境意識的啟蒙與行動。本篇以 1979 年臺灣中部地區多氯聯苯(PCB)食用油污染事件為例，探討媒體報導與社會環境意識的關係。事件發生當時，《中國時報》以歷時一年多的「臺灣的生態環境問題」系列專輯報導，探討 PCB 食用油污染事件及土壤汙染、水汙染、工業汙染等相關環保議題。在此，媒體扮演了啟蒙社會大眾的角色；而該事件也宣告臺灣進入了現代風險社會時代，是戰後臺灣環境史的重要轉捩點。

第二篇則透過三個國家公園（即陽明山、太魯閣、及臺江內海國家公園），討論臺灣在「開發建設與環境保育」間的衝突和抉擇。在第二篇第一章中，作者認為「國家公園制度」可作為區域與國家生態永續發展的評估指標，並以陽明山國家公園為例展開論證。然而，國家公園制度在保育環境資源上，其實具有功能層次上的差異——當開發案的範圍在單一地方／區域內時，「設置國家公園以保育環境」的目標較易達成；但一旦開發利益涉及國家經濟發展，則區域環境生態的重要性將會變成次要，為經濟發展讓路。在第二篇第二章中，作者分析了東臺灣太魯閣國家公園的設置，證明區域保育和全國經濟效益間確實存在矛盾；而太魯閣國家公園也成為國家經濟政策優先於地方保育考量的最佳案例。第三篇第三章則意圖呈現「生態與生計」的對立。作者以臺江內海國家公園所在之臺南七股地區為切口，探討政府對海埔地的開發與利用政策、2005 年後全球對溫室效應的管制措施、濕地與瀕臨絕種生物保育概念、國際保育人士的支持等，對七股濕地保育運動的影響。作者從中發現，與 1980 年代以來的各種環境保護運動相較，七股濕地保育運動涉及的政治運作最為複雜，深受全球與在地

環境思想的影響，具有多元因素互相角力的特色。

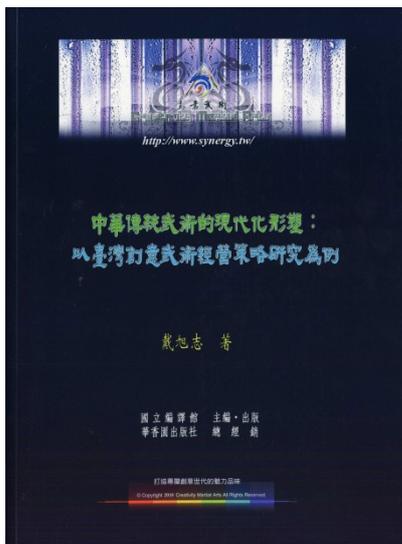
在第三篇的第一章中，作者則以國土規劃架構為思考基礎，分析 1980 年代國家公園設置的歷史意義，以及國家公園在國家資源保育政策上的功效與角色。臺灣於 1984 至 1986 年，共設立了墾丁、玉山、陽明山、太魯閣等四大國家公園。而因國家公園是一個可以增益國家自然資源的生態設施，其規範從而保護了臺灣最嚴峻的山林，防堵人類基於私利的破壞與開發。然而，其設計最初曾排除原住民權益，雖是一大缺憾，但也同時反映出臺灣社會當時的環境價值觀。在先前的篇章中，作者分別就中臺灣、北臺灣、東臺灣、南臺灣環境保育個案及全臺國土規畫為軸，以空間為軸線來探討環境保育。而在第三篇的第二章中，作者則改以「時間」為軸，加入西方「生態現代化 (Ecological Modernization)」和「生態國家 (Ecological State)」的理論，來分析臺灣戰後五十年的環境治理。依據此二概念，作者將戰後的臺灣環境治理，劃分為「國家強勢主導的治理期 (1950-1979)」與「多元複合勢力主導的治理期 (1980-2000)」。而政府對環境危機的回應，則如於 1955 年成立了「臺灣省環境衛生實驗所」，負責處理全省環境問題；於 1975 年成立了「臺灣省水污染防治所」，處理因嚴重的工業公害而產生的水污染問題等。依據實際事例與生態現代化的理論觀點，作者認為臺灣在 1950 年代就已經步入「生態現代化」階段；然因政府無法有效完成更為全面與深層的環境治理目標，目前臺灣仍在成為「生態國家」的道路上努力邁進。

第四篇則綜論本書的研究取向與價值，以全球環境主義與環境史的為理論基礎，回顧全書論點，並統整各篇的結構與論述意義。戰後工業發展引發了環境危機，但在全球環境主義 (Environmentalism) 興起之後，無論是激進派或改革派，都在尋求解決環境危機之道；而臺灣的發展之路，明顯偏向人本中心論 (Anthropocentrism)——重視環境保育與公害防治，但不反對資源的合理開發與使用。本書第一、二篇由本土 PCB 食用油汙染事件啟發社會環境意識、媒體扮演社會環境教育角色的轉捩點出發，接續以陽明山、太魯閣、與七股溼地等個案，分析「國家公園」在不同地區的效能差異。第三篇則在「國土規劃」的架構下，論述國家公園的設立，在戰後臺灣保育史上的意義；並以生態現代化與生態國家理論為基礎，剖析臺灣戰後國家環境治理的分期與本質。對國家來說，追求現代經濟發展與環境保育，各有重要性；但兩者之間，多數充滿對立關係。因此當「環境保育」成為全球生態政治的課題時，臺灣社會也應找出自己的選擇與主張。作者在戰後臺灣追求經濟發展的背景下，配合環境史理論發展的新趨勢，對臺灣環境課題進行長期的實證研究。而研究成果則凸顯了臺灣的問題所在——戰後五十年來，臺灣難以在政策上作出單一選擇，總是反覆面臨開發與保育的兩難。期望本書能發揮以史為鑑、拋磚引玉之效，幫助臺灣社會找出正確道路。

The Modern Forms of Traditional Chinese Martial Arts: A Case Study of the Business Strategy of Taiwan's Creative Martial Arts

Hsü-Chih Tai

Translated by Diane I-Hui Fu



From the end of the 19th century, economics and culture began to be closely linked: cultural activities emphasized economic benefits, while the economy sought cultural significance. Under globalization, Taiwan faces many of the effects of economic and industrial development, and internationalization has noticeably increased to the point where it has become part of everyday life. “Cultural Creative Industries,” a kind of technological, cultural, media, and economic revolution, have taken the world by storm; while “Creative Martial Arts” are new

martial arts forms developed from traditional Chinese martial arts in response to market pressures. In addition to preserving the spirit and techniques of traditional Chinese martial arts, they have also added elements from sports training, music, and the body language of different cultures to develop various modern martial arts suitable for many purposes, including parent-child interactions, aerobic exercise, and therapy, to meet the demands of different groups of consumers.

Nevertheless, because one has to follow market demand in order to develop a new market, newly created martial arts have to be closely integrated with their environments in order to provide added value to consumers. Thus, the present study has three main purposes:

1. To investigate opportunities for the modernization and future development of traditional Chinese martial arts under the effects of globalization and symbolic consumption
2. To analyze the efforts of the Chinese Creative Martial Arts Association to modernize and create new martial arts from the standpoint of Cultural Creative

Industries, and to examine how Creative Martial Arts develop

3. To attempt to understand international market development and consumption patterns by looking for opportunities for the development of Creative Martial Arts in the E generation of present-day Taiwan among health-conscious pink-collar workers, late middle-aged adults, and the elderly

In its research, the present study employs books, academic journals, periodicals, dissertations, the websites of professional organizations, newspapers, magazines, movies, and documents and promotional materials related to Creative Martial Arts associations to analyze the development of Creative Martial Arts and the Chinese Creative Martial Arts Association from the standpoint of textualism. It is to be hoped that through this investigation into the union of traditional Chinese martial arts and Cultural Creative Industries, both a clear development strategy for Creative Martial Arts and a means of implementing it can be discovered.

The first section of this paper contains the introduction, providing an overview of the background, questions, and methods of research and giving a list of the definitions of key terms, while also summarizing the contents of the study as a whole. The second section takes the concept of globalization as its focus, providing an overview of major research into the issues in globalization and anti-globalization done in the past decade while analyzing the views of globalization and anti-globalization and the relationship of these two ways of thinking to Cultural Consumption. The third section takes up the issue of Cultural Creative Industries, defining and introducing their meaning, their scope, and their international development. The authors analyze cultural consumption in modern society with the hope of finding a space for the development of traditional Chinese martial arts. The fourth section traces the historical development of traditional Chinese martial arts, which the authors have divided into periods of Germination (from ancient times to the Warring States Era), Development (from the Qin Dynasty to the Tang dynasty), Maturity (from the Song dynasty to the Qing dynasty), and Trials (from the beginning of the Republic to the present). The authors have also made separate investigations into the state of development, special characteristics, and different schools of martial arts in each period. The fifth section investigates the modern development of Chinese traditional martial arts. By looking at the development of the Chinese Creative Martial Arts Association and the martial arts activities it has hosted, the authors analyze the current creative and developmental niche occupied by Creative Martial Arts and the development strategy of Creative Martial Arts associations to provide relevant governmental and private organizations a more complete picture of the Creative Martial Arts industry. This section also

investigates the consumer experience that Creative Martial Arts provide as performing arts. The sixth section summarizes the preceding sections and provides suggestions for future researchers, members of the Creative Martial Arts Industry, and relevant government departments.

From a holistic perspective, health, well-being, simplicity, and interest have become key components of the modern consumer experience; while “experiencing the economy,” the heart of current Cultural Creative Industries, has vast untapped potential. Under the trend toward Cultural Creative Industries, as traditional Chinese martial arts modernize, they must also adjust their original styles to accommodate various experiential factors, other martial arts, and media marketing. Traditional martial arts must keep up with the pace and needs of society through combining different industries, media marketing, market segregation, and a consideration of the various environmental and cultural factors in the globalized economy. In this way, martial arts exercises can successfully modernize while providing satisfying consumer experiences.

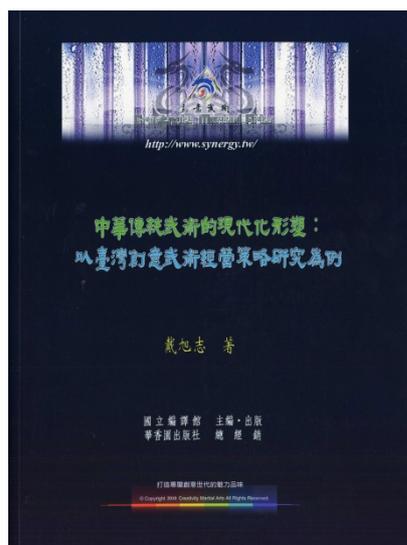
The present study maintains that as traditional martial arts modernize, they must also take into account consumer experience and marketing communication through the media and segregate their markets according to the needs of different consumers. They should consider such fundamental creative themes as “fashion,” “music,” “style,” “technology,” “well-being” and “simplicity,” and develop rich cultural associations and originality from them. Here, “new-style martial arts performances,” “artistic sensory sculptures,” and “community wellness” are key issues in the modernization of martial arts. Newly created martial arts satisfy the needs of children and teenagers for “new-style martial arts performances” and “artistic sensory sculptures.” Not only can traditional culture be passed down by attracting students with newly created stances and popular music and by allowing them to work together in groups; the level of variety in traditional martial arts can also be increased. “Community wellness” can satisfy the needs of females, late middle-aged adults and the elderly for healthy exercise and recreation. However, the ability of courses to meet the needs of busy people still needs to be taken into consideration in order to increase the commercial and economic value of traditional courses on well-being.

When it comes to their future development, traditional martial arts can use the traditional Chinese philosophy of the Yi Jing (Book of Changes) and Taiji (T'ai-chi) as a basis to blend traditional Chinese medicine, Qigong, martial arts, and modern sports medicine to develop science-based fitness courses. At the same time, they

should integrate the sports physiology and kinetics labs of colleges and universities to develop a series of courses based on different physiological needs, physical abilities, and markets, including courses in standing positions, sitting positions, floor exercises, water exercises, exercises using equipment, and group exercises. The present study also advises that martial arts associations be more socially responsible and keep up with the pace of the times and with international trends, bringing martial arts in line with society's fashions and sensory experiences, and working hard to promote the significance of martial arts for the body, in order to satisfy the needs of different groups of practitioners. Members of relevant industries must consider how to develop open, welcoming markets, creating the potential for "health industry chains" in the hope that they can provide more diverse experiences through a more holistic integration of the various kinds of materials available. To accomplish this goal, the present study advises that the government establish a coordinating mechanism between local and central associations, with an official organization responsible for determining the value and market position of traditional cultural products. At the same time, the government must collaborate with the academic world to create plans for the modification and management of traditional culture, to aid it in firmly establishing its place in Cultural Creative Industries and in continuing to develop in a sustainable fashion.

中華傳統武術的現代化形塑： 以臺灣創意武術經營策略研究為例

戴旭志



自

19 世紀末起，文化與經濟開始緊密結合，文化活動強調經濟效益，而經濟也追求文化意義。而臺灣在全球化趨勢與下，跨國交流顯著增加，成為日常生活的一部分，同時也面臨了許多經濟與產業發展衝擊。「文化創意產業（Cultural Creative Industries）」席捲全球，是一種結合科技、文化、媒體與經濟的革命；而「創意武術（Creative Martial Arts）」則是中華傳統武術在面臨市場考驗後，發展出來的創新武術。其除延續傳統武術的精神與技術外，也加入大量的運動訓練原則、音樂元素及來自不同文化的肢體語言，從中發展出各種現代武術與親子互

動、有氣、復健等目的之運動，來滿足不同族群的消費需求。

然而，市場開發必須貼近市場，武術運動的創新也應與環境密切結合，才能提升附加價值。因此，本研究有三大目的：（一）探討全球化與符號消費的趨勢下，中華傳統武術的未來發展與現代化轉型契機；（二）從文化創意產業的發展過程切入，分析「中華民國創意武術協會」對武術創新與現代化的努力，以檢視創意武術的發展性；（三）在當前臺灣社會之 E 世代文化與粉領／熟齡／銀髮族養生趨勢下，尋找創意武術運動的發展機會，期能藉此了解國際市場的發展與消費特徵。在研究方法上，本研究分析各種書籍學報、期刊論文、專業網站、報章雜誌、影片及創意武術協會相關之公文與會議資料，以詮釋學角度分析創意武術與中華民國創意武術協會之發展。期望能藉此探討中華傳統武術在現代化、與文化創意產業結合後，可行的發展方向與行動方案。

在章節安排上，第一章為緒論，統整敘述研究背景、問題、方法並提供重要名詞定義，同時綜整簡介全書章節內容。第二章以全球化此一概念為論述主軸，統整近十年來全球化、反全球化議題的重要研究，並且解析全球化、反全球化思維觀點，及二種思維與文化消費（Cultural Consumption）之關聯。第三章則以文化創意產業為焦點，介紹文化創意產業的定義、內容及其在各國之發展。作者解析了當代社會的文化消費現象，以期從中尋找中華傳統武術可能的發展空間。第四章旨為介紹中華傳統武術的發展歷史，作者將其分為萌芽期（上古至春秋戰國

時期)、發展期(秦漢至唐代)、成熟期(宋至清代)、考驗期(民國至今),並分別探討各時期武術的發展狀況、特色與社會脈絡。第五章則探討中華傳統武術的現代化發展,藉由分析中華民國創意武術協會的發展狀況和其舉辦武術活動,解析創意武術現有之創新與發展利基、以及創意武術協會的發展策略,以提供相關政府單位、民間組織更多元的思考方向。同時,本章也探討創意武術作為表演藝術時所提供的消費體驗。第六章則統整各章論述,並分別對後續研究者、產業業者、相關政府部門提出建議。

整體而言,「健康、養生、簡單、趣味」等元素已成為現代人消費體驗的重要關鍵;而體驗經濟正是當代文化創意產業的核心,擁有龐大的發展潛力。在此趨勢下,中華傳統武術在現代化時,也應調整其原有模式,將各種體驗元素與武術、媒體行銷融合——傳統武術應藉由異業結盟、媒體行銷、市場區分,並考量全球化經濟下的各種環境與文化因素,從而掌握社會脈動與需求,讓武術運動能成功地現代化,並且滿足消費者的體驗期待。

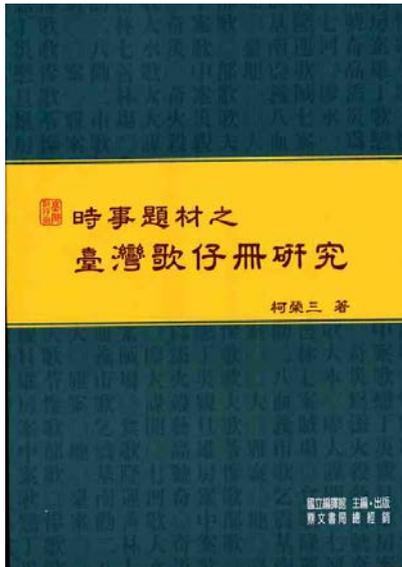
本書認為傳統武術在現代化時,必須將消費者體驗、媒體行銷傳播納入考量,並且依照不同族群之需求區分市場,以「流行」、「音樂」、「時尚」、「科學」、「養生」、「簡單」等基礎元素作為創作主題,從中展現豐富的文化內涵與創意。在此,「新形態武術展演」、「藝術感官雕塑」與「社區健康議題」則是武術現代化的發展關鍵。而創意武術恰好滿足了青少年與兒童族群在「新形態武術展演」、「藝術感官雕塑」上的需求,除能引導學子以創新的隊形與流行音樂來演繹傳統文化、體驗團隊合作經驗外,也可提升傳統武術的變化度;「社區養生議題」則能滿足女性、熟齡與銀髮族群的運動養生、律動養身需求,但仍須注意課程效能是否符合忙碌大眾的需求,進而提升傳統養生課程的產業經濟價值。

而在未來發展上,傳統武術可以中華傳統哲學中之〈易〉／太極思想為主體,融合中華文化傳統之醫學、氣功學、武學與現代運動醫學,發展科學化健身課程。同時也可結合大專院校的運動生理與運動力學實驗室,依據不同生理狀況、運動功能、市場區隔,開發站姿、坐姿、地板、水中運動、器具運動、團體性運動等系列課程。本研究也建議相關武術協會應加強社會責任,結合時代脈動與國際時尚走勢,將武術推入社會流行與感官經驗之中,並努力提升武術的肢體意義,以便滿足不同客群(參與者)的需求。相關產業業者則應思考開發加盟市場、形成「健康連鎖加盟業」的可能性,以期更全面的整合各方資源,提供多元化體驗。為達上述目的,本書則建議政府應成立地方、中央部會之協調窗口,並專門單位負責各項傳統文化產品的價值與市場定位分析;同時與學界專家合作,打造傳統文化的改造與經營計畫,幫助傳統文化在文化創意產業中站穩腳跟、永續發展。

Daily life and Contemporary Events As Reflected in Taiwanese Ballad Librettos

Rong-San Ke

Translated by Amanda Tsai



Taiwanese ballad librettos (*koa-á-chheh*) are texts used during the performance of Taiwanese ballads. Most of them are lengthy poetic narratives, written in the Southern Min dialect, with the themes in many of them being based on actual events. They reflect social customs and are closely related to the lives of the people; from them we can infer the customs and mores, as well as the thoughts and feelings, of the general public at the time of composition. Thus, scholars regard the study of these librettos as a new way of understanding Taiwanese society and popular

Taiwanese literature.

This work examines 10 ballad librettos based on what may be called “special events”: sensational events widely reported on in contemporary newspapers. It divides these special events into four types. (1) *Murder* (“The Ballad of the Strange Erlin Case”; “The Ballad of the Gruesome Case of Room No. 7 in Keelung”; “The Ballad of the Husband-killing Bloodbath”; “Exhortation to Virtue: The Ballad of Killing for Love”). (2) *Disaster* (“The Ballad of the Great Central Taiwan Earthquake”; “The Ballad of the Great Fire in Kaohsiung’s Linya Marketplace”; “The Ballad of the Great August Seventh Flood.”) (3) *Passion* (“The Ballad of the Strange Case of the Tainan Canal”; “The Ballad of the Beggar and the Geisha”). (4) *Robbery*. (“The Ballad of the Righteous Bandit Liao Tianding”).

The author has looked at the content, themes, and special characteristics of these 10 ballad librettos; he has also examined the various editions of the ballads, and considered their provenance and the history of their transmission. As a result, he has been able to accomplish the following research objectives: (1) Based on the current state of information available on Taiwanese ballad librettos, he has corrected and supplemented several gaps in our knowledge relating to Taiwanese ballad librettos. (2)

The author has compared the actual events with their literary counterparts, and by doing so he has been able to show how the librettos modified the actual events on which they were based. (3) After ascertaining the veracity of the events described in the librettos, he has analyzed the various literary techniques used to convey themes and distinctive characteristics. (4) He has shown how the librettos convey the concerns and values of ordinary folk. He has also explored the literary qualities of these librettos and considered how they reveal a literary concern for the common man.

In terms of research method, this work has the following characteristics: First, it has carefully examined the origins and transmission of different versions of the librettos under question. Second, it has made a thorough comparison of the librettos with the local gazettes, old newspapers and other sources out of which the librettos were constructed. By doing so, this work brings out the salient differences between the source texts and the final products. Finally, by looking at how special events are transformed in the process of being turned into librettos, it has been able to analyze the special themes and characteristics of Taiwanese ballad librettos.

In terms of results obtained, this work has three main contributions, as described in the following paragraphs. First, the author has discovered many previously unknown versions of librettos:

1. He has found forgotten versions of “The Ballad of the Gruesome Case of Room No. 7 in Keelung”, “Exhortation to Virtue: The Ballad of Killing for Love”, and “The Ballad of the Great Fire in Kaohsiung’s Linya Marketplace.” The author discovered these versions in a book published in 1958 by New Global Press of Jiayi, edited by Zhang Yu-Cheng.
2. The earliest known version of “The Ballad of the Strange Case of the Tainan Canal” is in the 1935 text “New Ballad of the Case of the Tainan Canal,” published by Ruicheng Publishing of Taichung. This discovery overturns the view that the earliest extant version of the libretto in question is to be found in the edition issued by Yuzhen Bookstore of Jiayi.
3. The 1935 edition of “The Ballad of the Righteous Bandit Liao Tianding”—edited by Taipei resident Liang Songlin and published by Xingxin Publishing of Hsinchu—has a tight plot filled with power, and should be used in performances. However, this version is exceedingly rare and known to only a few people.
4. The editor of the “The Ballad of the Great Central Taiwan Earthquake” is Lin Jiu. He is also known as Lin Han-zhang, Lin Dai-biao, and Lin Min-chuan.

Second is the revelation that the contents of Taiwanese ballad librettos do accurately reflect, to a certain extent, events that really took place. The editor of a ballad might

be cognizant of a special event because it took place in a locale well-known to him, and thus he was able to adapt it into a Taiwanese ballad format. For example, the events described in “The Ballad of the Strange Erlin Case” took place in Changhwa. And the earliest editions of “The Ballad of Husband-killing Bloodbath” and “Exhortation to Virtue: The Ballad of Killing for Love,” which took place in Jiayi and Tainan, respectively, were by Zhang Yu-cheng, a native of Jiayi. These clues show clearly that there is an unmistakable relationship between various locales and the events portrayed in Taiwanese ballad librettos. The librettos also tend to preserve many of the details of the specific events, for example in the disaster story “The Ballad of the Great Central Taiwan Earthquake,” the number of casualties reported is close to the official figure mentioned in “Taiwan Earthquake Journal of the 10th year of Shōwa ?” In “The Ballad of the Great Fire in Kaohsiung’s Linya Marketplace,” we find descriptions of how ordinary people and business owners helped out during rescue operations. In “The Ballad of the Great August Seventh Flood,” the focus is on describing how the disaster happened and the rescue operations that subsequently took place; it thus provides a view of events not found in official reports. All these facts are proof that the editors of Taiwanese ballads really did adapt their stories based on a close knowledge of the events that actually took place—in other words, the ballads were not figments of their imagination. For the same reason, these ballads have the characteristics of literary journalism. At the same time, however, the ballad editors also employed, without unduly altering the basic facts of their stories, a narrative strategy of combining truth and fiction, so as to create works that seem credible to their readers/auditors. The added sense of verisimilitude also helped to make their works more popular. For example, consider “The Ballad of the Strange Case of the Tainan Canal” and “The Ballad of the Beggar and the Geisha”: both are reflections of actual events; but when the stories are given a literary aspect, they accentuate the pitiful lives of men and women who die for love, or they show the sorrowful outcome of a materialistic geisha consumed by greed. The robber Liao Tianding is another example: he was known throughout Taiwan during the earlier stages of Japanese colonial rule; records of his crimes can be found in many a page of the *New Taiwan Daily* newspaper. But the editor of “The Ballad of the Righteous Bandit Liao Tianding” added numerous fictitious elements to his work to create a work more in accordance with public expectation, and as a result the only truth to be found in the story is the names of the people involved.

Among the ballads analyzed in the present work, “The Ballad of the Righteous Bandit Liao Tianding” is the most literary; its plot also contains a great deal of made-up material. From official Japanese records and newspapers of the time, we are unable to ascertain if Liao Tianding was a bandit who did in fact rob from the rich to give to the

poor; but this Robin-Hood-like aspect of him is always emphasized in the more popular ballads centering on him. In order to rob the rich and help the poor, all the while without being caught by Japanese authorities, the ballads tend to portray him as an exceptionally clever hero, with outstanding courage and wisdom, and possessed of wonderful martial arts skills. These added traits are precisely what the editors use to persuade their auditors/readers to sympathize and identify with Liao Tianding.

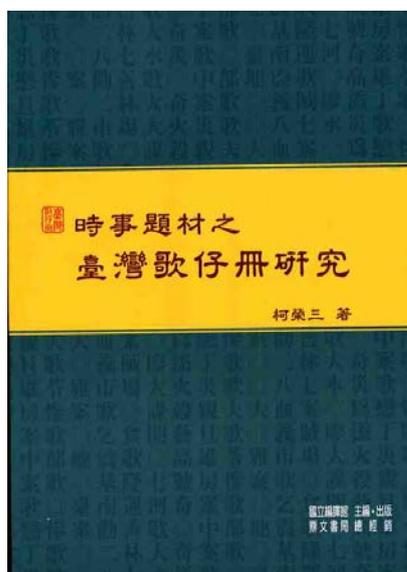
Third, when it comes to themes and special characteristics, the librettos tend to be moralistic and didactic, insofar as many of them contain warnings of what not to do. In this they fit in with the popular morality of their times and they make an effort to uphold certain values. In “The Ballad of the Strange Erlin Case” and “The Ballad of the Gruesome Case of Room No. 7 in Keelung,” for example, the critical clues that allow that police to crack the case come from supernatural sources, from which we can see that a belief in ghosts was deeply ingrained in contemporary society. In “The Ballad of Husband-killing Bloodbath” and “Exhortation to Virtue: The Ballad of Killing for Love,” the editors repeatedly stress the importance of doing good deeds and thinking before acting; they stress as well the notion that no crime goes unpunished. They do this because they hope that the general public will learn from the examples of these murder cases. The two works just mentioned are indeed outstanding examples of creative works that draw their inspiration from actual events that took place on Taiwanese soil. In the disaster stories “The Ballad of the Great Central Taiwan Earthquake” and “The Ballad of the Great August Seventh Flood,” we can see how ordinary people find solace in the face of disaster; we see as well the profound gratitude they feel for the assistance provided by the government. On the other hand, the female lead in “The Ballad of the Strange Case of the Tainan Canal” insists on maintaining her honor, and dies for love, while the female lead in “The Ballad of the Beggar and the Geisha” cares only about money even as she looks down on others, but in the end she ends up destitute. In these two ballads, we find an implicit criticism of the values held dear by society at the time; we also find an exhortation to value life and return to the right path.

Broadly speaking, Taiwanese ballad librettos are based on actual events. However, the exact mixture of truth and fiction that we find in them varies according to the technique of the editor and the theme that he wishes to emphasize. Stories based on murder and natural disasters emphasize the astonishing and the sensational, and are usually tied to a certain locale; thus they tend to correspond more closely to actual events, and have the characteristics of literary journalism. Stories based on ladies of the world and on robbing the rich to help the poor, on the other hand, tend to be legendary tales that emphasize romantic elements; thus they are highly entertaining and more literary. But then again, all types of Taiwanese ballad librettos implicitly

contain the values of the editor and contemporary society. These ballads attempt to inculcate virtue in the people; they convey such messages as “good deeds are rewarded and bad deeds punished;” “it is hard to go against the will of heaven;” and “one should be virtuous and help those in need.”

時事題材之臺灣歌仔冊研究

柯榮三



歌

仔冊是歌仔表演時的參照唱本，內容多半為閩南語長篇敘事詩。而許多的臺灣歌仔冊是由社會真實事件改編而來，與社會風俗、庶民生活緊密相

關，忠實地反映出當時的風俗民情與民眾思想。學者因而視此類歌仔冊為研究臺灣社會學與民俗學的最新途徑（王順隆，1993；陳兆南，1994）。

因此，本書選擇以特定時事為題材、以閩南語為書寫語言之臺灣歌仔冊為研究對象，並依其特性分為四類：1. 殺人事件：《二林大奇案歌》、《基隆七號房慘案歌》、《謀殺親夫大血案》、《為戀慘案勸善歌》；2. 災禍事件：《中部地震歌》、《高雄苓雅市場大火災歌》、《八七水災歌》；3. 風月

事件：《臺南運河奇案歌》、《乞食開藝旦歌》；4. 竊盜事件：《義賊廖添丁歌》。針對上述 10 種時事題材之歌仔冊，作者將分述其內容、主題與特色，並考證其版本源流，以完成下列研究目的：（一）根據目前能掌握的歌仔冊版本現況，修正與補充歌仔冊書目研究之疏漏；（二）考究時事原貌並分析歌仔冊內容的文學性，探索現實與文學兩者間的轉換歷程；（三）在確定歌仔冊所述時事的真實狀況後，分析其藉文學手法凸顯出來的主題與特色；（四）揭露歌仔冊敘事中隱含的庶民觀點與價值判斷，並探討歌仔冊中所含之庶民文學趣味與關懷。在研究方法上，本書首先詳加考察各種歌仔冊的版本源流；其次，將歌仔冊所敘時事與方志、舊報紙等文獻資料對照，深入比較各原始事件與歌仔冊所敘異同；最後則針對其從現實轉換至文學的歷程，分析各類歌仔冊彰顯的主題與特色。

本研究有三大方面的具體成果，以下分別敘述。首先，本書發掘出多種前人未知之歌仔冊版本：（一）作者發現了《基隆七號房慘案》、《為戀慘案勸善歌》與《高雄苓雅大菜市大火災歌》等三種歌仔冊的新環球本。此版本為嘉義人張玉成所編著，1958 年時由嘉義新環球印刷所印製。（二）最早以「臺南運河奇案」為題材之歌仔冊，是臺中瑞成書局於 1935 年發行之《運河奇案新歌》，而非嘉義玉珍書店發行之版本。（三）臺北人梁松林編著、1935 年由新竹興新出版社出版之《臺灣義賊新歌廖添丁》，其分冊結構具有敘事上的節奏張力，有其表演意義存在；但此版本極其罕見、鮮為人知。（四）《中部地震歌》之編著者林九，尚有「林漢璋」、「林達標」、「林敏川」等別名。

其次，則是歌仔冊的內容確實反映了一定程度的事實。編著者可能因地緣關係而獲知事件，從而改編寫成歌仔冊，如殺人事件《二林大奇案歌》發生於彰化，而早期版本的編著者「洪月」亦為彰化人；描述嘉義情殺案的《謀殺親夫大血案》與描敘臺南情殺案的《為戀慘案勸善歌》，最早則由嘉義人張玉成編著成冊。這些線索都顯現了地緣與事件改編為歌仔冊間的關係。而歌仔冊內容也保留了許多事件細節，如災禍事件《中部地震歌》中所記死傷人數與官方調查報告《昭和十年臺灣震災誌》相近；《高雄苓雅市場大火災歌》描述了市井小民與商家的救災、賑災義舉；《八七水災歌》則專注於描述事件經過與災情，提供了統計數字以外的事件報導。上述事實顯現了編著者確實是基於所知的真相而行改編，並非憑空想像而來；而這些歌仔冊也因此具有報導文學性質。然而，歌仔冊編著者也可能在不違背某一程度的「真實」下，採用虛實交雜的敘事策略來說服聽眾／讀者，藉以強化作品「可信度」並增加賣點，如風月事件《臺南運河奇案歌》、《乞食開藝旦歌》在反應社會真實面的前提下，透過文學手段凸顯了苦戀男女為情而死的可憐命運、以及勢利妓女貪錢被害的可悲下場；而廖添丁雖是日治初期名震全臺的大盜匪，其犯罪消息於《臺灣日日新報》上歷歷可考，但竊盜事件《義賊廖添丁歌》的編著者則以虛構情節重新塑造了一個符合大眾期待的形象，使其內容多半只有人名正確。

就本次所分析的歌仔冊而言，《義賊廖添丁歌》是其中文學性最強者，歌仔冊中有許多虛構情節。從日本官方文獻與報紙紀錄中，我們無法得知廖添丁是否確實有劫富濟貧之舉；但在民間流行的歌仔冊中，這卻是其行事特色。而為了能劫富濟貧並周旋於日本警察之間不被逮捕，歌仔冊中的廖添丁具備了靈活機智、膽識過人、武藝高強等特質，正是編著者用以說服聽眾／讀者對認同廖添丁的文學手法。

其三，在主題與特色上，歌仔冊的內容多半具有高度的勸善與警世意味，吻合當時庶民信仰並努力維繫的價值觀。在《二林大奇案歌》、《基隆七號房慘案歌》中，可由警察的破案關鍵看出鬼神之說深植人心；在《謀殺親夫大血案》、《為戀慘案勸善歌》中，編著者則反覆奉勸世人為善、三思後行、惡有惡報等道理，期望大眾從殺人事件中得到教訓，可謂是汲取臺灣本土現實經驗的創作佳作。在災禍事件《中部地震歌》、《八七水災歌》中，則能看出庶民面對災變的心靈安頓之道，以及人民對於政府救援的感激之情。而《臺南運河奇案歌》的女主角堅持名節為愛殉情，《乞食開藝旦歌》則因見錢眼開、目中無人而潦倒一生，這令人同情／批判的結局便隱含了當時社會的價值觀，同時也勸人珍惜生命、回歸正途。

整體而言，以時事為題材之臺灣歌仔冊，其真實與虛構程度會隨編著者的手法與關注焦點有所差異。兇殺案件、天災地變題材著重於宣傳地方上的聳動聽聞，因此真實性較高，具有報導文學的特性；而尋花問柳、劫富濟貧題材的歌仔冊則著重講唱浪漫的傳奇故事，因此娛樂性、文學性較強。然而，各種主題的歌仔冊皆隱含有編著者與當時社會的價值觀，藉由傳唱來教化世人，傳達善有善報、惡有惡報、天意難違、仗義助人等道理。

Studies on Taiwanese Folk Songs Composed in the Southern Min Language during the Japanese Colonial Period

Wen-Ju Huang

Translated by Amanda Tsai



The basic form of Taiwanese folk songs composed in the Southern Min language is four lines per stanza, with seven characters per line. The art form is distinctive because of its initial rhyme scheme, the rhetorical devices it employs, and its chanting style of delivery. The songs are a type of folk literature representative of an entire culture. During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895-1945), Taiwanese intellectuals hoped that in these songs they could discover a distinctive Taiwanese identity, and that such a discovery

could help them accomplish the goal of creating an artistic culture suitable for the entire general public. During the Japanese occupation, Taiwanese folk songs in Southern Min had great variety and value. Though their main theme was love, the songs also incorporated history and culture, customs and beliefs, depictions of scenery, and the movement to strengthen society through sports. The songs were written in a special format with a distinctive idiom, so that the performers could sing the songs in such a way so as to achieve the most educational and entertainment value for their listeners in the shortest amount of time.

During the Japanese colonial era, these songs were anthologized by both the Japanese colonists and the local Taiwanese. The present work seeks to understand the motives of these anthologists, how they went about gathering their songs, and the results they achieved. It also explores how their different outlooks and backgrounds came to have an impact on the types of anthologies they produced. Another concern of this work is to understand how Taiwanese folk songs in the Southern Min dialect were redacted by the literati and by those with special motives. The author hopes that this work, an investigation of Taiwanese folk songs, which are a type of folk literature, can help to preserve and raise awareness of our precious cultural heritage.

In terms of methodology, this work seeks, through an examination and analysis of historical documents and the folk songs themselves, to understand the origins of Taiwanese folk songs composed in the Southern Min language during the Japanese era, why the songs were so popular, and why there was such strong enthusiasm for anthologizing them. The author also compares Japanese anthologists with local ones, and explains why their motives differed, and how the results they achieved differed as well. In addition, the author examines the differing viewpoints and value judgments held by the two groups, from which examination he seeks to observe the themes, rhetorical techniques, and contemporary value of Taiwanese folk songs in Southern Min during the Japanese colonial era.

The work as a whole is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One aims to define and characterize Taiwanese folk songs in Southern Min composed during the Japanese colonial era. The purpose of the chapter is to help the reader understand how these songs came into being and how they were performed. Chapter Two describes the life and times in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period. In addition, it gives information on how anthologists during that time went about their task. Chapter Three provides an in-depth look at the results achieved by Japanese anthologists of Taiwanese folk songs in the Southern Min language. It also describes some of the special features of Japanese anthologies. Chapter Four and Five focus on various newspapers and literary magazines published by the Taiwanese during the Japanese colonial era. It also considers the types of folk songs featured in these journals and some of their distinctive features. Chapter Six examines the themes of Taiwanese folk songs from the Japanese colonial era and the contemporary significance that they had. Chapter Seven concludes the work.

In terms of results obtained, there were three main findings. The first has to do with how the Japanese assembled Taiwanese folk songs in the Southern Min language. During the Meiji era in Taiwan (1895-1912), two main associations were in charge of assembling folk songs: “The Society for Studying Taiwanese Customs” (founded in 1900) and “The Provisional Society for the Investigation of Traditional Taiwanese Customs” (1901). The main goals of these associations, both of which had close ties with the colonial government, were to investigate Taiwanese folk customs and traditional mores, so as to help the Japanese government rule over Taiwanese people more effectively. During the Taisho period (1912-1926), the main anthologies were compiled by individuals; for instance, Hirasawa Heishichi’s “Taiwanese Folk Songs and Famous Tales” and Kataoka Iwao’s “Records of Taiwanese Customs.” During the

Showa period (1926-1945), because of the increasingly tense international situation, Japan began promoting the Kominka movement and the idea of the Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The former stressed the importance of Japanese culture, whereas the latter placed emphasis on uniting the different cultures of East Asia. Thus learning more about folk cultures became official policy, with scholars and experts put in charge of the investigations. The two major works of this period were Higashikata Takayoshi's "Taiwanese Customs" and Daigaku Kagoshima's "Anthology of Taiwanese Folk Songs." Judging by the results of anthologies compiled by the Japanese, we can see that the goal of the editors was the transformation of Taiwanese culture: through their anthologies, they sought to make Taiwanese culture more compatible with Japanese culture. At the same time, however, during the last phase of the Japanese colonial period, the government also glorified both a war-like spirit and various folk arts; this special phenomenon had the effect of deepening research into the histories of Taiwanese literature and Taiwanese folk literature.

The second category of findings concerns the results obtained by Taiwanese anthologists. As a result of the New Literature Movement and the New Culture Movement that arose during the Japanese colonial era, socialist and popular art ideas made inroads into the Taiwanese consciousness. In addition, during the 1930s, when there were fierce debates over Taiwanese folk literature and the Taiwanese written language, many circumstances came together to inspire enormous enthusiasm for assembling Taiwanese folk literature. Two works from this era are especially indicative of the importance that magazines and newspapers placed on Taiwanese folk songs and folk literature: The New Citizen Taiwanese Times(臺灣新民報) ran a special column on folk songs from issue No. 346 (Jan. 10, 1931) to issue No. 365 (May 23, 1931); Zheng Kun-Wu also published, in the Taiwanese Art Garden magazine(臺灣藝苑), 32 folk songs, including "the Four Seasons of Spring." Besides these two publications, the "3-6-9 Gazette (三六九小報)" and the "Wind Moon Gazette (風月報)" were also important venues for the publication of Taiwanese folk songs. These two "leisure journals" made their views known indirectly; through their entertainment pages they expressed their political discontent; at the same time, they also published many folk songs in the Southern Min language, as well as imitations written by contemporary authors. As a result, the Taiwanese folk songs that we have today are all the richer. In terms of individual anthologists, the work of Lee Xian-zhang is the most significant. His "Collection of Taiwanese Folk Literature" contains 509 Taiwanese folk songs. It also contains ample footnotes and commentaries and as such is a monumental work that assembles many views on Taiwanese folk literature prevalent in the 1930s. Most of the folk songs it contains

have to do with love, but they also contain stories of a didactic and moral nature as well as snippets of history. Besides Lee Xian-zhang, other writers, such as Kuo Qiu-sheng and Lin Qing-yue, also made major contributions; Lin in particular published “An Anthology of Folk Songs” and “Imitations of Popular Songs,” works which won him the name of “Doctor Composer.” Many Taiwanese writers during the Japanese colonial era had a profound sense of their own culture; thus during their process of assembling Taiwanese folk songs in the Southern Min language they were able to distinguish Taiwan from both Japan and China. They also expressed their concerns for the less powerful members of Taiwanese society. Sorting through Taiwanese folk songs in the Southern Min not only allowed them to raise the value of Taiwanese folk literature; the process also helped to free Taiwanese intellectuals from the dominant view of their colonial rulers, and to speak on behalf of their Taiwanese identity.

The third and final point made in this work concerns the distinctive features of Taiwanese folk songs written in the Southern Min language. In terms of content, Taiwanese folk songs in the Southern Min language from the Japanese colonial era address a variety of subjects, including the following: the collective historical memory held by immigrants from Fujian and Guangdong, on events dating from the Qing dynasty and Japanese colonial era; the cultural mores of the time; the life and times of distinctive groups of people; and so on. The folk songs from the Japanese colonial era also had contemporary significance. One of these was that the folk songs served a useful purpose. By carrying out investigations into the art form, the Japanese colonial government hoped to assimilate the people into Japanese culture. Taiwanese intellectuals, on the other hand, hoped that the songs could provide a written language for spoken Taiwanese, and that the folk songs could help to realize a popular art form rooted in Taiwanese culture. A second function of the folk songs was that they represented the indigenous consciousness of Taiwanese literature. The songs were a folk literature, written in the Taiwanese language; intellectuals hoped that the songs could be used to build a literature reflective of local concerns, one that stood against political and cultural oppression by the colonial government. A third function of the songs was that they urged their listeners to eschew evil and pursue the good. The songs truthfully reflected how different classes of society actually lived. By reflecting these elements, the authors hoped to influence both singers and listeners, through the use of admonitions, irony, and allegory. The hoped-for result was that those that came into contact with the folk songs would affirm the value of life and care deeply about the world, so that Taiwanese society could become more wholesome, with a stronger concern for kindness and basic human decency.

Studies on the history of Taiwanese literature are still concerned mainly with the lives of writers and the New Literature movement; but increasingly there is also a concern with folk literature. Taiwanese folk songs in the Southern Min language constitute precious materials for the study of Taiwanese literary history and of the history of Taiwanese folk literature during the Japanese colonial era. Even though it is still not entirely clear if all the transcribed folk songs are authentic, researchers should not ignore their contemporary significance and cultural value. As scholars write histories of Taiwanese literature and Taiwanese folk literature, they ought to take these folk songs into consideration.

日治時期臺灣閩南歌謠研究

黃文車



臺

臺灣閩南歌謠以七言四句為基本形式，具有特殊的起句押韻、技巧修辭和唸唱方式，是一種屬於集體文化的民間文學；而日治時期臺灣的知識份子也期望從中尋找自主性與本土性，藉以完成「文藝大眾化」的目標。日治時期的臺灣閩南語歌謠擁有多元風貌與特殊價值，其主題以「男女愛情」為主，兼有「歷史文化」、「風俗信仰」、「地景風光」、「運動強身」等，並以特殊的句式套語寫成，讓演唱者能在最短時間內唱出內容，完成講唱與娛樂的目標。

本研究探討了日治時期日人與臺人采集整理臺灣閩南歌謠的動機、過程與成果，以及因采集者不同的主觀意識、背景環境而呈現出來的輯錄特徵。此外，許多臺灣閩南歌謠曾經文人／有心人改編，其內容主題與思想特色亦是本研究的關注焦點。作者期望能藉由此書，全方位地觀察來自民間的臺灣閩南語歌謠，讓珍貴的民間文學能重受珍視。

在研究方法上，本研究藉由考證、分析文獻史料與歌謠內容，來了解日治時期臺灣閩南歌謠的發展淵源、情況及當時盛行采集風氣之因。同時，作者也分析日人和臺灣知識份子在采集動機與成果上的差異，以及隱含在差異裡的主觀意識與價值判斷，從中觀察臺灣閩南歌謠所具備的主題思考、修辭藝術與時代價值。全書章節安排簡述如下：第一章旨在介紹臺灣閩南語歌謠的定義與型態特色，幫助讀者了解臺灣閩南語歌謠的書寫結構與表演方式。第二章則概述日治時期的時空背景，以及當時人士采集臺灣閩南語歌謠的狀況。第三章則深入探討日人在明治、大正與昭和時期的閩南語歌謠采集成果，以及其展現出來的思想特色。第四、五章則敘述日治時期臺人所辦之報章與文藝雜誌的歌謠采集成果，以及各種輯錄的特色。第六章介紹日治時期臺灣閩南歌謠的內容題材與時代意義，第七章則為全書結論。

在研究結果上，則可為三大方面敘述。首先，在日人收集臺灣閩南歌謠的工作上，明治時期（1895~1912）以日本治台初期成立的「臺灣慣習研究會」（1900年成立）和「臨時臺灣舊慣調查會」（1901）為主。此二組織具有濃厚官方色彩，主要目的在於調查臺灣的民俗信仰和舊有習慣，以供日人治理臺灣之用。到了大正時期（1912~1926），成果則多呈現於個人輯錄中，如平澤丁東的《臺灣的歌謠與著名故事》（《臺灣の歌謠と名著物語》）以及片岡巖的《臺灣風俗誌》等書。進入昭和時期（1926~1945）後，因國際情勢逐漸緊張，皇民化運動與大東亞共榮

園同時展開；前者宣揚日本文化，但後者卻講求彙整東亞各民族的民族特色，因此民俗調查重新成為官方政策重點，交由學者專家主導研究。而東方孝義的《臺灣習俗》和稻田尹的《臺灣歌謠集》，便是此時期的主要成果。由日人整理臺灣歌謠的成果來看，可以發現日人是以移風易俗為目標，藉此落實殖民者的同化政策；然而，日治末期政府同時鼓吹戰爭藝術與鄉土藝術，此特殊現象也增加了臺灣文學史與臺灣民間文學史的研究深度。

其次，則是由臺灣人主導的臺灣閩南歌謠收集成果。因日治時期新文學與新文化運動興起，社會主義與文藝大眾化等思潮傳入臺灣，加上 1930 年代時值臺灣鄉土文學與臺灣話文的論戰期間，多方因素作用下讓臺灣文學界掀起一股臺灣民間文學采集風潮。在此期間，來自《臺灣新民報》346 號（1931/1/10）至 365 號（1931/5/23）的「歌謠」專欄、以及鄭坤五於《臺灣藝苑》所刊載的〈四季春〉等 32 首「臺灣國風」歌謠，充分顯現了知識性報章雜誌對臺灣閩南語歌謠、鄉土文學的重視。除上述二者外，《三六九小報》與《風月報》亦是當時重要的閩南歌謠刊行園地。此二「消閑小報」以邊緣、迂迴的方式發聲，在軟性消閑中隱含了對政治的不滿，同時也刊載許多當時采集的閩南歌謠與文人仿作，讓今日所見的臺灣閩南歌謠擁有豐富的面貌。而若以個人整理臺灣閩南歌謠者而論，成果最為豐碩者當屬李獻璋。李獻璋所編著的《臺灣民間文學集》收錄了 509 首臺灣閩南語歌謠，並在輯錄作品中加上注釋以利閱讀，可說是集 1930 年代臺灣民間文學采集工作之大成。此書所輯歌謠主題多是男女愛情，但亦包含勸世教化和歷史故事等主題。除此之外，郭秋生、林清月等人亦著力甚多，後者甚至因出版《歌謠集粹》和《仿詞體之流行歌》等書而有「醫生歌手」之名。日治時期的臺灣文人作家懷有深層的本土文化意識，因而能在采集臺灣閩南語歌謠時將臺灣與中國、日本區隔開來，並且關懷臺灣社會的底層群眾。因此，整理臺灣閩南語歌謠不僅能提高民間文學的價值，更能讓臺灣知識份子從殖民者的主觀霸權中解脫，為臺灣本土發聲。

最後，則是日治時期臺灣閩南語歌謠的特色。在內容主題方面，日治時期臺灣閩南語歌謠的主題相當多元，如閩粵移民、清領與日治時期的歷史記憶，以及當時社會的文化風俗、特殊人物族群的生活面貌等，皆是歌謠的描述主題。而日治時期的臺灣閩南歌謠也具有特殊的時代意義——其一，臺灣閩南歌謠具有明顯的工具性。日本殖民政府期望藉由民俗調查，來達到移風易俗、民族同化等成果；而臺灣知識分子則將歌謠作為臺灣話文字化的工具，希望能落實文藝大眾化、臺灣話文與鄉土文學等理念。其二，臺灣閩南歌謠代表了臺灣文學的本土意識。閩南歌謠是以臺灣話文書寫的民間文學，知識分子企圖以此建構具有臺灣本土意識的文學作品，反抗殖民政府在政治與文化上的壓迫。其三，臺灣閩南歌謠含有濃厚的勸善意味。臺灣閩南歌謠描述了社會各階層的真实面貌，藉人生百態以寓諷警世，期望唸唱者和聽歌者都能正視人生價值、關懷社會生命，讓臺灣社會能更加淳樸善良。

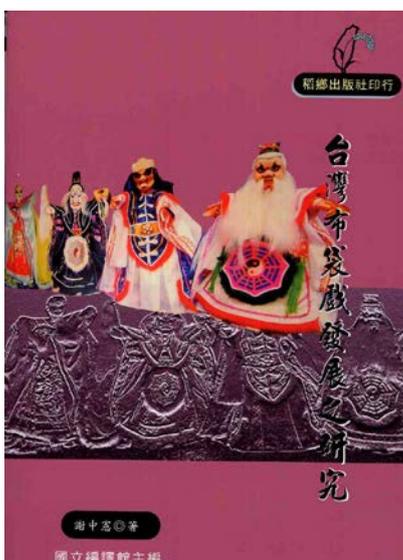
當臺灣文學史研究仍以文人作家或新文學為主流之際，臺灣民間文學研究也逐漸起步；而臺灣閩南語歌謠則是研究日治時期的臺灣文學史或臺灣民間文學史

之珍貴素材。雖然臺灣閩南語歌謠記錄仍有真偽問題，但研究者不應忽略其時代意義和文學價值，應在建構臺灣文學史及臺灣民間文學史時將其納入討論範圍才是。

Research into the Development of Taiwan's Puppet Theater

Chung-Hsien Hsieh

Translated by Diane I-Hui Fu



Given the difficulties into which Taiwan's Puppet Theater has fallen in recent years and the sharp decline in the number of viewers, the present study attempts to reflect upon the whole historical development process of Puppet Theater in order to give readers an understanding of Puppet Theater in Taiwan and inspire them to care about and passionately enjoy it. Most current academic research done on the topic of the historical development of Puppet Theater focuses on the period beginning with the end of World War II,

with very few writers sparing a thought for Puppet Theater during the period of Japanese control of Taiwan. Therefore, to fill in the gaps in the history of the development of Puppet Theater in Taiwan, the present study takes the various written historical materials, prior research, newspapers, and narrative histories as primary materials for analysis, to investigate in turn the origin of Puppet Theater, the period of its introduction to Taiwan, and its later development. It must be specially noted that, owing to the scarcity of historical materials on and investigations into the development of Puppet Theater prior to the end of World War II, the present study relies largely on newspapers and narrative histories from artists as the basis for its discussion of the period.

The first chapter of this book is devoted to explaining the motivation for the study, its methodology, and a review of relevant research. The second chapter investigates the origins of Puppet Theater and the period of its introduction to Taiwan and reviews the conditions under which it developed during the period of Qing rule. The third chapter takes the Japanization movement of 1937 as a cutoff point for separating its investigation into the conditions of Puppet Theater's development in the periods prior to and following Japanese control of Taiwan. The fourth chapter relates the development of the Puppet Theater following the end of World War II. Here, for

reasons of space, “thunderbolt” (*pili*) Puppet Theater is not included in the scope of this investigation. The fifth chapter concludes the book, and provides not only a summary of its contents but also suggestions for extricating Puppet Theater from the difficulties it currently faces.

Previous research has held that the origin of Puppet Theater lies in the period between the final years of the Ming dynasty and the early years of the Qing dynasty. According to the earliest evidence examined by the present study, the *Record of Pleasure Boats in Yangzhou (Yangzhou huafang lu)*, this does indeed appear to be the case. The earliest Puppet Theater performances were quite crude, a kind of small-scale, one-man act by a traveling artist. Yet even at this time the performances had already taken on an embryonic form which would determine the gestures and the practice of singing the narration of later Puppet Theater. Regarding the question of when Puppet Theater was introduced to Taiwan, however, previous studies have indicated that this took place during the reigns of Emperor Qianlong (1735-1796), Emperor Jiaqing (1796-1820), Emperors Daoguang and Xianfeng (1820-1861), or Emperor Tongzhi (1861-1875), and that the tradition of Puppet Theaters was introduced by immigrants who came to Taiwan during that time. However, the present study finds that the extant evidence used to support placing the introduction of Puppet Theater into any one of these four reign-periods is problematic. Relying solely on historical sources, the earliest time for the introduction of Puppet Theater to Taiwan is the 13th year of Emperor Tongzhi (1874). Based on immigration records, the period of introduction of other kinds of drama to Taiwan, and the records of Lian Heng’s *Official Speech (Yayan)*, the present study proposes that the period for the introduction of Puppet Theater to Taiwan can be traced back to the time of Emperors Qianlong or Jiaqing, with a *terminus ante quem* of 1874.

Because the Qing rulers did not enact many policies for controlling the development of Puppet Theater in Taiwan, it was very successful at attracting audiences once it had been introduced. During the period of Qing rule, all Puppet Theater in Taiwan was done in *nanguan* style, and was divided into Quanzhou, Zhangzhou, and Chaozhou schools. The librettos used by these schools were based on literary works, with very elegant action and music, but were not much to the tastes of the lower classes. For this reason, the *beiguan* style of Puppet Theater arose after 1875. The plots of *beiguan* works usually involved destroying the wicked and helping the weak, with a performance style characterized by very distinct musical rhythms and lots of martial arts action. From this time forward, *beiguan* gradually replaced *nanguan* as the dominant school of Puppet Theater in Taiwan.

In the early period of Japanese control (1895-1937), the Japanese colonial government adopted a policy of maintaining Taiwan's existing customs and did not place many restrictions on Puppet Theater performances; most of the restrictions issued were for reasons of maintaining morality, public safety, and control over the colonial population. Thus, during this period Taiwan's Puppet Theater performances remained quite lively and experienced much innovation. From a stylistic standpoint, the archetypal "sons" play was developed, in which the sons of good families amused themselves at the brothel, as well as commercialized, private "inner stage performances" for patrons of the theater. The plots of these new plays revolved around a main character of great talent battling evil and chivalrously defending the greater good of society (*shehui gongyi*) with his swordsmanship. This type of plot did not follow historical details too closely, so that on the one hand it can be considered a kind of Taiwanese localization of Puppet Theater; while on the other hand, in addition to giving the performer even more room to display his skills and establish his individual style, it also influenced later schools of Puppet Theater.

During the later period of Japanese rule (1935-1945), due to the war between China and Japan, the colonial administration promoted "Japanization" in Taiwan, and Puppet Theater was completely prohibited. Although the efforts of cultural advocate Huang De-Shi made some Puppet Theater performances possible, there remained only seven officially recognized groups with permission to perform, and these were subject to the oversight of the Taiwan Theatrical Association (*Taiwan yanju xiehui*). These groups were required to travel throughout the island and perform rigid "Japanized" dramas, causing Puppet Theater to lose the traits of commercial entertainment and religious significance that had originally characterized it, and transforming it into an instrument of political and cultural propaganda. Under the rigorous oversight of the colonial administration, Taiwanese Puppet Theater in this period struggled for survival and underwent several changes in staging, music, and content. In terms of staging, three-dimensional backdrops were adopted; in terms of music, because Chinese music was prohibited, Western music or records were used to accompany the action, slowly differentiating Puppet Theater music from that of other traditional theater; and because the content of the plays had to be either Japanized or use Japanese themes, they ceased to be based on traditional novels or dramas, using Japanese stories and characters instead. These changes allowed Puppet Theater to continue to exist under the pressures of Japanese colonial rule, while at the same time leading to the development of a new kind of performance and creative work that would enable Puppet Theater to later become the liveliest kind of popular theatrical performances.

In the period following World War II, Puppet Theater was freed from its prior restraints and performances flourished. After the 2-28 Incident and the retreat of the Kuomintang to Taiwan, however, the KMT began placing restrictions on Puppet Theater performances. At this time, not only was Puppet Theater subject to the control of the authorities, but performers were also required to submit librettos with the applications to perform their plays, along with the author's name and the date of composition. In addition, they were required to certify that their performance did not go against the Three Principles of the People, government regulations, the spirit of the times or public morality, and to submit all of this documentation to the authorities for review. Under past restrictions, Puppet Theater performers during the period of Japanese occupation had learned how to cooperate with government authorities, and they soon developed an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet agenda to win favor with their new rulers. In addition, Puppet Theater continued to evolve under government supervision, adding various audio-visual technologies to the music, lighting, and special effects. In terms of librettos, this period saw the development of the "Diamond" or "Golden Light" dramas, with main characters whose bodies were indestructible, and thrilling plot twists. Performances would change depending on audience reaction, putting the audience themselves in the role of "editor." In this way, Taiwanese Puppet Theater formally parted ways with Chinese Puppet Theater, casting off traditional Chinese shackles in order to follow its own individual path.

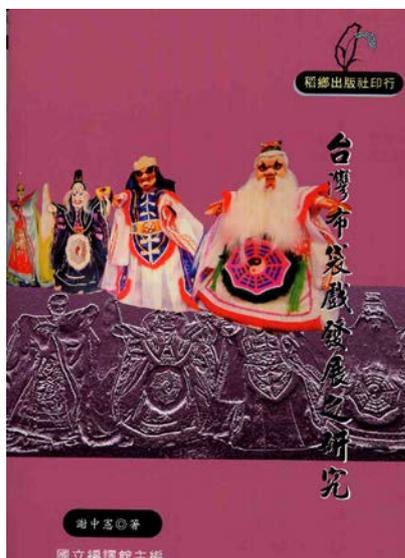
"Diamond" Puppet Theater was suitable for both public and private theatrical performances. Owing to the gradual spread of television, however, some private theater companies began to broadcast their shows live. The spread of television also led to a decline in theaters, so that by the 1970s private theater companies were fast dying out, and most theater troupes had shifted to giving new, public performances of old works with strong religious connections. In 1979, when restrictions on religious worship were lifted, opportunities for performing Puppet Theater in public greatly increased. At this time the theater troupes engaged in friendly competition among themselves to stage performances and worked hard to raise the quality of their shows, which reached its peak in 1980. In 1985, when Da-jia-le (a kind of gambling) started to become popular, whenever someone won the jackpot, a Puppet Theater troupe would be invited to perform a play of thanks to the gods, giving theater troupes of all kinds plenty of work to do and promoting the growth of recorded Puppet Theater. This development lowered the barriers to entrance by new performers and started a vicious competition among Puppet Theater troupes. After the government put a stop to gambling at Café de Coral, performance opportunities for theater troupes were

reduced overnight, and the quality of Puppet Theater performances gradually declined amid the ensuing vicious cycle of price cutting and personal competition. Today, with the exception of a few large-scale puppet troupes, Puppet Theater is a far cry from the sold-out performances of its glory days.

Concerning the current plight of Puppet Theater, the present study proposes the creation of a system of professional certification and acting licenses for theater troupes, with clearly defined restrictions on the price of performances and periodic evaluations of acting quality in order to force theater troupes to attract their audiences through the quality of their acting and not engage in price cutting competitions. At the same time, holding courses in Puppet Theater at acting schools and providing internships can cultivate future talent, increase the quality of acting at all levels, and rekindle popular enthusiasm for Puppet Theater.

臺灣布袋戲發展之研究

謝中憲



有鑑於近年來布袋戲發展陷入窘境、觀眾大幅減少，本研究意圖回顧布袋戲的整體發展歷程，讓讀者能對臺灣布袋戲有所認識，進而勾起讀者對布袋戲的關懷與熱愛。目前學界研究布袋戲發展史者多以終戰後為主，對日治時期著墨不多；因此，為彌補臺灣布袋戲發展史研究的斷層，本研究以各種文獻資料、前人研究、報紙與口述歷史為主要分析資料，逐一探討布袋戲的起源、布袋戲傳入臺灣的時間點、傳入臺灣後的發展等面向。需要特別注意的是，因終戰前與布袋戲發展有關的史料與調查十分稀少，故本研究在探討終戰前的布袋戲發

展時，多以報紙與民間藝人的口述歷史為論述基礎。

本書第一章旨在說明研究動機、方法，並回顧既有研究。第二章則探討布袋戲的起源與入臺時間，並敘述清領時期的布袋戲發展狀況。第三章則以皇民化運動（1937年）為分水嶺，分別探討日治前期、後期的布袋戲發展狀況。第四章則敘述終戰後的布袋戲發展。在此，因篇幅之故，霹靂布袋戲不列入本書探討範圍。第五章則為結論，旨在總結全書並對臺灣布袋戲所面臨的困境提出建議。

過去研究認為，布袋戲起源於明末清初；而根據本研究所得之最早史料《揚州畫舫錄》，此說確實有其根據。起初布袋戲表演相當簡陋，是一種小規模的單人賣藝表演；但此時的表演已有雛形，奠定了日後布袋戲以手操偶、以口唱念口白的表演方式。而在布袋戲傳入臺灣的時間點上，以往認為是在乾隆年間、嘉慶年間、道光咸豐年間或同治年間時，隨著移民一同進入臺灣。但本研究認為這四種說法的既有證據都有錯誤。單就史料來看，布袋戲入臺時間可推至1874年（清同治13年）；而本研究根據移民史、其他戲曲入台時間與連橫《雅言》中之記載來推論，布袋戲的入臺時間應可上推至乾隆、嘉慶年間，1874年則是最晚的傳入時間。

因清朝統治者並未對臺灣布袋戲有太多管制措施，布袋戲傳入臺灣後便成功地發展出觀賞人口。在清領時期中，早期傳入臺灣的布袋戲皆屬南管體系，分別有泉州、漳州與潮州三種派別。這些派別的表演劇情以文戲為主，動作與音樂細膩，但較不符合社會下層大眾的喜好。因此，1875年後北管布袋戲開始崛起，其劇情以除惡扶弱為主，使得表演音樂節奏分明、擁有許多武打動作。此後北管布袋戲便逐漸取代南管布袋戲，成為主流。

在日治前期(1895~1937年),日本殖民政府採取尊重臺灣舊慣的統治態度,對布袋戲演出的限制尚屬合理,多是基於維護社會風俗、穩固社會治安與殖民統治基礎為出發點。因此,此時期臺灣布袋戲表演仍相當活躍,也有許多嶄新的發展。在演出形式上,發展出由良家子弟玩票表演的子弟戲,以及屬於室內商業化表演的內臺戲;在演出劇本上,則出現了主角身懷絕技,打擊邪惡維護社會公義的劍俠戲。這類劇本不受史實限制,一則可視為臺灣布袋戲劇目的本土化,二則除讓演師有更大的發揮空間、樹立個人風格之外,也影響了日後的布袋戲流派。

日治後期(1937~1945年)因中日戰爭之故,殖民統治者在臺灣推行皇民化運動,布袋戲受到全面的禁止。雖在文化人士黃得時的努力下,布袋戲獲得演出機會,但通過認可得以公開演出劇團卻僅剩七團,同時也須接受臺灣演劇協會的管控。這些劇團需至各地巡迴演出僵化的皇民化劇,喪失了布袋戲原本的商業娛樂與宗教意義,變成了殖民政府進行政治、文化宣傳的工具。在殖民政府的嚴密監控下,此時期的臺灣布袋戲為尋求生存,在佈景、音樂、劇本內容有了以下轉變:在佈景上轉用具立體感的佈景片;音樂上因中國鼓樂受禁,改採西洋音樂或唱片配音,與其他傳統戲曲漸有不同;而因劇本內容需有皇民化或日本色彩,劇本取材不再限於傳統歷史與戲曲小說,加入了日本民間故事與角色。這些改變讓布袋戲能在政治壓力下自我保護,同時也發展出另一條表演與創作道路,讓布袋戲得以成為日後民間最活躍的戲曲表演。

在終戰初期,布袋戲獲得了全面解放,表演相當繁盛;但在二二八事件發生與國民黨政府敗退後,國民黨政府開始增加對布袋戲的限制。此時期的臺灣布袋戲除需受主管機關管控外,也需在申請演出登記時附上劇本、著者姓名與著作時間,並且保證劇本內容沒有違反三民主義、政府政令、時代精神與善良風俗之事,交由主管機關審查。在這些限制下,日治時期就懂得如何與執政者相處的臺灣布袋戲,發展出迎合統治者喜好的反共抗俄劇。除此之外,布袋戲仍在政府的控制下持續發展,在音樂、燈光與舞台效果上,加入了各種聲光科技;劇本創作上則出現了金剛戲/金光戲此一嶄新類型,其主角多具有金剛不壞之身,且情節起伏扣人心弦、表演時以觀眾反應決定後續發展,觀眾本身就是編劇。至此,臺灣布袋戲正式與中國布袋戲分道揚鑣,跳脫中國傳統的桎梏走出了自己的道路。

金剛戲在內臺、外臺戲中皆可表演,但因電視逐漸普及,部分內臺布袋戲團轉而開始製播電視布袋戲。而電視普及也讓戲院沒落,導致1970代後內臺戲迅速萎縮,多數戲團將演出重心移至具有強烈宗教性質的外臺戲上;而在1979年宗教祭祀解禁後,外臺戲的演出機會更為大增。此時劇團間為爭取演出機會而彼此良性競爭、精進拚戲,布袋戲的演出水準在1980年代達到了高峰。1985年大家樂開始盛行,民眾中獎後便聘請布袋戲團演出酬神,使得各劇團應接不暇,因而推出了錄音帶布袋戲。此舉降低了布袋戲事業的進入門檻,布袋戲團間開始惡性競爭;而在政府遏止大家樂簽賭歪風後,戲團演出機會瞬間減少,在以削價、人情競爭為主的惡性循環下,布袋戲的演出水準逐漸低落。如今除少數大型布袋戲團外,已不復過去萬人空巷的榮景。

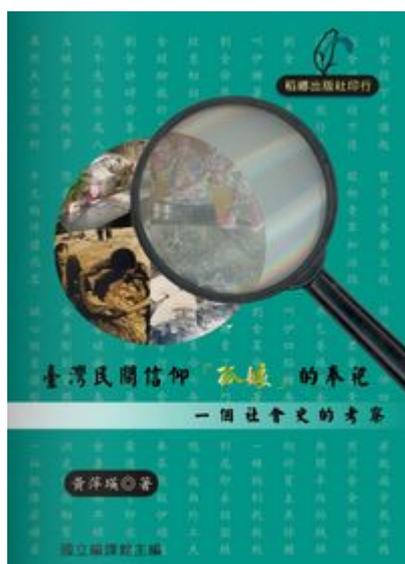
對於布袋戲目前的困境，本研究建議應建立戲團登記與演出執照申請制度，並明定演出價格下限，定期評鑑表演水準，讓劇團以表演技巧吸引觀眾，而非採行削價競爭。同時，也可在戲劇學校中增設相關科系、提供實習機會，藉此培養後繼表演人才，從各方面提升表演水準，重新找回觀眾對布袋戲的喜愛之情。

Taiwanese Folk Religion and the Worship of Lonely

Maidens: A Social History Investigation

Ping-Yin Huang

Translated by Amanda Tsai



A common proverb runs, “No un-married woman can be worshipped in the family shrine.” What the proverb means, in the context of the Han Chinese in Taiwan, is that daughters are excluded from the family shrines of their natal families: Their spirits cannot be worshipped in the families into which they were born. Thus females must be married off, if they are to receive, after their death, legally sanctioned worship. If they are unmarried at the time of their death, they run

the risk of becoming “stray ghosts” with no one to worship them. Not only does this belief have implications for the daughters themselves; it also poses a problem for their families and indeed for all of society. By adopting a social history perspective, this work explores how Han Chinese in Taiwan address the problems relating to the worshipping of females who die young or prior to marriage.

The historical sources used in this work include local gazettes, religious investigations compiled during the time of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895-1945), newspaper reports, records from “lonely maiden” temples throughout Taiwan, and various epitaphs. In addition, the present work makes use of field reports and oral histories told by local elders. These sources provide an understanding of the worship of female ghosts in Taiwanese folk religion. Chapter One sketches some of the beliefs regarding female ghosts held by Han Chinese in Taiwan. Chapter Two describes the custom of ghost marriages as practiced by Han Chinese in Taiwan; it also explores how the ghosts of females who die young are reintegrated into the patriarchal family system. Chapter

Three describes Lonely Maiden Temples and the beliefs and cultures deriving from these temples. Chapter Four is a case study on the Lonely Maiden Temple of Zhang Yu; it helps to explain the social and religious significance of a belief in female ghosts in Taiwan.

The primary concern of the present work is to investigate how ghost marriages and the establishment of temples have been used to solve the problem of female ghosts. It finds that Taiwanese society, in addressing the problem of how to pay obeisance to un-worshipped females, made a distinction between female ghosts from one's own family and wandering female ghosts from unknown families. These two types of female ghosts are referred to as "familial ghosts" and "stray ghosts." When discussing the custom of ghost marriages, this book is primarily concerned with young female ghosts who ask to be married—what are known in Taiwanese folk customs as "female ghosts in search of a husband." This custom of marrying the dead is not popular, but it is nevertheless prevalent. As far as family ghosts are concerned, marriage allows them to become ancestral spirits of their husband's family; it spares them the pain of becoming lonely wandering ghosts, and thereby helps to resolve the problem of a breakdown in order caused by the early demise of a daughter. At the same time, in a marriage with the dead a living wife comes to take the place of a ghost wife, and thus through marriage the lonely ghost's familial ties are expanded. However, the present work also speculates that perhaps when the idea that "no unmarried woman can be worshipped in the family shrine" becomes part of the collective consciousness of society, it also implies that "marriage into a family" becomes the only viable option for females. This is actually a reflection of the deep-seated fears of a patriarchal system concerning unmarried women and women who reject marriage. In fact, it is another form of oppression of women.

In folklore legends, the sexual prowess and sexual needs of female ghosts are repeatedly stressed, in direct contradiction to the traditional view that sex for women is for procreation only. Ghost marriages, then, are a way of reining in the uncontrolled sexuality of female ghosts and incorporating them into the patriarchal system. At the same time, they also challenge notions of sex in a traditional society. The sexual needs of female ghosts can be tamed by her sexual partner and in time: three days after the marriage, the female ghost is allowed to become a formal wife, and she becomes duly regulated according to the norms of the patriarchy. There have also been instances where a real wife seeks a divorce because she lives in fear of the ghost wife, or because the ghost

wife has usurped her role as the main wife. From these considerations it is clear that although the custom of ghost marriages can help to perpetuate and strengthen a patriarchal system, it also poses a challenge to patriarchal notions of traditional marriages and social order.

In its treatment of stray female ghosts, this work seeks to clarify first of all a current misunderstanding among scholars concerning the meaning of the phrase “Maiden Temples.” In fact, these temples were not established to host the divine tablets of maidens who died young; on the contrary, they were created to appease the ghosts of these maidens, because of what the ghosts had already done, or to prevent them from causing trouble to certain regions. Whether a Maiden Temple hosts divine tablets has to do with the development and management of these temples. Through the building of a temple, a stray ghost in the wilderness is allowed to receive incense and other offerings, and she also has a chance of becoming a goddess. It is also likely that the spirits worshipped in Maiden temples are not the same as the unmarried, Han Chinese maidens discussed in the present work; it could be the case that the spirits worshipped are generic female ghosts and/or the temple’s gods. For instance, in Linbian, Pingtung County, there is a Pan Maiden temple; but even though it is a maiden temple, it most likely has something to do with the belief system of the aborigine Pingpu tribe, and not much to do with the Lonely Maiden temples discussed in the present work. There are also certain temples that are called Maiden temples because of the large number of divine tablets of dead female spirits that they contain. When it comes to worship at Maiden temples, there are three configurations: when a single maiden is worshipped; when a single maiden is the main object of worship, but many other gods and Buddhist deities are worshipped along with her; and when she is worshipped together with the Earth god. Of these three, the last one, where a maiden is worshipped jointly with the Earth god, is the most popular. This goes to show how multifarious is the practice of worshipping female spirits.

Although unmarried female ghosts without an ancestral tablet are the subjects of both ghost marriages and lonely maiden temples, these two phenomena have completely different characteristics. In a ghost marriage, emphasis is laid on the sexual prowess of the bride, which then finds an outlet through marriage with the groom. But when a temple is dedicated to a female ghost, which thereby makes her a communal ghost/goddess, her a-sexuality, purity and inviolability are emphasized.

Sexual purity and sexual prowess appear to be complete opposites. In the view of the present work, however, the two are identical, insofar as both are ways of incorporating female ghosts back into the norms of the patriarchal system: both are responses to disordered female sexuality. The difference between the two lies in the fact that a bride has her sexuality taken care of by attaching her to a husband through a marriage ceremony, whereas a female goddess has her sexuality, as well as her sexual autonomy, stripped and taken away from her. These two ways of handling the problem show that in a patriarchal system, one implicit reason for solving the problem of female ghosts might be as follows: to bring the disordered and unbridled sexuality of female ghosts into the fold, and by doing so to dissolve a force (female sexuality) that has the potential of disrupting the patriarchal structure of society.

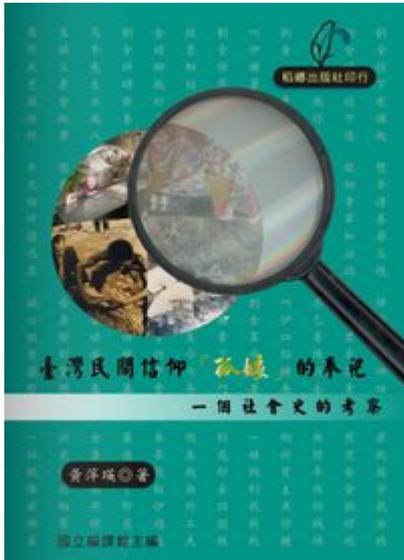
The final chapter of the present work is a case study involving the Zhang Yugu Temple (today called the Shen Qing Temple) in Xingang Township (today called Shengang Township) of Changhua. The chapter examines how the ghosts of three young female ghosts (the stray ghost Zhang Yugu, the ghost of Zhang Jinhua, who died by drowning, and that of a maiden surnamed Ke) are handled by the temple. The case study not only restores the entire history of how the ghost of Zhang Yugu made her presence known; it also helps to fill certain gaps relating to our knowledge of female ghosts. By examining the specific cases of the aforementioned three ghosts, the chapter also sheds light on how familial ghosts and stray ghosts are handled in a Han-Chinese-in-Taiwan context; as such it fits in nicely with the other chapters of the present work. As the case study conducted in the present chapter helps to explain the phenomenon of female ghosts in Taiwan, it has great significance in helping us to understand Taiwanese society and religion.

The objective of the present work is to understand how Han Chinese in Taiwan treat and worship females who die young or before they are married. However, due to a lack of historical sources, it is not possible at the moment to perform an analysis across time and place. Thus much work remains to be done. For example, researchers can look at the issue from the point of view of Taiwan's early settlement history; they could examine how the worshipping of female ghosts has to do with kin relations, the land, and the intermingling of tribes; they might also consider how it relates to local power and the distribution of resources. On the other hand, the scope of research might also be extended to

include the worshipping of daughters who have had a divorce. Although women have been repressed by the traditional patriarchy, and their lives have been limited by married life, women nevertheless can use societal customs to reverse their inferior position; for instance, they can use ghost marriages to improve their own marriage, and to make arrangements for themselves after their death. Regardless of what perspective a researcher takes, he/she must keep in mind that social history research cannot focus only on a single issue; it should look at different social phenomena from more than one point of view.

臺灣民間信仰「孤娘」的奉祀：一個社會史的考察

黃萍瑛



俗 話說「厝內不奉祀姑婆」或「尪架桌（神明桌上）不奉祀姑婆」，意即臺灣漢人社會的女兒被排除生家的宗祧之外，無法在生家中得到祭祀。所以女子必須出嫁，死後才能得到合法的香火祭祀，否則將有淪為無嗣孤魂野鬼的危機。而上述問題影響的範圍並不只是女子本身，更是整個家庭與社區的社會問題。因此，本書將在社會史研究的脈絡中，探討臺灣漢人社會如何處理早夭與未婚即逝女子的祭祀。

本書所用的史料包含地方志、日治時期的宗教調查報告、報紙、以及各地姑娘廟的廟誌與碑文，配合田野調查與地方耆老的口述資料，來了解臺灣民間的女鬼信仰。本書第一章概述臺灣漢人社會的女鬼信仰。第二章說明臺灣漢人社會的冥婚習俗，探討早夭女鬼如何藉冥婚重回父系社會體系。第三章說明何謂「姑娘廟」，及其衍生出來的信仰文化。第四章則以張玉姑廟為研究個案，以此說明臺灣女鬼信仰在社會與宗教上的意義。

本書主要探討冥婚與立祠蓋廟這兩種解決女鬼祭祀問題的方式。本書發現，臺灣社會在解決無嗣女鬼的祭祀問題時，自家早夭或未婚去世的女兒與外頭無主孤女芳魂是有所不同的，本書分別以家鬼和野鬼（荒郊孤魂女鬼）稱之。書中所談之「冥婚」主要以早夭亡女要求嫁人為個案，即臺灣民間社會常見的「女鬼討嫁」風俗。此種「娶神主牌」的習俗雖不為人樂意接受，但卻相當普遍。對家鬼來說，冥婚讓家鬼成為夫家世系的祖先，不會因無嗣而淪為孤魂，從而解決了女兒未婚即逝的失序問題；同時冥婚中活妻代替鬼妻的角色，藉姻親關係擴大孤娘生家社會關係網絡。然而，本書也提及或許當「厝內不奉祀姑婆」成為一種社會意識，婚姻了女性的惟一「歸屬」或前途時其實反映了男性／父系社會對女性不婚或拒婚的恐懼，著實是壓抑女性的一種表現。

在民間傳說中，女鬼的性能力與性需求被反覆強調，背離傳統視女性的「性」僅為生殖的觀念；而冥婚正是一種將女鬼未受控制的性納回父系社會體系的措施，但也挑戰了傳統社會中的性觀念。因此，鬼新娘的性需求與性能力是有對象與時間限制的，在洞房三天後便能正式成為祖先，回復父系社會應有的秩序。而活妻因懼鬼求去、或者因冥婚倫理被迫降為後妻的事例亦不少見。由此可見，冥

婚習俗雖可延續與鞏固父系社會，但也會對父系社會中的正統婚姻與社會秩序形成挑戰。

在野鬼的處理上，本書首要釐清目前學界對「姑娘廟」一詞的誤解。事實上，姑娘廟並非為收容地方早夭女子神主牌而立，而是因女魂的事蹟、或是為免除女鬼作祟地方而建；姑娘廟是否供人安置神主牌位，則與該廟的發展與經營有關。蓋廟使荒郊無嗣女鬼得以享有香火，也有機會成為女神。而「姑娘廟」所奉祀的也可能不是本書所討論的漢人孤娘，只是崇祀女性鬼／神廟宇的眾多稱呼之一。例如，屏東林邊的潘姑娘廟雖有「姑娘廟」之名，但其實應與平埔族人的信仰有很大的關係，而非本書所討論的姑娘廟；亦有寺廟因寄祀許多女性逝者的神主牌位，而被居民以姑娘廟稱之。在姑娘廟的祭祀情形上，則有祭祀單一孤娘的神靈、以孤娘為主祀但副祀許多神佛，與土地公合祀等三種情形。最常見的則是與土地公合祀，讓孤娘能附帶得到民眾對土地公的祭祀。足見姑娘廟信仰的多樣性。

冥婚與姑娘廟中的孤娘雖都是未婚無嗣的女鬼，但卻擁有截然不同的性別特質。在冥婚中，鬼新娘性能力被強調，與男性締結儀式性的性關係；在公共領域被人立祠建廟崇祀的女鬼／神，卻是被人強調無性與純潔、神聖不可侵犯的。本書認為，女鬼／鬼新娘的「淫蕩」（蕩婦）與女神的「純潔」（聖女）表面上看來雖是南轅北轍，但這些女鬼被納回父系社會正常軌道的方式是一樣的，重點皆在於處理女鬼失序的「性」。兩者間的差別在於：鬼新娘以締結儀式性的性關係來依附於一位男性；女神的性別角色及性自主則被去除與剝奪。而這樣的處理方式也顯現了在父系社會中，解決孤娘問題可能隱含有以下目標：解決未婚無嗣女鬼未被納入規範秩序中的性，以便消除這些可能顛覆父權社會的力量。

本書最後以彰化新港鄉（今之「伸港鄉」）的張玉姑廟（今之「伸慶宮」）為研究個案，觀察社會對此個案中三位孤女芳魂（荒郊野鬼張玉姑、落水溺斃的張金花及柯姓少女）的處理。個案除還原了「張玉姑顯靈說」事件的歷史，也填補了女鬼信仰相關研究的缺口。而在討論臺灣漢人社會早夭或未婚女子亡魂的安頓上，本個案也兼有對家鬼與野鬼的處理，與本書論述互相呼應。因此，該個案對於說明臺灣社會女鬼信仰的情形來說，在宗教或是社會層面上都有重要意義。

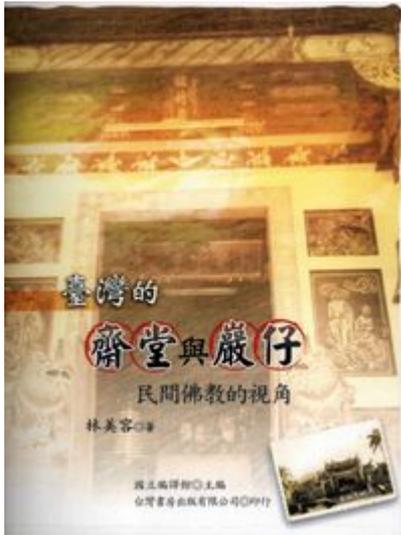
本書旨在探討臺灣漢人社會如何處理早夭與未婚即逝女子的祭祀，但因史料稀少之故，暫時無法進行時間與空間上的縱向、橫向分析。對於未來的研究者而言，仍有許多探討空間。例如，研究者可由臺灣開發史的角度著手，觀察女鬼信仰與血緣／地緣／氏族融合間的關係，以及與地方勢力／資源分配間的關係。另一方面，也可將研究範圍擴及離婚女兒的祭祀。然而，傳統父權社會中女性雖被壓抑、受制於婚姻生活，但女性亦有利利用社會習俗以扭轉劣勢，例如主動利用冥婚來改善自己的婚姻、安排身後事等。無論研究者採取何種角度，都必須謹記社會史研究不應只關注單一面向，亦應從另一個角度來觀察現象才是。

Vegetarian Halls and Mountain Temples:

Folk Buddhism in Taiwan

Mei-Rong Lin

Translated by Amanda Tsai



The term “Vegetarian Halls” (*Zhai Tang*) refers to Buddhist shrines built and maintained by stay-at-home practitioners of Buddhism. As such, they differ from Buddhist temples built and maintained by monastic Buddhist communities. They are a special feature of the Zhai School (*Zhai Jiao*) of Buddhism, which is a generic term for three other schools that had been unrelated to one another—the Xiantian School, the Jinchuang school, and the Lunghua school. During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895-1945), the Japanese colonial government collectively referred to these three schools as the Chi Zhai Religion, a term that was subsequently shortened to the Zhai School. Followers of the Zhai School are known variously as “Friends of the Zhai,” “Zhai Nuns,” and “Zhai Monks.” In Taiwanese they are referred to as “The Stay-at-Homers,” to emphasize the fact that they practice their faith at home, without committing to monastic life. The Zhai School is a sectarian cult; it differs qualitatively from other folk religions.

A second group of interest to the present work is the Mountain Temple religion. The term “Mountain Temples” (*Giam-a*) refers to temples built in mountainous regions. In terms of their appearance, these temples, which always have an intimate connection with the mountains in which they are located, look like both “*si*” (i.e. Buddhist temples) and “*miao*” (non-Buddhist temples). Some mountain temples look like a cross between folk religion temples and new-age religious temples; but generally speaking mountain temples resemble non-Buddhist temples (*miao*) the most. Many pavilions dedicated to the goddess Kuan-Yin also resemble mountain temples. Kuan Yin pavilions, however, are usually built in the middle of busy cities.

This work proposes the term “folk Buddhism” for the purposes of understanding the

different belief systems of Taiwanese folk religions and traditional Buddhism. By examining different aspects of the Zhai and Mountain Temple religions, both of which are practiced in Taiwan, this work attempts to provide a concrete description of the concept of folk Buddhism. At the same time, it examines folk Buddhism from the point of view of folk religions.

This work represents a revision and compilation of the various papers on the Zhai and on Mountain Temple schools that the author has written in recent years. In terms of structure, it contains three main parts. The first is an analysis of the beliefs surrounding the belief in Kuan Yin. This analysis not only helps to explain more clearly what is meant by the term folk Buddhism, it also provides a transition to the rest of the work. Parts two and three of the work are concerned with Vegetarian Halls and Mountain Temples, respectively. The concept of folk Buddhism runs through the entire work and holds it together. Part 1 also contains a description of the current state of Vegetarian Halls and Mountain Temples in Taiwan. In addition, there is a chapter discussing the Zhai School in Changhua, Taiwan, as well as the relation between Mountain Temples in the southern part of the island with folk Buddhism. Some of the chapters were written jointly with Dr. Zhu Yun-hui, or Mr. Zhang Kuen-zheng, or Mr. Su Quan-zhen.

In the view of the author, folk Buddhism is becoming more like a folk religion in some ways; at the same time, folk religion is also becoming more like traditional Buddhism. The main evidence for asserting that Buddhism is becoming more folk-like is as follows. (1) The deification of the Buddha has transformed Kuan-Yin into a god, one who receives offerings just like any other folk deity. (2) Belief in Kuan-Yin (Sanskrit: Avalokiteśvara) is becoming more localized. Like other gods revered in folk religions, Kuan-Yin now is a deity over various districts; and belief in Kuan-Yin has given birth to various territorial cults. (3) Belief in Kuan-Yin is becoming feminized. The Bodhisattva Kuan-Yin is now referred to as “Kuan-Yin Mother,” “the Matronly Kuan-Yin,” “Kuan-Yin Mother of Buddha.” Kuan-Yin now rivals the goddess Matsu. (4) There is also the domestication of religious practice. In Buddhism there is the belief that the sangha should renounce the world and enter a monastery—a belief in conflict with the strong emphasis on the family that we find in Han Chinese culture. But Han Chinese Buddhism has now given rise to the Zhai School, whose belief system allows the sangha to stay at home, thereby lessening the conflict between religion and culture. At the moment, the clergy in the Zhai School are allowed to set up temples in their own homes, preach the dharma and devote themselves to Buddhism, have disciples, and even marry and have children in their

own homes.

The evidence asserting that folk religion is becoming more like traditional Buddhism is as follows. (1) Buddhist clergy now preside over folk temples and are in charge of important ceremonies. (2) Folk temples now also worship Buddhist figures such as Kuan-Yin and Shakyamuni. Other Buddhist figures are also worshipped in folk temples. When local religious figures are unable to carry out their religious duties as temple leaders, they ask Buddhist clergy to do so in their stead. (3) Folk temples, especially those that worship Kuan-Yin, and Mountain Temples, are gradually starting to offer vegetarian sacrifices.

The Mountain Temple school regards itself as a branch of Buddhism. Although its followers recite classic Buddhist sutras, every sub-school within the school has its own leaders, hierarchy, sacred texts and teachings. Followers of the Mountain Temple school also must adhere to a strict regimen and remain vegetarians their whole lives. On the other hand, they do not need to wear the tonsure and on most days they do not need to put on Buddhist robes. They work to support themselves, like ordinary people. In some sects they are even allowed to marry and have children. In their temples the Kuan-Yin Bodhisattva that is worshipped is also called Kuan-Yin Ancestor of Buddha. However, this Kuan-Yin cannot be in many places at once; nor is she carried around in different places for the people to worship, as is often the case with other folk religions. In terms of architecture, the temples of the Mountain Temple School are completely different from those of traditional Buddhist and folk religions. Generally speaking, an inner, quiet, and peaceful religious atmosphere pervades Mountain Temple halls.

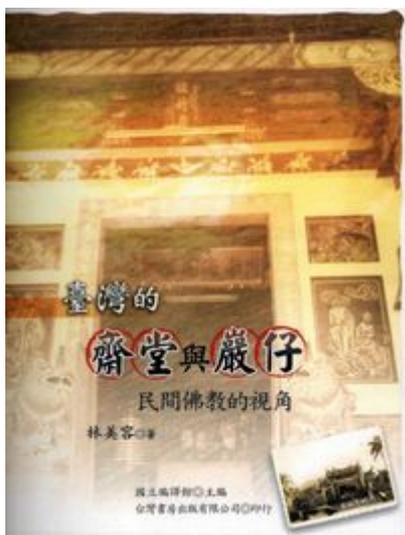
The buildings of the Mountain Temple school have ridges that curve upwards. They look very different from traditional Buddhist temples (*si*) and are closer in appearance to folk temples. During the earlier period, temples of the Mountain Temple school were built by the laity who would take care of the structures at home; sometimes they would also leave the temples in the hands of the clergy. Kuan-Yuan Bodhisattva has many entitles, such as Kuan-Yin Ancestor of Buddha, Mother Kuan-Yin, Kuan-Yin Mother of Buddha, and so on. These various Kuan-Yins are allowed to wear Buddhist caps and put on Buddhist robes. They can also appear in many places at once, and are carried around in large processions to different places. In addition, they can receive gifts in the forms of animal sacrifices and gold paper money. In the southern parts of Taiwan, other deities besides Kuan-Yin are also worshipped in Mountain Temples. These temples also provide services to the people such as allowing them to pose questions to the gods, draw solicitation slips, burn golden money, light special

illumination candles, and burn joss sticks. No wonder the temples are hubs of activity during religious festivals. Because the Kuan-Yin statues in Mountain Temples resemble folk deities, they can also be worshipped by the faithful. They also have the attributes, nature, power, and magical skills possessed by other folk deities. Thus they can also become territorial deities. When this happens, depending on how large the territory is that a particular Kuan-Yin oversees, her temple might even become the center of local worship. From these considerations we can see that Kuan-Yin in the Mountain Temple school is open to different interpretations and has become assimilated into folk religion. Folk religion also teaches that Kuan-Yin can rescue and help save lost souls; thus Mountain Temples will sometimes perform ceremonies to redeem lost souls.

Traditional Buddhism is not tied closely to any particular locale; neither does it deify Bodhisattvas or worship gods (though sometimes it offers them sacrificial offerings). In addition, the leaders of traditional Buddhism come from the community of monks and nuns. Folk Buddhism, on the other hand, is tied closely to specific places; its formation is related to the process whereby a foreign religion has entered and spread into a new country. Folk Buddhism also deifies Bodhisattvas, monks, and ghosts (sometimes it offers them sacrificial offerings). In folk Buddhism, the faithful are also led by the laity, not clergy. Folk Buddhism can thus be said to be a compromise reached as Buddhism entered Han Chinese culture. It represents the movement of Buddhism becoming more like a folk religion; the process also suggests that Buddhism and folk religions are becoming more similar. In all this intermingling, the most significant developments are the deification of Kuan-Yin and the process of making her more compatible with folk religion. She has been given feminine attributes and has the motherly quality of being tolerant and accommodating. She is also an object of worship by both the Zhai and the Mountain Temple schools. From the above description, we can see that Kuan-Yin as worshipped by these two schools is extremely different from the Kuan-Yin Bodhisattva that we find in Buddhist texts. The author of this present work has written it after visiting various locales and conducting numerous interviews. In addition, she has sifted through and compared literary and non-literary (buildings, artifacts) sources, as well as oral histories. In conclusion, this work is concerned with the intersection of folk Buddhism, the Zhai School, and the Mountain Temple School; for all the hallmarks of folk Buddhism are clearly manifested in the two schools.

臺灣的齋堂與巖仔—民間佛教的視角

林美容



齋堂 (Zhai Tang; vegetarian halls) 指由在家人建立與管理的佛堂。齋堂屬於齋教 (Zhai Jiao)，是三個不相屬的教派——先天派、金幢派、龍華派的統稱。

因日治時期日本政府將三個有在家修行之傳統的教派稱為「持齋宗」，其後便將在家修行的教派統稱為「齋教」。齋教的信徒或稱齋友、齋姑、齋媽、齋公，臺語均稱為「在家修」，凸顯了齋教的在家主義。齋教是屬於教派性宗教 (sectarian cult)，和民間信仰有本質上的差異。巖仔 (Giam-a; mountain temples) 指山寺，所在地多與山有密切的關係，性質介於寺、廟之間，有些

則與民間信仰與新興宗教混合，但大體而言其類型較偏向廟。許多市街中的「觀音亭」亦有與巖仔類似的性質，但位置則多在熱鬧的市街中心。

而本書提出民間佛教 (folk Buddhism) 的概念，用以理解臺灣民間與正信佛教不同的信仰型態。作者藉由臺灣民間中齋堂與巖仔顯現出來的各個面向，具體闡述民間佛教的概念，同時也以民間信仰的角度來理解民間佛教。本書為作者近年有關臺灣齋堂和巖仔信仰的相關論文修訂集結而成，書寫架構以齋堂相關篇章為先，巖仔相關篇章次之，並以民間佛教的概念貫串全書。作者從觀音信仰的型態切入，說明民間佛教的概念與樣貌，同時提供臺灣齋堂、巖仔的清冊與現況。另外則有章節專論臺灣彰化之齋教，及南部地區的巖仔與民間佛教的關係。部分章節分別與祖運輝博士、張崑振先生、蘇全正先生所合寫。

作者認為民間佛教具有佛教民間化之傾向的一面，而民間信仰亦有向佛教傾斜的現象。佛教民間化的證據主要表現在：1. 菩薩的神明化，產生以觀音為主祀神的現象，觀音與一般神明一樣接受祭祀與祭品；2. 觀音 (Kuan-Yin; Sanskrit: Avalokiteśvara) 信仰的地域化，觀音也和民間信仰的神明一樣，成為角頭、庄社、聯社、鄉鎮、區域的神明，並發展出地域性的祭典 (territorial cult)；3. 觀音信仰的女性化，觀音媽、觀音娘娘、觀音佛母都是女性化觀音菩薩的稱呼，觀音成為媲美媽祖的女神；4. 修行的在家化，佛教信仰含有出世思想，與漢族文化的家族主義有所衝突；但漢人佛教徒卻發展出齋教思想和信仰，讓信眾可以在家修行，宗教信仰與民族文化的衝突因而消失。此時，信眾可以在家人的身分建堂立寺、弘法皈依、收弟子，信眾亦可結婚生子在家修行。

民間信仰向佛教的傾斜則主要表現在：1. 僧人住持民間廟宇，並主領重要儀式；2. 民間廟宇也會祭祀佛教的觀音與釋迦牟尼佛，或者是定光古佛、清水祖師、普庵祖師、濟公活佛等佛教修行僧人；而當地方人士無法擔任寺廟管理者時，也會請出家人出任管理；3. 民間廟宇逐漸以素食供品舉行祭祀，其中以崇祀觀音的廟宇與巖仔為最。

齋堂自認屬於佛教一脈，雖誦念佛教經典，但各教派自有明確的教主、教階、經典與教義。齋教信徒嚴守戒律、終生茹素，但並不削髮出家、平日也不穿袈裟，而是和普通人一樣工作維生，有些派別甚且允許婚娶生子。齋堂所奉祀的觀音菩薩亦稱觀音佛祖，但沒有分身、遶境或出巡等民間信仰相關儀式；齋堂的建築形式則與正統佛教的寺院規制以及民間廟宇完全不同。整體而言，齋堂呈現出一股內斂、靜態的宗教氣氛。

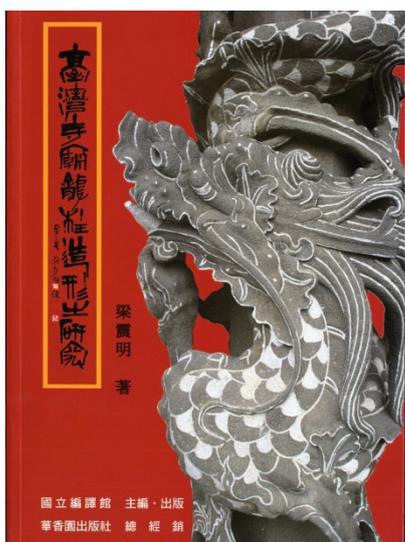
巖仔的建築特色是具有翹脊，規制遠於佛寺而較近民間信仰廟宇。早期的巖仔多為民建，交由在家信眾管理、亦有委託出家人管理者。巖仔的主祀神以觀音最多。巖仔的觀音菩薩擁有各種稱呼，如觀音佛祖、觀音媽、觀音佛母等。這些觀音可以戴佛冠、披錦袍及形成分身，亦可「迎佛祖」出巡遶境、接受葷牲祭祀與金紙敬獻。有些南部地區的巖仔除主祀觀音，還配祀其他神明，提供一般民眾問神、抽籤、燒金紙、點光明燈、進香，每逢節慶或假日便十分熱鬧。而因巖仔中的觀音像神明一樣接受信眾奉祀，因此也和民間神明一樣具有神格、神性、神威與神力，可以成為地方保護神。此時，便出現依祭祀圈範圍大小而區別的角頭廟、村廟、聯庄廟與大廟性質的觀音廟，從而成為地方公廟、甚至是區域信仰中心。由此，可以看出巖仔的觀音具有開放與民間化的性格。此外，民間普遍信仰觀音可以救濟、度化幽魂，因此某些巖仔也會舉行建醮儀式來普度孤魂野鬼。

正統佛教缺乏地方意識，也不神化菩薩，敬祀一般鬼神（有時會以犧牲祭祀），組織則由出家人所主導。但民間佛教則深具地方意識，牽涉到宗教傳入他國的民間化的過程，敬祀神明化的菩薩、修行佛僧、鬼神（有時會以犧牲祭祀），並由在家信眾主導組織。民間佛教是佛教在漢人社會中傳布的妥協，代表了佛教向民間信仰的傾斜，甚且意味著佛教與民間信仰發展同化。在各種融合與傾斜中，以觀音菩薩的神格化與民間化最為重要，甚且被賦予女性形象，具有母性包容的特質；菩薩也成為齋堂與巖仔主要的祀奉對象。但由前述可看出，齋堂或巖仔所奉祀的觀音，實與佛經裡的觀世音菩薩有極大差異。作者在實際走訪各地觀察與訪談，並且加入文獻史料、實體史料（建築物、文物）、口述史料的整合與比較後，發現民間佛教的這些特點在臺灣民間的齋堂與巖仔中表露無遺，三者在此出現了交會。

Studies on Dragon Column Carvings in Taiwanese Temples

Zhen-Ming Liang

Translated by Amanda Tsai



Dragon Columns are a distinctive feature of Taiwanese Temples. They are also representative of an important type of religious art: stone carvings. By studying different types of dragon columns, identifying the work of major stone carvers, and distinguishing the salient differences among different dragon columns, this work hopes to describe the historical evolution of dragon columns in Taiwan, starting from the reigns of Qianlong and Guangxu and proceeding through the reigns of Meiji and Hirohito. It is hoped that such an endeavor can provide a better

understanding of the evolution of dragon columns, their artistic features, and the current state of their preservation. Such an endeavor can help the general public appreciate more deeply its artistic heritage. At the same time, it is also hoped that the illustrative images presented in this work can serve as a reference tool for scholars to use in the course of their research, and for stone carvers as they go about repairing old columns and creating new ones.

In terms of methodology, this work first tries to understand, through field-work research, the distribution and current condition of all the Taiwanese dragon columns carved during the Qing dynasty. A similar survey is performed on dragon columns carved during the Japanese colonial era, though in this case the investigation is limited to temples located in northern Taiwan. This work also uses primary and secondary texts to ascertain which temples possess dragon columns from the Qing dynasty and from the Japanese colonial era; the author has visited these temples in person and photographed their stone columns. After these preliminary investigations, the author performed an image comparison of dragon columns from the two periods. In terms of scope, this work is focused on temples built starting from the 30th year of the rein of Emperor Qianlong (1765) and ending in the fifteenth year of the rein of Hirohito (1940), about 176 years in total. In terms of geography, the areas under consideration

include northern, central, southern and eastern Taiwan. Due to time constraints, the only dragon columns from the Japanese era under consideration are those located in northern Taiwan; those from central, southern, and eastern Taiwan are used mostly to bring out in sharper relief the dragon columns in northern Taiwan.

This work is divided into five chapters. Chapter One briefly describes the purpose, methodology, and scope of research. Chapter Two describes the development of Taiwanese dragon columns. It compares dragon columns erected in the Qing dynasty with those built during the Japanese colonial era. In addition, it examines the development of dragon columns from the two periods in different parts of Taiwan. Chapter Three is concerned with the analysis of the different types of dragon columns; using pictures as a basis, it compares the different types of dragon columns from the Qing dynasty with those from the Japanese colonial era. Specific features compared include the following items: the number of dragons per column; head shapes; body shapes (how the dragon bodies curve around the columns); fire balls held by the dragons with their fore and hind limbs; the types of stones used; and so on. The chapter is also concerned with how these specific features reflect on the stone carvers and the different styles of stone carving. Chapter Four looks at dragon columns in the context of the temples in which they are located. It looks at 76 temples and considers the different dragon column types found in them, the decorations and characters found on the columns, and so on. This material is supplemented by photographs taken on-site, which are used to illustrate the special features found on the columns. Chapter Five, the concluding chapter, summarizes the findings of the present work.

The dragon has the characteristics of nine animals: it has the face of a horse, the body of a snake, the horns of a deer, the scales of a fish, the beard of a goat, the claws of a chicken (or the talons of an eagle), the mane of a lion, the eyes of a shrimp and the nose of a dog. As to dragon columns, they grew out of temple columns used to support horizontal beams. Three main types of columns are found: round, square, and octagonal, with the vast majority of dragon columns having an octagonal shape. According to the degree to which they are ornamented, columns can be divided into three kinds: flowery, wordy (full of characters), and plain, with dragon columns being of the flowery sort. In terms of themes, dragon columns can be divided as follows: a single dragon entwining the column; two dragons entwining a single column; a dragon paired with an immortal; and so on. A dragon column, to put it simply, is the unity of a dragon and a column. During the early phases of the Qing dynasty, the dragons and the columns were equally important, and dragon columns could support an entire structure. But as we move closer in time to the Japanese colonial period, the

practical function of dragon columns declined and they became more decorative in nature.

Judging by date carvings, the earliest dragon column in Taiwan from the Qing dynasty is that of the Chao Tian Temple of Guan Yin Bodhisattva, found in Beigang, which is dated the fortieth year of the reign of Qianlong (1775). However, if we disregard date carvings and go strictly by the true situation, the earliest extant dragon columns in Taiwan are to be found in the Tian Hou Temple of Tainan (1765) and the Hai An Gong Temple, also of Tainan (dating to the middle period of Qianlong's rule). This work considers altogether 62 dragon columns dating from the Qing dynasty, the majority of which were carved in China and then shipped to Taiwan; it is possible, however, that 21 of these were made by artisans using rock formations from Taiwan. Two of them used stone material from abroad but were actually carved in Taiwan. Dragon columns carved in Taiwan date mostly to the Qianlong and Guangxu period. This indicates that Taiwan's economy was large enough by then to support Chinese artisans working in Taiwan. The earliest Chinese artisans came from Guangdong province; those from Fujian province did not arrive in Taiwan until the reign of the Xianfeng emperor.

The dragon columns under consideration in this work are examined according to a number of criteria, including the following: the number of dragons per column; head shape; body shape; legs; claws; scales; inverse triangles found in the belly of the dragons; fire balls held by the dragons; veins found on the fire balls; attachment items (such as turtles, carp, baby dragons, and immortals); carvings indicating year in which the dragon column was received and the name of the donor; adornments found on the tops and bases of the columns; type of stone used; carving technique employed; name of artisan; school of artisan; and so on. Based on these criteria, the work divides the dragon columns into four main types: (1) those dating from the middle period of Qianlong's reign (1756-1775). There are three extant dragon columns from this period. The distinctive characteristics found on these columns are that the dragons are carved directly onto the column, and that the waves found at the base of the columns are not embossed. (2) Dragon columns dating from the late Qianlong era to the Jiaqing era (1776-1820). We have 14 dragon columns from this period, three of which were carved on-site by artisans sent to Taiwan from Guangdong province. These artisans helped to foster the generation of Taiwanese stone carvers prominent after the start of Japanese colonial rule. The distinctive characteristics of columns from this period are as follows: the dragons and the columns are detached from one another; the outlines of the dragon are depicted with clear, fluid lines; and the majority of dragons are not holding onto any fire balls. In addition, the interiors of the columns indicate the time

at which the columns were donated; and at the back of the columns are depicted things such as the Eight Immortals Celebrating their Longevity, baby dragons, and so on. The waves found at the base of the columns are still not embossed. (3) Dragon columns from the reigns of Daoguang and Xianfeng (1821-1861). We have 23 such dragon columns, most of which are found in central and southern Taiwan. Two types of expressions are found on the faces of dragons from this period: they are either gentle or fierce. At the back of the columns are many accessory images. For the most part the columns have dates carved onto them. (4) Dragon columns from the reigns of Tongzhi and Guangxu (1862-1895). We have 22 extant dragon columns from this period, with most of them found in northern Taiwan. Their special features are as follows: the beards on the dragons have now been placed closer to the mouth, the front claws merge into the clouds, and the columns have increased in size. Many dragon columns from this period were carved on-site, and there was a fierce rivalry between artisans from Fujian and Guangdong provinces. Generally speaking, during the Qing dynasty, dragon columns were most popular in Taiwan during the reigns of Daoguang and Tongzhi. Although the dragon columns had the special characteristics described above, there were still minor differences between dragon columns from northern Taiwan and those from central and southern Taiwan. Dragon columns in northern Taiwan tended to have more variety.

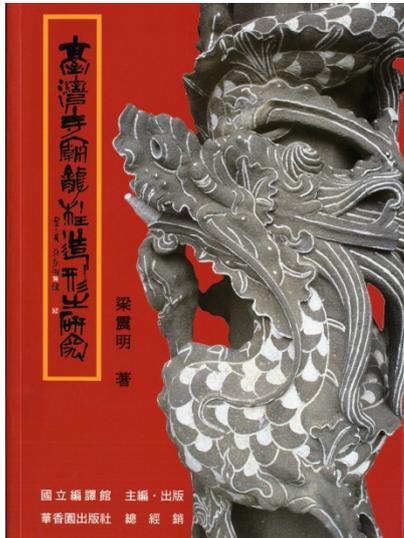
During the Japanese era, dragon columns were on the whole similar to those from the Qing dynasty. We have a total of 68 dragon columns dating from the Japanese colonial era (1895-1946), with 4 of them dating to the Meiji era, 39 to the Taisho era, and 25 to the Hirohito era. Judging from the location of the dragon columns, we can see that the center of Taiwan's economic development had moved from sea ports further inland to the plain areas. This work concludes that dragon columns from the Japanese era have eight special characteristics: (1) Two dragons begin to entwine the columns, a phenomenon that becomes even more pronounced after 1948; (2) both simple and complex designs are found on the columns, with the former being more common in Hsinchu and other parts of northern Taiwan; (3) donation records are for the most part carved onto stone scrolls, or displayed on command tokens, which are sometimes held by cranes in their mouths, or by immortal children; (4) the sex of the dragon is indicated by the presence or absence of baby dragons, rather than by location (e.g. if the column is located to the left or right of a temple) or by whether the mouth is open or closed; (5) during the later period of the Taisho era, attachment pieces to the dragons themselves begin to appear in greater number; anthropomorphic spirits also begin to show up; (6) Taiwanese carvers of Chaozhou descent begin to appear; in other words, during this period Taiwan no longer needed to import dragon

columns from China, and as a result local artisans could invent different, more complex ways of carving stone that did not need to take into account the possibility that the columns might be damaged during transportation; (7) artisans from both the Chaozhou and the Quanzhou would sometimes work on dragon columns within the same temple; as a result, the next generation of carvers developed a style of carving that was a fusion of the two schools; (8) artisans from the Chaozhou and Quanzhou school each had their own style; but those from Quanzhou outnumbered those from Chaozhou, and had more influence.

This work analyzes 125 dragon columns from 76 temples found throughout Taiwan; of these columns, 62 are from the Qing dynasty, and are located in temples scattered throughout the island; 63 are from the Japanese colonial era, and are found in temples located in northern Taiwan. Altogether this work contains 1,600 images, which are used to introduce and compare dragon columns from different temples located in various parts of the island. Besides describing the main features of dragon columns from the Qing dynasty and the Japanese colonial era, this work also preserves numerous pictures of dragon columns , pictures which should help to provide a better understanding of Taiwan's temple architecture, and its religious art. The pictures should also be of help to those wishing to restore historic sites. It is hoped that this work can serve as a reference tool for both researchers and artisans.

臺灣寺廟龍柱造型研究

梁震明



龍

柱是臺灣廟宇特色之一，也是臺灣宗教藝術裡石雕藝術的代表。本研究的目的是藉由研究龍柱的造型，區分出各匠師的作品特色，並建構出清朝乾隆至光緒年間與日治明治至昭和年間臺灣龍柱型變的過程，讓更多臺灣民眾了解臺灣寺廟龍柱的發展歷程、藝術特色及保存現況，進而珍惜這些前人留下的珍貴遺產。同時，也期望研究中所建檔的圖像，能成為其他研究學者的研究參考，以及匠師們修復與創作時的資料。

在研究方法上，本研究首先透過田野調查，了解臺灣各地清朝時期與北臺灣日治時期龍柱分布的情況與位置，以建構其發展概況；同時也利用相關文獻初步確認擁有清朝、日治時期龍柱的廟宇，而後進行實地參訪及圖像拍攝工作。完成資料收集後，則針對清朝與日治時期的龍柱展開圖像比對工作。在研究範圍上，本研究聚焦於清朝乾隆 30 年（1765）至日治昭和 15 年（1940）間，約 176 年的時間；研究地域則區分為北臺灣、中臺灣、南臺灣、東臺灣四大區域。因受限於研究時間，日治時期龍柱僅對位於北臺灣者進行分析，中南東臺灣地區之日治時期龍柱則作為北臺灣龍柱的對照。

本書分為四章，首章簡介研究目的、方法與範圍，第二章為臺灣龍柱發展之比較，探討清朝、日治兩個時期的龍柱發展，以及此二時期龍柱在臺灣各地的發展。第三章則以龍柱造型為分析主軸，以圖像為基礎比較全臺灣清朝與北臺灣日治時期龍柱的造型，如龍數、頭型、身軀、火焰、柱頭、石材等，以及龍柱造型所體現的匠師與派別風格。第四章以龍柱所在的寺廟為單位，分別介紹 76 間廟宇的龍柱造型、佈置和所刻文字等，配合實地拍攝的照片說明其雕塑特色。第五章則為全書結論，綜合說明本書的各種研究發現。

龍的造型由九種動物特徵組成，分別為馬臉、蛇身、鹿角、魚鱗、羊鬚、雞爪（或鷹爪）、獅鬃、蝦眼與狗鼻；龍柱則由支撐梁柱的柱子轉變而來。就廟宇所用的柱體而論，可分成圓柱、方柱、八角柱三種，龍柱大多是刻在八角柱上；若依柱體裝飾的程度與內容，則可再細分成雕花柱、文字柱與素面柱三種。龍柱即是雕花柱的一種，依其題材可細分成單龍盤柱、雙龍盤柱、單龍單鳳柱及單龍仙人柱等組合。簡而言之，龍柱是「龍」與「柱」的結合。在清朝早期，龍、柱兩個元素的份量是相近的，龍柱擁有一定的建築支撐功能；但越接近日治時期，龍柱的功能性逐漸降低，轉而著重於裝飾效果。

清領時期的臺灣龍柱，若以柱身上的紀年刻印來看，全臺最早的龍柱應是立於乾隆 40 年（1775），為北港朝天宮觀世音菩薩殿龍柱；但若以實物來看，則臺南開基天后宮三川殿（1765）與臺南海安宮後殿（乾隆中期）的龍柱為全臺現存最早者。本研究目前於全臺共收集到 62 對清朝龍柱，大多皆由中國雕成運來；但其中有 21 對龍柱可能是匠師使用臺產石材在臺雕刻而成，2 對則使用外來石材在臺雕刻而成。在臺雕刻的龍柱多出現在同治與光緒年間，象徵當時臺灣經濟情況已足夠提供中國匠師在臺灣工作；而來臺匠師以粵派匠師最早，閩派匠師直至咸豐年間才渡海來臺。

本研究分析所得龍柱的龍數、龍頭頭型、身軀、腿部、腿爪、鱗片、逆刺、火球、火焰紋、附屬造像、捐贈紀年款、柱頭、柱珠、石材、工法、匠師與派別風格等面向，而後依照龍柱的風格特性，將所得之清朝龍柱區分為四大時期：（一）乾隆中期（1756~1775）：共有 3 對龍柱。特色是神龍刻於圓柱上，柱底水波紋沒有鼓起。（二）乾隆晚期到嘉慶時期（1776~1820）：共有 14 對龍柱，其中有 3 對為粵派使用臺產石材現場雕刻，奠定了日後臺灣本土匠師的培養契機。此時期龍柱特色是龍、柱分離，龍的輪廓明顯、線條清晰，多數龍爪並未抓住火球。除此之外，柱體內側已刻有捐贈紀年，柱後刻有八仙慶壽、幼龍等附屬造像，柱底水波紋大多仍未鼓起。（三）道光咸豐時期（1821~1861）：共有 23 對龍柱，多位於臺灣中南部。此時期龍柱依據龍頭表情可分為溫馴與兇猛兩種，柱後多佈滿附屬造像，刻上紀年成為慣例。（四）同治光緒時期（1862~1895）：共有 22 對，大部分出現在北臺灣。特色是龍鬚往嘴角靠近、前爪與雲紋柱相連、龍柱柱體變大。而此時現場雕刻的龍柱很多，閩粵兩派匠師競爭激烈。整體而言，清朝時期臺灣龍柱以道光、同治年間最為興盛；龍柱造型雖具有上述共通特色，但在細部及北部、中南部的地域風格上仍有差異，以北臺灣地區的造型較為多元。

而日治時期的整體龍柱造型也與清朝相似，並沒有重大改變。在日治時期（1895~1946）的北臺灣地區龍柱上，屬於明治年間者有 4 對、屬於大正年間者 39 對、昭和年間者 25 對，共有 68 對龍柱。由此時龍柱豎立的位置來看，也可以發現北臺灣的經濟發展已逐漸脫離海／河港位置，往內陸平原與丘陵鄉鎮移動。本研究針對此時期北臺灣龍柱的發展歸納出八大特點：1. 雙龍盤柱出現，9 且於民國 37 年（1948）後增多；2. 樸素型與繁瑣型龍柱平行發展，前者在新竹、中部較為盛行；3. 捐贈紀年款多刻於於書榜、令牌上，以仙鶴啣令、仙童舉榜等方式呈現；4. 利用幼龍而非方位或神龍是否開口來區分性別；5. 大正後期開始，龍柱附屬造像數量增多，也出現擬人的精怪像；6. 本土潮州籍匠師崛起，臺灣不再需要向中國進口龍柱，從而發展出不需顧慮運送損害的新式複雜工法；7. 泉州、潮州兩派匠師為同一廟宇雕刻龍柱的風氣盛行，讓第二代匠師發展出融合泉、潮兩派的雕刻工法與龍柱造型；8. 泉、潮二派具有各自的雕刻風格，以泉州派勢力較大、人數較多。

本書共收錄了全臺灣 76 間廟宇的 125 對龍柱資料，其中包含 62 對散布臺灣各地的清朝龍柱、以及 63 對分布在北臺灣的日治時期龍柱，共有約 1,600 張之龍柱圖像，據此對各地廟宇龍柱作介紹與比較。本研究除歸納出清朝、日治時

期龍柱的造形特點外，也保存了臺灣各地寺廟龍柱的影像，對臺灣寺廟建築、宗教雕刻、古蹟修復等方面有頗大助益，期能成為未來研究者與藝術創作時的參考資料。

Matsu and the Settlement of the Penghu Islands:

Spreading the Faith

Shi-Ming Yang

Translated by Amanda Tsai



Matsu—the goddess of the sea, the protector of fishermen—is worshipped by countless followers in Fujian province, especially those residing in districts that face the South China Sea. Before a ship sets sail, government officials ask the goddess for her blessings. Fisherman, tossed on the high seas, pray to her to bring them safely home. She shelters and protects families. She is a spiritual guide as well, offering solace and comfort in times of trouble.

Thus when settlers from Fujian arrived on the Penghu islands, they naturally brought their faith in Matsu with them. Since Penghu is now a part of the administrative district of Taiwan, these same settlers were also the very first ones to bring faith in Matsu to Taiwan. After they settled in Penghu, the settlers built the Heavenly Temple of Matsu (Heavenly Mother Temple) in her honor. This temple, whose profound influence on Penghu history can be felt even today, deserves careful study. It is the subject of the present work.

The sources consulted by the author include the following: *A General History of Taiwan*; *Records of Penghu Hall*; *Records of Penghu County*; various works by Taiwanese historians containing descriptions of the Penghu Islands, the Matsu Temple and other relevant sites; and stone carvings and other inscriptions found in the Heavenly Mother Temple and other temples dedicated to Matsu. The author has also studied annalistic accounts of Penghu and examined formal imperial notices of commendation. He has carried out field-work investigations on Penghu and conducted interviews with local witnesses. Thus a diverse range of documents and testimonials relating to the belief in Matsu on Penghu has been incorporated into the present work. Many illustrative pictures have been included as well. It is hoped that the evidence

marshaled will help to support the main findings of this work.

Among the topics covered by the present work, which is divided into 10 chapters, are the following: significant events in the history of Penghu; the life and times of various personages in Penghu history; rituals relating to the worship of Matsu; temple construction; and how the beliefs of followers of Matsu have changed and developed over time. Chapter One serves as an introduction to the rest of the work and outlines the history of the Heavenly Mother Temple. It also includes transcriptions of the first and second known steles in Taiwan history. The first stele reads: “Admiral Shen You-Rong Repelled, among others, the Red-Haired Wybrand Van Warwyk.” The second one reads: “Beautiful Grace.” Through his examination of these two stelae, the author describes how the reins of power were transferred from Ming dynasty rulers to the Dutch and thence to Koxinga. The author also narrates the history of how Han Chinese settled on the Penghu Islands and intermingled with the indigenous population.

In Chapter Two (entitled “Imperial Commendations Bestowed on the Heavenly Temple and The Religious Ceremonies of Penghu”) the author narrates how the Kangxi emperor came to confer upon Matsu the designation “The Wondrous, Kindly Queen of the Sky, Protector of the Nation, Shelter for the People.” This act also had the effect of upgrading the status of Matsu from “Heavenly Mistress” to “Heavenly Queen”; thus the temple in her honor came to be called the “The Golden-Faced Matsu.” Chapter Two also sorts out the various official imperial commendations that were bestowed on Matsu beginning in the Song dynasty. It contains as well a special section on the origins and format of the worship rituals performed for Matsu at the Heavenly Queen Temple on Penghu. The author notes that the “Wine Offering Ceremony” performed at the Heavenly Queen Temple originates from the Qing dynasty banquet known as “The Complete Feast of Han and Manchu Cuisine.” The author notes as well the ways in which the two ceremonies are similar.

The purpose of Chapter Three (“Penghu Temples Dedicated to Matsu”) is to describe the various temples on Penghu dedicated to Matsu. The author notes that even though the Heavenly Queen Temple is the center of Matsu worship on Penghu, other temples on the islands—such as Water Immortal Palace, Si-Gong Temple, and Matsu Residential Palace—were also places of Matsu worship. These temples, it is noted, had ties with business and military associations linking Penghu with China. The author also discusses several other temples located outside the main city of Magong, such as are found in Huxi Village, Baisha Village, Xiyu Village, Wangan Village, and Qimei Village.

In Chapter Four (“Magong, Wanggang, Lugang”), the author sorts out the literature relating to the development of streets in the cities of Magong, Wanggang, and Lugang. By examining these streets, the author provides an in-depth look at how faith in Matsu gradually spread. He shows that the major cities evolved gradually out of market fairs.

Chapter Five (“Qing Dynasty Scholars who Passed the Imperial Examinations”) describes various private schools in Penghu. It examines the lives of scholars who studied at these schools and who were successful in passing the imperial examinations. The chapter also examines how life for the local literati underwent a change as a result of Penghu being ceded to the Japanese. The so-called Phoenix Halls, important religious and cultural institutions that were popular in Taiwan and Penghu, are another topic covered in this chapter. They based their teachings on Confucian principles, which were used to civilize the people and turn them toward goodness. The author shows that many Phoenix Halls in Penghu had to be shut down temporarily during the Sino-French and Sino-Japanese wars. In the view of the author, after Taiwan fell into Japanese hands, the Phoenix Halls were seen not only as bases for the continuation of Chinese culture, they were also regarded as centers that encouraged the people to do good and be faithful, as a vanguards in the movement to destroy opium. In the view of the author, the Phoenix halls helped to stabilize Penghu society. They also played an important role in helping to preserve and transmit traditional Chinese culture.

Chapter Six (“Temples in Taiwan dedicated to the Matsu Faith”) describes how some of the main Matsu temples in Taiwan branched out from Matsu temples in Penghu. The author has sorted out and compared the stone carvings and histories of various temples in Taiwan, such as those of the Beigang Chaotian Temple, the Xingang Fengtian Temple, the Luermen Heavenly Queen Temple and other temples dedicated to Matsu. At the same time the author also describes various special ceremonies associated with these temples, for instance the Matsu Boat festival and the Luo Tian Da Jiao ceremony, both associated with the Luermen Heavenly Temple. In the process of going through the material relating to various temples, the author has discovered many fascinating anecdotes, such as the following accounts: the story of a filial son (found at the Beigang Chaotian Temple); the relationship of the outstanding general Wang Delu with the temples of Xingang Fengtian, Beigang Chaotian, and Xibei Liuxing; and how the Putzi Peitian Temple came to receive a special commendation from the Jiaqing Emperor during the Qing dynasty.

Chapter Seven (“Investigation into the Daoist priests in Penghu”) explores the Daoist

priest rituals in Penghu and their relation to belief in the Marshal of the Five Forts. After visiting various temples and investigating various rituals, the author has discovered that folk beliefs in Penghu have been deeply influenced by Han Chinese customs. For example: in the Marshal of the Five Forts, one of the key members of the religion is said to represent Pangu, the ancestor of the Three Emperors and the Five Kings; the Three Qin Armies of the Center Fort is said to have descended from the Han Dynasty; and so on. The various forts also reflect a belief that the Han Chinese needed to pacify the barbarians living in close proximity to them. The author surmises that the teachings of the Wu School (the traditional religion of the Minyue people) took root in Penghu through the influence of the rituals of the Lushan and Puan religious groups.

In Chapter Eight (“Changing Views on Matsu in Times of War”) the author tabulates the various Matsu temples built on Taiwan by the imperial government during the Qing dynasty. At the same time, he also catalogues the various periods of war and chaos in Taiwanese history; thus he is able to surmise why the Matsu temples were built by the government during the Qing dynasty. For example, a record of how Emperor Daoguang mobilized Hakka troops to pacify a rebellion sheds light on how many Matsu temples were built in Taiwan, as well as on the influence that the constructions of these temples had. This chapter also describes the activities of the Zou tribe during the reign of the Zheng family, the military structure of the Qing dynasty, and how economic policies of the republican government came to influence belief in Matsu.

In Chapter Nine (“Joss sticks from Afar”) the author explores the origins of the ritual of lighting Matsu temples with flames that have been carried thousands of miles. By examining records of how the Heavenly Temple of Matsu took part in the 800th anniversary celebration of the Heavenly Temple of Quanzhou City (in Fujian Province), he describes the links between Matsu temples in Meizhou (birthplace of Matsu) and those in Taiwan.

In Chapter Ten (“Conclusion: Salvaging Sunken Ships and the Preservation of Artifacts”), the author hopes that by depicting the salvage operations of ships that sank off Penghu, and by describing the current state of artifact preservation, he can provide other researchers with topics for research. Exploring sunken ships helps to illuminate such historical problems as the guarding of Penghu, maritime commerce, trade at its ports, and so on. Research into these problems will in turn help to preserve the cultural legacy of Penghu.

In terms of research value, the present work arranges and helps preserves documents and field research relevant to the study of faith in Matsu in Taiwan. It also fills in many gaps in our knowledge relating to Matsu and helps to resolve controversial questions. At the same time, it serves as a model for other researchers who might want to learn more about Matsu and about local historical documents; it also provides the results of field-work investigations. And finally, this work can be studied in conjunction with previous studies, and can serve as a foundational work for other researchers who might wish to explore these topics further.

澎湖媽祖信仰與拓墾

楊石明



媽祖是閩南海境各省縣鄉里共同奉祀的「海上守護神」，她不僅是官方渡海、漁民行船的護航依靠，更是民眾祈求闔家平安、排解困難禱告的心靈導師。澎湖為臺灣全境早期開發與拓墾之地，以天后宮作為祭祀中心的媽祖信仰對澎湖今日的發展影響深遠，值得研究者深入探討。

作者的主要研究材料包含《臺灣通史》、《澎湖廳志》、《澎湖縣志》等史籍記錄，臺灣文史工作者針對澎湖與媽祖宮廟撰寫的相關著作，以及澎湖天后宮和其他祭祀媽祖宮廟之碑碣考證。作者除記述澎湖歷年簡史與媽祖歷代褒封外，亦親

自前往各地進行田野調查，並且訪談相關人員，以各種與澎湖媽祖信仰相關的著作、文獻與照片作為本書立論基礎與佐證。

本書共分十章，內容涵蓋澎湖歷史事件與文人雅士事蹟，以及媽祖信仰的相關祭祀儀式、宮廟建築與信仰內涵之發展變遷等主題。本書第一章為導論，旨在介紹澎湖天后宮的歷史淵源。本章也收錄臺灣第一碑「沈有容諭退紅毛蕃韋麻郎等」和臺灣第二碑「恩懿」碑碣內容。作者藉由這兩塊碑碣內容，敘述明代、荷治與鄭氏時期的臺灣政權更替，以及清領時期漢人進入臺灣撫墾及與原住民通婚的歷史。在第二章〈澎湖天后宮褒封與澎湖祀典〉中，作者介紹當年清聖祖康熙封媽祖為「護國庇民妙靈仁慈天后」的經過。媽祖自此事件後從「天妃」升任「天后」，使得媽祖宮廟銜號升為「天后宮」；澎湖媽祖也因康熙帝的褒封，成為「金面媽祖」。除此之外，本章亦整理宋代以降歷代媽祖褒封歷程，並以專節介紹澎湖天后宮的祀典緣起與儀式。作者指出，澎湖天后宮的「祀酒大典」淵源於清代宮廷大宴「滿漢全席」，並整理出兩者在儀典程序上的相似之處。

第三章〈澎湖信仰媽祖的宮廟〉旨在敘述澎湖各地奉祀媽祖的廟宇。作者指出，澎湖天后宮為澎湖媽祖信仰的中心，但鄰近的水仙宮、施公祠、媽祖館等亦有郊商、班兵奉祀的情形。作者除介紹上述宮廟外，也介紹了在馬公以外，澎湖其他鄉鎮奉祀媽祖的情形，包含湖西鄉、白沙鄉、西嶼鄉、望安鄉以及七美鄉等地。在第四章〈媽宮、鯤港（北港）、鹿港〉中，作者整理媽宮、鯤港、鹿港等和街市發展相關的歷史文獻，由此切入探討媽祖信仰圈的擴張，以及民生物資市集發展成主要城鎮的過程。

第五章為〈清代澎湖秀才〉，記述由澎湖各地社學培養而考取功名的相關文人事蹟，以及臺灣割讓予日本前後至日治時期皇民化運動時，澎湖當地文人因日本統治而受到的影響與轉變。而鸞堂也是澎湖的重要宗教與文化組織，其盛行於臺灣民間，以儒家義理作為信仰內容與儀式傳承，藉此教化百姓。作者發現，許多澎湖鸞堂因中法與中日戰爭爆發而中斷運作；而在臺灣割讓後，許多士人除以鸞堂作為傳承「漢學」的基地外，也因鸞堂勸善的信仰，投身於戒鴉片煙毒的社會運動之中。作者認為，鸞堂對澎湖社會的安定與漢族文化傳承發揮了很大的影響力。

第六章〈臺灣媽祖信仰的宮廟〉敘述了臺灣主要奉祀媽祖的宮廟與澎湖分廟的落籍過程。作者整理並比較北港朝天宮、新港奉天宮、鹿耳門天后宮及其他眾多祭祀媽祖廟宇的相關碑記與淵源，同時也介紹各廟的特別祭典儀式，如鹿耳門天后宮的媽祖船與羅天大醮。在整理與對照各廟宇的歷史淵源後，作者發現了許多和宮廟發展有關的歷史故事，如：北港朝天宮「孝子釘」故事之內涵詮釋；戰功彪炳的王得祿與新港奉天宮、北港朝天宮、溪北六興宮間的歷史溯源；朴子配天宮獲得嘉慶皇帝的「御賜燈花」之因。

第七章〈澎湖小法探源〉則探討了「澎湖小法」的宗教儀式與各廟宇中的「五營信仰」。在訪查各宗廟和信仰儀式的淵源後，作者發現澎湖的民間信仰深受漢人習俗影響。例如，澎湖五營信仰中的領令者為三皇五帝的祖先盤古、中營的三秦軍則出自漢朝發跡的關中之地等，而各營軍號也反映出漢人統治四夷的觀念。同時作者也推論，認為漢人閩越傳統宗教「巫教」，透過閩山、普庵兩派壇法的傳遞，在澎湖落地生根。在第八章〈臺灣變遷媽祖信仰的遞嬗〉中，作者則將清代臺灣的官建媽祖廟宇製成表格，並整理臺灣歷代的動亂與戰爭，從中分析清代官建媽祖廟之成因。例如道光年間王得祿動員客家六堆團練，平定動亂的記載，說明該事件對臺灣許多媽祖廟之建立、修建的影響。本章亦簡述鄭氏時代鄒族活動、清代的班兵制度、以及國民政府的經濟措施對媽祖信仰間的關聯。

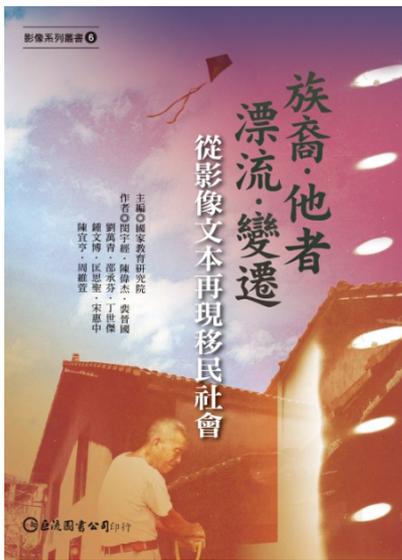
在第九章〈千里會香〉中，作者探討臺灣媽祖千里會香活動的起源，並且透過澎湖天后宮參加泉州天后宮建廟 800 週年慶典記載，介紹湄洲祖廟及臺灣媽祖信仰相關廟宇。而在第十章〈結論（澎湖沉船的打撈與文物保存）〉中，作者則希望藉敘述澎湖沉船打撈、當前文物保存狀況，提供後人可研究的主題。探勘澎湖沈船有助於探索過去澎湖汛口戍守、航運貿易、轉運海口郊商等歷史問題，對澎湖歷史文化傳承相當有益。

而在研究價值上，本書整理並保存了與臺灣媽祖信仰有關之研究文獻與田野資料，並以此填補了媽祖信仰中許多具有歷史爭執、空白的區塊；同時也可作為後續欲研究媽祖信仰與地方文獻者的研究典範，並提供田野調查與探索學習的參考資料。最後，本書亦可與前人研究成果互為參照，成為臺灣媽祖信仰研究的基石，讓後續研究者得以此進行後續研究。

Ethnic Groups, the Other, Migrations, Transitions: Representations of Immigrant Groups in Taiwanese Society through Texts of Sound and Image

Yeu-Jing Miin et al.

Translated by Hsiang-Yang Chen



The history of immigration into Taiwan during the last 400 years can be viewed in a number of different ways—

chronologically, ethnically, or according to who held onto the reins of power, to give just a few examples. Viewed chronologically, the history of Taiwan can be divided roughly into the following periods: the Dutch-occupation period (38 years), the period of rule by the Zheng family (23 years), Qing Dynasty rule (212 years), Japanese colonial rule (51 years), the early post-retrocession period, the martial-law period, and the post-martial law era.

Viewed in terms of when various ethnic groups appeared on the island, Taiwanese history has had several distinct phases as well: the aborigines appeared first, followed by the Fujianese/Hakka, the mainlanders, the new inhabitants, and the migrant workers. Immigrants came to Taiwan for a variety of reasons—colonial, economic (commercial), and political (military), to name a few.

The purpose of this book is to observe the kinds of changes in Taiwanese society that came about as a result of immigration. Using narratives from film and other texts, the book takes a diachronic as well as a synchronic perspective. It reconstructs the daily lives of the people through film, so as to recreate the “ethnic groups, others, migrations and transitions” that have appeared in Taiwan’s immigrant society.

This book consists of 10 chapters. Chapter One discusses marriage-based immigration and its causes by an analysis of two movies—*Second Spring of Mr. Mur*, and *My Imported Bride*. Additional material adduced includes population and marriage statistics from the last 400 years. The author’s goal is to portray cross-cultural

marriages in Taiwan through the daily life of common people, and to highlight the social phenomenon of inter-racial and cross-cultural marriages in different historical contexts.

Through *Love for Taiwan, Love Goes on: Biography of Dr. Mackay*, Chapter 2 discusses the "era of missionary medicine (1865-1895)" in Taiwan's history, which has greatly influenced the development of medicine in Taiwan. The author collects historical records of missionaries' work, their reasons for immigration, and their contributions to medical science. Through these materials, the author depicts how racial and cultural differences led to social conflict and then integration.

In Chapter 3, the film *The Sage Hunter* is chosen as the text for analysis to discuss how aborigines regained and reconstructed their self-identity amongst the mainstream immigrant cultures. The author wants to find out why a book depicting the aboriginal tradition of respecting and loving Mother Nature, though adapted to a movie which starred many aboriginal actors and actresses, and with instruction from the author of the book-format of Sage Hunter himself, still cannot enhance people's understanding of aboriginal culture. After comparing the original text with the film and analyzing the motives for shooting the movie, the images in the movie, relevant comments and viewers' feedback, the author contrasts the original text and the adaptation from the perspective of "cognitive and constructive process."

The author of the present work has discovered that the director of the film is viewing aboriginal culture from the perspective of "the Other," because he is not a Taiwanese. Therefore, the film cannot properly interpret the images of aborigines and urban dwellers in Taiwan. Furthermore, some plots in the original text are inadequately adapted, making both aborigines and urban dwellers (Han Chinese) unable to identify with any characters in the film. On the other hand, though some commercial and entertainment elements similar to Hong Kong films can be found in the film, such as heroic images and pranks, the framework of "aboriginal film" makes it difficult for the viewers to feel entertained. For the above reasons, the movie fails to be attractive to viewers, and is thus unable to help promote aboriginal culture.

Through the movie *MONGA*, Chapter 4 depicts the infighting between the Fujianese and the Hakkas due to different regional identification and conflict of interest. In this essay, the author discusses the origins and transitions of the place name "Monga." He then analyzes the background, the process, and the influence of the most violent interracial fight in the history of Monga—Ding Xia Jiao Pin (1853). The author also

provides an introduction to the religious beliefs and racial identification in the Monga district, which are linked with the content of the movie, and reveals the historical background and the racial identification behind the gang fights in *MONGA*.

The primary text discussed in Chapter 5 is *Seven Days in Heaven*. Starting from a discussion of funeral customs, the author intends to study the symbolic significance of traditional Taiwanese culture in the framework of the immigrant culture. The author begins with a narrative analysis of the written version of *Seven Days in Heaven* from the perspective of post-modern criticism and interprets the “absurd” elements in the text. He then proceeds with a narrative analysis of the film and contrasts the original text with the adaptation. Lastly, the author interprets the strategy used in the process of text adaptation (adding comic elements), and considers how this adaptation shapes the ways in which Taiwanese are portrayed. Through the aforementioned analyses, the author dissects the cultural consciousness that is seen in the process of transition from prose (which is read by a small number of people) to film (which has mass audiences). The images of local Taiwanese culture are also analyzed in detail.

Chapter 6 intends to help the Hakkas regain their identification with the vanishing Hakka culture. The author discovers that Taiwanese consciousness has influenced the Hakka consciousness and racial identification of Hakka writer Zhong Zhao-Zheng, which resulted in a transition in his racial consciousness at the end of the 80s. He identified himself as a "Taiwanese Hakka" instead of a "Mainland Hakka," and became a leading writer promoting identification with the “Taiwanese Hakka.” The author tries to study the Hakka's transition in identification from "Mainland Hakka" to “Taiwanese Hakka” with some historical data from Hakka campaigns in the past.

In Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, the films *Spring Outside of the Fence Alias* and *How High Is the Mountain* are used to discuss the transition in the national/racial/regional identification of the two generations of mainlanders, and the gradual disappearance of the military dependents' villages and the mainlander's culture. The author points out that mainlanders are still deeply influenced by their memories of the homeland because they haven't lived in Taiwan for a long period of time. However, as time goes by and the social environment changes, the homeland consciousness of the mainlanders also changes. Although they feel frustrated and uncertain about their homeland consciousness due to political incidents, the breaking down of their homeland identification enables the mainlanders to fit in with Taiwanese society.

The primary film for discussion in Chapter 9 is *A Home Too Far*, which explores the

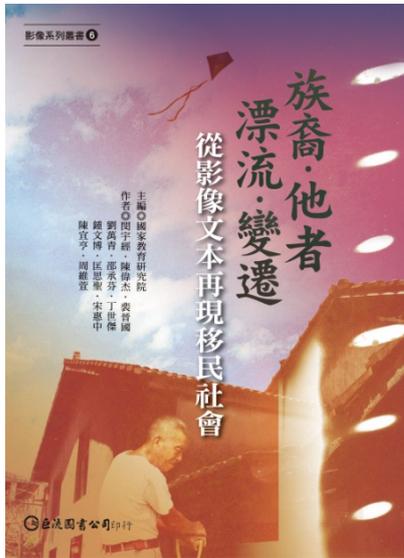
reason for the formation of the lone army in Thailand and Myanmar and studies the self-identity of their descendants. The author intends to highlight the identity crisis of the lone army's descendants with mixed origins from China, Indochina, and Taiwan. Additionally, the author hopes to raise awareness of the rights of those descendants, which are gradually being forgotten.

Lastly, the text for analysis in Chapter 10 is *Let's Not Be Afraid!*, which discusses how new immigrants change themselves and get accustomed to life in Taiwan. The author intends to emphasize the predicament faced by the new immigrants (foreign spouses in Taiwan) under institutional discrimination.

"Past-Present-Future" is a thread that cannot be cut into parts. This book uses texts of sounds and images as the point of access to observe the 400 years of immigration history in Taiwan. It analyzes the infighting and conflicts, the cultural assimilation, and the consciousness and identification among different immigrant groups. The author expects to enhance readers' understanding of various social groups in Taiwan today and in the future through knowledge of their past. The goal of "drawing lessons from history" is thus achieved.

族裔·他者·漂流·變遷：從影像文本再現移民社會

閔宇經等人



臺灣社會四百年來的移民史，可以「時間過程」、「統治權力」和「移民族群」等面向來分類。以時間而言，可概分為荷蘭時期（38年）、明鄭時期（23年）、清朝時期（212年）、日治時期（51年）、光復初期、解嚴（前）後時期等階段；以遷徙的族群先後時間而論，有原住民、閩／客、外省、新住民、移民工；若以移民的因素來說，包含殖民、經濟（商業）、政治（軍事）等面向。

而本書目的是以「歷時性」（diachronical research）和「共時性」（synchronical research）的角度，透過敘事影像的導引，觀察臺灣社會因移民而生的各種變化，同時也藉由影像重建歷史中的大眾生活，再現臺灣移民社會中的「族裔、他者、漂流、變遷」現象。

本書共分 10 篇文章，第一章以《老莫的第二個春天》（Second Spring of Mr Mur）、《黑仔討老婆》（My Imported Bride）等電影為導引，輔以歷年人口與婚姻等統計數據，討論臺灣四百年中幾波婚姻移民的原因及現象。作者希望透過小人物生活的面貌，勾勒出臺灣移民婚姻的輪廓，並凸顯在不同時空脈絡裡，臺灣族際婚姻與移民婚姻的社會現象。

第二章以《愛在臺灣，讓愛遠流：馬偕傳》為導引，探討對臺灣醫療發展有重大影響的「傳教士醫療時期」（1865~1895）。作者藉由蒐集傳教士的醫療宣教使命、上層移民歷史背景、傳教士實際從事的醫療宣教內容與建設等相關歷史紀錄與資料後，從中描繪與詮釋傳教士來台進行傳教與醫療工作時，因族群、文化差異等因素，所浮現的社會衝突與融合。

第三章以《山蕨·飛鼠·撒可努》（The Sage Hunter）一片為分析文本，梳理原住民如何在強勢的外來移民文化中，重新尋找並建構自我認同。作者希望探討：為何一部描述原住民敬天地、愛山林文化傳統的書籍原著，在原住民作家本人和許多原住民演員參與了電影改編與拍攝的狀況下，卻仍無法讓一般大眾深入的認識原住民文化。在對照原著文本與電影內容，並分析電影的拍攝緣起、文本影像內容、相關評論和實際觀影者的心得等研究材料後，作者從「認知與建構歷程」角度出發，分析原著和電影間的差異。作者發現，由於電影導演並非臺灣人，故是以他者的角度觀視原住民文化，致使該片無法適當地詮釋臺灣原住民和都市

人；再加上影片中某些不恰當的改編劇情，最終使得原住民和都市人（漢人）觀眾在觀賞該片時，都無法從中找到可投射認同感的對象。另一方面，該片雖具有一些傳統港片的商業與娛樂元素，如片中的英雄形象與搞笑等，但卻因電影包裝呈現出原住民電影的氛圍，導致觀眾也無法從片中得到純粹的娛樂效果。而這些都是讓該片無法獲得觀眾青睞，進而推廣原住民文化的根本原因。

第四章則以《艋舺》(MONGA)為基礎，再現閩、客族群因地域認同和經濟利益衝突而生的族群械鬥。作者在本文中追溯艋舺地名的由來與演變，分析艋舺史上最慘重的族群械鬥——「頂下郊拼」(1853)的發生緣由、事件經過與後續影響。同時，作者也統整艋舺地區的宗教信仰和族群認同，由前述兩個面向來呈現艋舺地區的歷史與〈艋舺〉電影內容間的連結與呼應，並揭露《艋舺》片中黑道社團鬥爭背後的歷史脈絡與族群認同等因素。

第五章則以《父後七日》(Seven Days In Heaven)為切入點，企圖從喪葬習俗著手，探討「臺客文化」在臺灣移民文化中的象徵意義。作者從後現代批評觀點出發，先對《父後七日》原著進行敘事分析，解讀原作「荒謬化」的書寫原則，再依此對電影進行敘事分析，找出原著和電影文本的差異，最後詮釋電影「搞笑化」的改寫策略及其呈現的臺灣民族形象。作者嘗試藉由上述分析，解剖從小眾／散文文本到大眾／電影文本的過程中所隱含的文化意識，以及其所形塑的臺灣本土文化形象。

第六章則試圖從隱形與失落的客家文化中，重新找回新客家（認同）。作者發現，臺灣意識影響了客籍作家鍾肇政的客家意識與族群認同，使其在1980年代末期時出現了認同的轉變，由中原客家轉為臺灣客家，並成為推動臺灣客家認同運動的領袖作者。作者便嘗試透過鍾肇政的政治身影與客家意識，探討臺灣客家族群從「中原客家」到「臺灣客家」的發展過程，並佐以臺灣歷年客家運動的相關資料，藉此釐清臺灣客家族群認同意識之發展歷程。

第七、八兩章分別選取《竹籬笆外的春天》(Spring Outside of the Fence Alias)和《山有多高》(How High is the Mountain)兩部電影，敘說兩代外省人的國家／族群／地域認同的轉變歷程、以及逐漸消失的眷村與外省文化。作者指出，外省族群因移民時間較短，故仍深受原鄉記憶之影響；但在時代變遷與社會環境轉變後，外省族群的家鄉認同意識亦隨之轉化。其中，外省族群雖因政治事件而對原有家鄉意識感到失落與徬徨；但也因原鄉認同消散，使外省族群得以真正融入臺灣社會中。

第九章則以《異域》(A Home Too Far)一片，追溯當初泰緬孤軍形成的原因，並探討泰緬孤軍後裔對自我身份的認同。作者期望能藉此凸顯泰緬孤軍後裔在中國、中南半島與臺灣等多重認同混淆下，面臨的身分認同困境。同時，作者也希望藉由本文，讓逐漸被遺忘的孤軍後裔權益能受到重視。

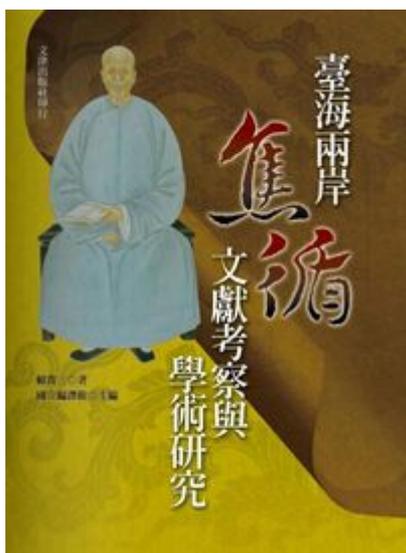
最後，第十章以《姊妹，賣冬瓜》(Let's Not Be Afraid!)作為分析文本，探討新移民如何轉變自我以適應在臺生活。作者試圖凸顯出新住民（外籍配偶）在制度性的社會歧視下，所面臨的現實生活困境。

「過去—現在—未來」並非能完全割裂的歷史片段。本書以影像文本為切入點，觀察四百年來的臺灣移民史，從而分析各時代移民族群間的械鬥衝突、文化融合、認同意識等現象。作者群期能藉由理解移民族群的過去，幫助讀者認識今日與未來的臺灣社會族群，達到以史為鑑的境界。

An Investigation into Chinese and Taiwanese Sources on the Scholar Jiao Xun (1763-1820)

Kuei-San Lai

Translated by Amanda Tsai



Jiao Xun (courtesy name Li Tang, 1763-1820) was a famous scholar from Yangzhou, who lived during the Qing dynasty during the reigns of Qianlong and Jiaqing. In his time, he was well known for his studies of classical texts and of the “I-Ching.” He also wrote on such diverse subjects as history, astronomy, the calendar system, medical science, poetry, and drama. The purpose of the present work is to inquire into the extant works of Jiao Xun and his study of classical texts, so as to gain a better understanding of his scholarly achievements. The

author has devoted a number of years to documenting the extant works of Jiao Xun, insofar as they can still be found in the major libraries of Taiwan and China. The various printed editions of Jiao’s works, his hand-written notes and marginalia, and a list of all his works and research into various topics have all been cataloged. The present work is thus an academic study of Jiao’s *oeuvre* and an examination of his thoughts and writings.

It is divided into 15 chapters. (1) A Record of Learning in Li Tang’s Studio for Carving Mushrooms; (2) The Life of Jiao Xun and a Chronicle of his Studies; (3) The Current State of Research on the Notes and Marginalia of Jiao Xun; (4) A Catalogue of the Works by Jiao Xun Found in the Archives of Two Major Libraries in Beijing; (5) The Scholarly Value of Jiao Xun’s Notes and Marginalia on “The Combined Commentary on the Thirteen Classics”; (6) An Assessment of Jiao Xun’s “I-Ching Commentary from the Studio for Carving Mushrooms”; (7) A Study on the Zhong Xuan Commentary on the “I-Ching,” as Finalized by Jiao Xun; (8) An Investigation into Jiao Xun’s Studies on “The Book of History”; (9) An Investigation into Jiao Xun’s Studies on the “Mao Book of Songs;” (10) A Study on How, in his Work “The I-Ching Discourses,” Jiao Xun Used “The Erya” to Explain “The I-Ching”; (11) A Study of Jiao Xun’s Commentaries on “The Analects” and “The Mencius”; (12) An

Analysis of How Jiao Xun's "The True Meaning of Mencius" Sheds Light on his I-Ching Studies; (13) Comments on Jiao Xun's Marginalia to his "Additional Commentary on Mencius"; (14) Commentary on Jiao Xun's Marginalia on "The Writings of Liu Zongyuan"; (15) Selective Commentaries on Beijing University Library's Copy of Jiao Xun's "The Miscellaneous Recordings of Li Tang."

This work also contains three appendices: (1) On Jiao Xun's I-Ching Commentary; (2) On Jiao Xun's General Commentary on "The Analects"; (3) On Jiao Xun's Marginalia on the Writings of Liu Zongyuan. In addition, there is also a bibliography divided into two parts: (1) Compilation of the Extant Works of Jiao Xun; (2) Compilation of Scholarly Literature relating to Jiao Xun.

The first four chapters of this work are concerned with the life and scholarship of Jiao Xun, as well as with his marginalia and the current state of scholarship on him. These chapters give a sense of how Jiao Xun's thoughts and scholarship developed in time; they should serve as foundation for further research and provide the reader with an understanding of Jiao Xun's scholarship. In the view of this author, Jiao's academic pursuits underwent a radical change when he was forty. Before then, Jiao read widely and diligently, in order to pass the imperial magistracy exams. But he was never successful and so he could only stay at home and work as a private tutor, while also working on his writings. From time to time he would travel to places such as Shandong and Zhejiang to befriend other members of the literati. After he was forty years old, Jiao gave up all hope of becoming a government official and stayed at home to concentrate on such works as "I-Ching Commentary from The Studio for Carving Mushrooms" and "The True Meaning of Mencius."

Chapters 5 to 13 of this work are intended to help the reader understand Jiao's contributions to our understanding of the Chinese classics and in particular of "The I-Ching." Separate chapters are devoted to the following topics: the scholarly value of his notes and marginalia to "The Combined Commentary on the Thirteen Classics"; a criticism of his work "I-Ching Commentary from The Studio for Carving Mushrooms"; and an examination of the provenance and authenticity of the "Zhong Xuan Commentary on the I-Ching," a work which Jiao Xun must have had a part in. At the same time, the chapters also contain analyses of the scholarship found in Jiao Xun's commentaries on "The Book of History," "The Mao Book of Songs," "The Erya," "The Analects," "The Mencius" and "Additional Notes on The Mencius." Finally, the work concludes by looking at Jiao's notes and marginalia on the well-known author Liu Zongyuan (773-819). A consideration of "The Jottings of Li

Tang,” compiled by scholars after Jiao Xun’s death, provides the reader with further insight into the thought as well as life and times of Jiao Xun. The author of this work has attempted a methodical description, verification, and assessment of Jiao Xun’s work; he has attempted to elucidate the value of Jiao’s commentaries on classical Chinese works, and to put them in their proper historical framework. It is hoped that these efforts will help to make Jiao Xun’s work and achievements better known to a wider circle of readers.

A consideration of the life of Jiao Xun shows that he belonged to the Yangzhou school of thought, which derived from the Huan school of thought that in turn belonged to the Qian-Jia School. (The Qian-Jia School was prominent in the Qing dynasty and is commonly sub-divided into the Huan and Wu schools of thought). In his scholarly approach, Jiao Xun combined the strengths of both the Huan and Wu schools, which emphasized the importance not only of philology and the investigation of sources, but also of making use of characters found on sacrificial urns and funerary inscriptions to edit and explicate texts. As the major representative of the Huan School, Jiao followed similar methods in his approach to ancient texts. Besides reading classical texts, Jiao Xun also read widely in literature from the Han and Wei periods; he made use of the innovative views of contemporary scholars, and tried to incorporate all points of view into his own writings. Thus in his scholarship he utilized scholarship from the Han and Song dynasties. He also consulted the best practices of the Wu and Huan schools, and combined everything he read into his own syncretistic works.

Yangzhou, where Jiao Xun lived, was a major literary center; local salt merchants were also happy to sponsor the literati, so that Yangzhou became an important center of academic freedom. These conditions made it possible for Jiao Xun to devote his life to his studies; they nourished Jiao Xun’s scholarly approach, which has so many similarities to the scientific approach of today. Besides placing a great deal of emphasis on the importance of “being consistent” and “forbearance and tolerance,” Jiao Xu also believed that all points of view in scholarship had relative value, and that progress was only possible if scholars accepted criticism of their work.

In his writings Jiao Xun stressed the importance of “using various methods” and “being consistent.” Thus in his notes and marginalia on “The Combined Commentary on the Thirteen Classics,” besides taking notes in his own hand, he also made use of the retrieval method, the induction method, the deduction method, the internally-consistent method, and other logical ways of thinking to examine and criticize the text in question. Thus he used a variety of different strategies in his

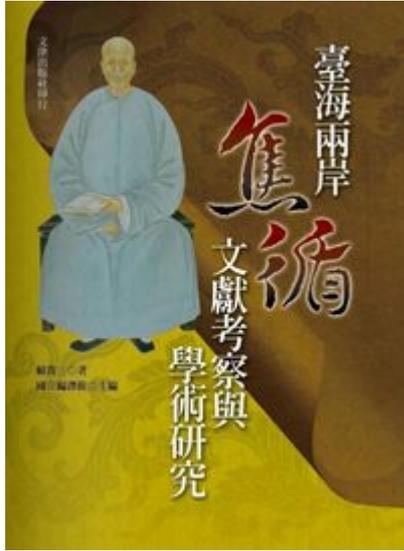
approach to the classics. From his writings on the “I-Ching,” we can also see how his wide reading and critical acumen prevented him from adhering rigidly to the views of Han-dynasty scholars. With the support of evidence, he was able to refute the errors of the past.

In terms of manuscripts and marginalia, the author of this work has personally visited various libraries hosting Jiao Xun’s hand-written notes. He has examined these notes and catalogued the hand-written notes that can be found in major libraries in Taiwan and China. In Taiwan, the manuscripts in Jiao Xun’s own hand are held mainly in four libraries: National Central Library, Academia Sinica’s Fu Ssu Nien Library, National Taiwan Normal University Library, and National Taiwan University Library. The collections in the first three of these four libraries were brought to Taiwan in 1945, after the retrocession of Taiwan, and in 1949, when the Kuomintang government relocated to the island. The collections in National Taiwan University Library, on the other hand, were inherited when Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University became the National Taiwan University. The remainder of Jiao Xun’s hand-written notes are scattered in various important libraries in China, with The National Library of China, Peking University Library, Nanjing University Library, and Shanghai Library having the richest collections. Several other libraries have impressive collections as well. However, because of the restrictions that China places on borrowers and the rather expensive fees imposed, scholars of Jiao Xun will not find it easy trying to access this material.

During his life Jiao Xun wrote many works. The present volume, structured around his life, commentaries and marginalia, depicts his scholarly quest over his life, and attempts carefully to convey something of the breadth and scope of his academic life and achievements. When we examine his life as a whole, we find that he was able to become an impartial scholar with a broad-minded perspective because he kept constantly in mind his goal of “reaching understanding after thinking things through” and “presenting evidence carefully when trying to reach a point.” No wonder he became one of the major scholars of the Yangzhou school during the reins of Qianlong and Jiaqing. Besides his achievement in classical studies, his attainments in mathematics, history, astronomy and literature are impressive as well. He was a scholar who believed that “studying is a gateway to virtue and teaching is the attainment of happiness.” His life and works are well worth studying. The present volume represents the second in my studies of Jiao Xun. It is hoped that this work can serve as a foundation for other scholars, to make Jiao-Xun studies even richer and more fruitful.

臺海兩岸焦循文獻考察與學術研究

賴貴三



焦循（字里堂，1763-1820）是清代乾嘉時期揚州的知名學者，也是當時著名的經學家與《易》學研究者，也對史學、天文曆算、醫學、詩詞戲曲等有所涉獵。本書目的即為考究焦循目前存世之文獻與經學研究，探討其學術思想。作者費時數年，就目前藏於臺海兩岸各大圖書館的焦循著作刊刻版本、批校手稿與研究論著目錄，進行專題式的文獻考察與學術思想研究。

本書正文共十五章——〈壹、焦循里堂雕菰樓學記〉、〈貳、焦循生平行實與學術年譜〉、〈參、焦循手稿著作與研究現況考述〉、〈肆、北京兩大圖書館焦循文獻考察學記〉、〈伍、焦循手批《十三經注疏》的學術價值〉、〈陸、焦循《雕菰樓易學》述評〉、〈柒、焦循定稿《仲軒易義解詁》考釋〉、〈捌、焦循《尚書》學及其研究述評〉、〈玖、焦循《毛詩》學綜述〉、〈拾、焦循《易話》中「《爾雅》釋《易》」說述評〉、〈拾壹、焦循《論語通釋》與《孟子正義》學思述論〉、〈拾貳、焦循《孟子正義》《易》學思想析論〉、〈拾參、焦循《孟子補疏》手稿鈔釋〉、〈拾肆、焦循手批明刊本《柳宗元文》彙評〉、〈拾伍、北京大學典藏焦循《里堂札記》選釋〉。附錄三篇——附錄一：〈焦循《易話》釋文〉、附錄二：〈焦循《論語通釋》釋文〉、附錄三：〈焦循手批《柳宗元文》釋文〉。徵引書目暨參考文獻一篇，分別為二大類：〈一、焦循見存著述資料彙編〉、〈二、焦循研究論著資料彙編〉。

本書前四章以焦循的生平、學術思想、手稿著作典藏與研究現況為主，鋪陳出焦循其人的學術發展歷史進路與向度，建構研究的基礎，幫助讀者了解焦循的基本學術思想。作者認為，四十歲是焦循治學風格的分水嶺。在四十歲前，焦循遍覽群書銳意向學，以考取科舉為目標；但因仕途不達，因此焦循僅能家居授徒、勤於著述，並且遊幕山東和浙江等地結交文人朋友；在四十歲後，焦循則絕意仕進，在家鄉專志著述《雕菰樓易學》和《孟子正義》等論著。五至十三章旨在幫助讀者了解焦循在經學與《易》學方面的思想和貢獻，各章分別探究焦循手批《十三經注疏》的學術價值，評述其所著之《雕菰樓易學》，並對經焦循之手的《仲軒易學解詁》進行考證，辨明其源流；同時，也對焦循在《尚書》、《毛詩》、《爾雅》、《論語通釋》、《孟子正義》與《孟子補疏》等方面的學術思想進行論述。最

後，則以焦循手批《柳宗元文》與後人錄鈔的《里堂札記》作結，讓讀者一窺焦循的文學思想與日常往來。作者期望透過對焦循著述與學術思想的考證與論述，建構出焦循對傳統經典的詮釋，並客觀地剖析核心經典詮釋中的歷史面向，期能發揚焦循全方位與多面向的學術思想成就。

以焦循的生命歷程來看，其所屬的揚州學派源自乾嘉學派中的皖派，在治學方法上兼有吳皖兩派之長，除致力於文字訓詁和資料考求外，也會結合金石資料考訂經籍。焦循為揚州學派之代表人物，故亦採取此作法考據古籍。而焦循除了重視經典本身並行考據外，也會瀏覽漢、魏等前人著述，且重視當代學者的創見，希望將各家思想均納入著述之中。這使得焦循研究經學時可博採漢、宋兩學與吳、皖兩派之精，將各家思想兼容並蓄，融會貫通。另一方面，焦循所居之揚州府是文人薈萃之地，而當地鹽商亦樂於資助文人，讓當地擁有學術自由、鼎盛的氛圍。而上述環境提供了焦循全心投入學術活動的條件，孕育出焦循近似今日科學精神的治學方法理念。而焦循除了重視「一貫」與「忠恕」的思想外，也認為所有學問的見解皆具有相對的價值，必須接受批判和否定才可進步。

例如，由於焦循在研治經學時相當強調「旁通」與「一貫」，故其在手批《十三經注疏》時，除了親自手批筆記外，也綜合採用檢索法、歸納法、演繹法、統貫法等思考邏輯思考與批評經典內容，以各種方法深入鑽研傳統經典。而從焦循對《易》的相關著述中，也可看出焦循以廣泛蒐羅相關文獻、中肯評價古人學說兩大原則，對古籍進行考證，使其得以不墨守漢朝學者舊說，而由證據輔助駁正舊說有誤之處。

在焦循手稿、批校文稿的典藏現況上，作者則透過親自探訪典藏地與檢核文獻等方式，於本書中彙整當前焦循手稿在中國、臺灣兩地的典藏現況。在臺灣方面，焦循手稿及其手批古籍目前皆存於國家圖書館、中央研究院歷史語言研究所傅斯年圖書館、國立臺灣師範大學與國立臺灣大學等單位中，供有意研究之學者借閱。前三者所藏文獻皆隨臺灣光復（1945）與民國 38 年（1949）遷臺而來；國立臺灣大學圖書館所藏者則為臺北帝國大學時期所得。除此之外，焦循手稿大多散藏在大陸各圖書館中，中國國家圖書館、北京大學圖書館、南京圖書館和上海圖書館等機構所藏最為豐富，其他散存於各地圖書館者亦相當可觀。然而，礙於大陸公藏單位特藏部門的取用限制與申請費用，有意研究焦循文獻的學者較難取得典藏於大陸的焦循文獻。

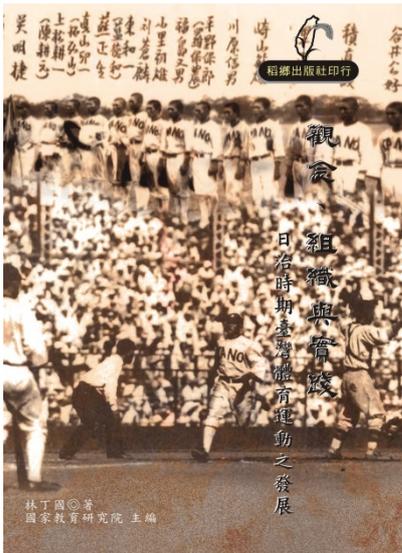
焦循一生著述宏富，本書以焦循的生平行實、經學撰述與手稿題記為經緯，描繪出焦循畢生的學術進程，具體而微地呈現其通達宏闊的學術生命。綜觀焦循一生治學，服膺於「好學深思，心知其意」的志向，並自創「證之以實，而運之於虛，庶幾學經之道也」的進路，因此能不偏執立場、抱持宏闊的見識，成為乾嘉時期揚州學派的大家。而除經學之外，焦循在算學、史學、天文、文學與藝術等方面也具有高超的造詣，為「讀書通入德之門，講學享自得之樂」的大儒，故深具研究價值。本書為作者研究焦循學術的第二期成果展現，也期望後續研究者能以此為基，提升焦循研究的豐富度。

Concepts, Organizations, and Practice:

The Development of Sports in Taiwan under Japanese Rule

Ding-Guo Lin

Translated by Hsiang-Yang Chen



The purpose of the present work is to study why and how sports developed in Taiwan under Japanese rule, and how successful these attempts at sports development were.

It combines sporting history with Taiwanese history, and tries to provide a comprehensive look at sports in Taiwan, by examining topics ranging from the very concept of sports, to the ways in which sporting organizations were organized, to sporting results. It thus differs from ordinary sports books that only consider the development of a single sport.

In terms of research method, this study is focused on Taiwan. The work aims to discuss athletic organizations, athletes, and the performance of athletes in Taiwan under Japanese rule. The subject of study includes Taiwanese, Japanese, and Taiwanese aborigines at that time. The performance of these athletes in international competitions is also discussed to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the subject. In terms of the data for reference, the writing of this book is based on a mass of specialist books on sports history, magazines, newspapers, and other original materials, along with diaries, biographies, memoirs, and interviews. In terms of time, this book discusses athletics since the beginning of the Japanese rule (in 1895) until 1937, when the Second Sino-Japanese war broke out. Sports activities after 1937 changed in content and quality and were combined with military training due to Japan's conscription of Taiwanese males, and thus are not studied in this book.

Chapter One aims to explicate the emergence of modern athletics and its development in Japan, with a view to introducing the history and development of sports in Taiwan. Chapter Two discusses what Japanese in Taiwan thought of sports and explains the reasons for developing sports at that time. The purpose and effects of that development are also discussed. Chapter Three looks into the development of various

athletic organizations under Japanese rule, including the Dai Nippon Butoku Kai, the Sports Club, the Taiwan Sponsorship Association of Athletics, and the Taiwan Athletic Association. During the Japanese colonial period, sporting organizations in Taiwan grew at a gradual pace, with their growth closely connected with organizations and games in Imperial Japan. Chapter Four examines the effects of sports development in Taiwan through the performance of athletes in tennis, baseball, track and field, swimming, and other popular sport competitions. Using *Records of the Taiwanese*, Chapter Five discusses the sports played by the governing class in their daily life.

To sum up, the following are several features of the development of sports in Taiwan under Japanese rule:

1. Sports was promoted through the power of the government and the participation of the people

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan spared no efforts in learning western laws, institutions, and values. However, as a country which had a late development in sports, learning modern athletics also meant learning the knowledge, skills, and lifestyle of the West. Modern sports were not a part of traditional Japanese culture; therefore, powerful promotion of sports by the government was necessary. Athletics in Taiwan during the Japanese rule was developed through the instruction of the government and the participation of the people. Although it was the Japanese who took control of development, the athletic skills and concepts of the Taiwanese also improved greatly.

2. Athletics involved more than only sports competitions

Athletics in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period was not simply a matter of sports, but was endowed with other meanings due to the special position of Taiwan. For example, from an individual point of view, sports could improve one's mental well-being and physical health, train the coordination of the body, and serve as entertainment. From a social point of view, sports were used as a tool to discipline and train the colonized. Through body training, the people's wills and minds were strengthened, and a martial spirit developed in them, making them loyal subjects of the Japanese Empire.

The development of athletics had the effect of bringing the Japanese and Taiwanese closer together, but it also served to drive them further apart. On the one hand, the promotion of sports enabled people of different races to compete on the same court and use sports as a tool of communication. When there was a need to form a sports

team representing Taiwan to attend competitions, the Japanese and Taiwanese on the island could become teammates and work together. Thus sports helped to create a bridge linking the Japanese and Taiwanese, which helped in the implementation of Japan's assimilation policy. However, athletics also drove the two sides further apart, by reminding the Taiwanese that they were not Japanese after all. The national consciousness of the Taiwanese was strengthened unconsciously due to this alienation.

3. Athletic organizations in Taiwan were branches of those on mainland Japan

In terms of the function of the athletic organizations in Taiwan, they were actually the branches of relevant institutions in Japan. Neither the Dai Nippon Butoku Kai Taiwan Branch nor the Taiwan Athletic Association was an independent athletic organization; instead, they were just branches or extensions of athletic organizations in Japan set up in the colonies, such as Korea and Manchuria. In terms of structure, the Taiwan Athletic Association was the leading authority of athletics in Taiwan, whose administrative structure was established according to the athletic organizations in Japan. Working together with the government sectors, those organizations led the development of athletics in Taiwan in an organized and systematic way. In terms of the budget, although the Taiwan Athletic Association was sponsored by the Governor-General's Fund, the source of the Fund came from taxes imposed on the Taiwanese people by the Governor-General. When the Taiwanese team travelled to Japan to attend competitions, they had to cover all their own costs. Although the Japanese government included athletic organizations in the colonies as a part of the imperial athletic system, it did not actually provide those organizations with any financial assistance. In sum, based upon the structure, the administrative and financial systems of the athletic organizations in Taiwan, it appears that Taiwanese were exploited by their colonizers.

4. The skill levels of Taiwanese athletes improved

During the period of Japanese colonial rule, many competitions and athletic meetings were held in Taiwan, and Taiwan's athletes attended various kinds of competitions. Therefore, the skill levels of Taiwanese athletes improved greatly. Although at first there was a great difference between the skill levels of athletes in Taiwan and those in Japan in the competitions of Imperial Japan, Taiwanese athletes began to catch up starting in the 1930s due to the accumulation of their experience and their self-examination after each failure. Athletes from Taiwan performed best in baseball, tennis, and track and field competitions, and some of them even broke records and competed in the Olympics on behalf of Japan. However, in terms of all the athletes in

Taiwan during the period of Japanese colonial rule, the Japanese were still better than the Taiwanese. As for Japan's two other colonies, Korea and Manchuria, the athletic organizations, sports courts and equipment, and athletic performance in competitions were not as good as those of Taiwan.

5. Athletics prevailed all over Taiwan

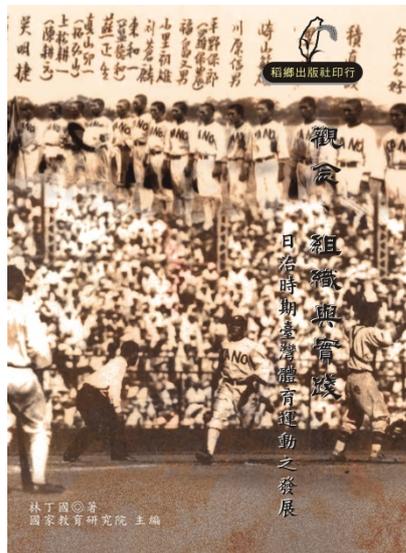
The Meiji era (1895-1912) was the founding era of athletics in Taiwan. The Taisho era (1912-1926) was the era in which athletics in Taiwan grew by leaps and bounds. During the early Showa era (1926-1932), the development of athletics in Taiwan reached its peak. The founding of the Taiwan Athletic Association in 1920 marked a turning point in the development of athletics in Taiwan. After that, various athletic organizations were founded one after another. On the other hand, based on the fact that the Dai Nippon Butoku Kai was founded in Taipei in 1902, and that branches of the Taiwan Athletic Association were set up all over Taiwan in 1920, it can be inferred that athletics in Taiwan was first developed in Taipei and then gradually expanded to the rest of Taiwan. In addition, we found that sports were more prevalent in urban and residential areas where there was a larger Japanese presence.

We can judge from a survey of the hobbies of the higher class in *Records of Taiwanese* that sports had already become a popular pastime in Taiwan's society during the period of Japanese rule. However, due to time and budget constraints, sports were more popular among the Japanese and the upper classes. A positive correlation between level of education and fondness of sports can also be found in the survey.

The five characteristics listed above can be found concerning athletics in Taiwan under Japanese rule. In terms of athletic performance, athletic organizations, and sports equipment, high standards were achieved. The sporting concepts and spirit developed in that period have had a great influence on athletics in Taiwan, and are still present in today's sports competitions.

觀念、組織與實踐：日治時期臺灣體育運動之發展

林丁國



本書旨在探討臺灣在日本統治之下，為何及如何發展體育，以及發展之後的成效。本書有別於一般以單項運動為基礎的體育史討論，結合了體育史與臺灣史觀點，從體育觀念、組織運作及競賽成績等面向作全面性的考察。

在研究方法上，本研究以臺灣地區為主體，把此地區中臺灣人、日本人和原住民的體育組織、運動選手、運動表現都納入討論，同時擴及臺灣出身的選手在島外地區的運動表現，以達到對當時整個運動發展有全面性的考察。在資料方面，本書以大量的日治時期體育史專書、雜誌和報紙等原始資料

為主，並輔以當事人的日記、傳記、回憶錄或口述訪談紀錄等資料。本書探討的時間跨度自日本統治臺灣開始，至1937年中日戰爭爆發止，其後因日本在臺灣實施戰爭動員，體育運動的內容、性質轉變，開始具備國防體育的特性，因此不列入研究範圍。

論述結構上，第一章旨在闡述近代與現代體育運動的興起，及其傳至日本後的發展，說明臺灣體育發展的歷史軌跡。第二章則探討日治時期在臺人士的體育觀念，主要闡明當時為何要發展體育，對於發展體育有何目的與效用的看法。第三章則探討日治時期臺灣體育組織的發展，包含武德會、體育俱樂部、臺灣體育獎勵會與臺灣體育協會等。該時期體育組織規模日漸擴大，也將臺灣的體育組織及賽事與日本帝國聯結起來。第四章則從網球、棒球、田徑與游泳等熱門運動著手，根據選手參加島內外比賽的成績，討論臺灣體育發展的實效。第五章以《臺灣人士鑑》為分析藍本，討論社會領導階層在日常生活中的休閒運動。

綜合全書論述，日治時期臺灣體育運動的發展大約有下列幾個特色：

一、體育發展在官方強力主導、民間配合實施下推廣

明治維新之後，日本致力向西方學習典章制度及追求歐美文明價值，以期「脫亞入歐」，體育運動亦是其中之一。然而，作為體育發展後進國家的日本，欲學習近代體育運動就等於仿效西洋的知識技能和生活方式，但由於近代式體育運動並非日本固有的文化元素，故必須從上而下由官方強力主導。而日治時期臺灣體育運動的發展亦是在官方主導、民間配合的脈絡下發展的，發展權力雖由日本人所掌控，但仍讓臺灣人的運動觀念與技術獲得長足進展。

二、體育不只是單純的運動競技

在殖民統治下的臺灣體育運動並非只是單純的身體運動，而是因臺灣的特殊處境被賦予諸多意涵。例如，在個人方面，體育運動有助陶冶性格、促進健康衛生、訓練身體協調性和培養正當的休閒興趣。在群體方面，體育運動則被作為規訓殖民地人民的工具——藉由身體鍛鍊，來磨練意志和陶冶國民性格，幫助臺灣人養成日本尚武精神，使臺灣人成為服從於日本人的帝國天皇子民。

再者，體育運動兼具同化與分化日臺關係的作用。一方面，推行體育讓各族群同場競技，以運動做為溝通工具；而選派對外的臺灣運動代表隊時，島內日本人和臺灣人則成為同一陣線的隊友，這些都讓體育運動成為日臺融合的橋樑，有助於推行同化政策。然而，體育同時也兼具分化日臺關係的作用，提醒臺灣人終究不是日本人，故而促使日臺關係之分化，在無形中強化了臺灣人的民族意識。

三、臺灣的體育組織是日本體育組織在殖民地的分支機構

從運動組織的性質來看，臺灣實是日本本土相關機構的地方分部。從大日本武德會臺灣地方支部到臺灣體育協會，皆可看出臺灣並未具備自主性的體育領導機構，而是與朝鮮、滿洲一樣，成為日本體育組織（總部）在殖民地所成立的分支或延伸機構。組織架構方面，臺灣體育協會是體育事業發展的最高領導機構。其以仿效日本體育組織之架構，配合行政統治體系，讓臺灣體育活動的發展由上至下、一氣呵成。在體育活動的經費上，臺灣體育協會的固定經費雖來自總督紀念財團基金，但財團的財源是由總督府向官民徵收而來，主要仍是靠臺灣財政自力支付；臺灣組隊赴日參賽時的經費，更是完全由臺灣自籌。可以說日本雖將殖民地體育組織納入帝國體育架構之下，但並未提供經濟上的實質補助。是故，從體育運動組織及其人事、經費與運作來看，亦具有被殖民母國剝削的性質。

四、臺灣的運動實力獲得提升

整體而言，日治時期臺灣的體育事業經由不斷舉辦／參加各項競賽和運動會，運動技術水準明顯有所提升。雖然臺灣選手剛加入日本帝國的競賽時，實力與日本差距甚大，但在不斷累積經驗、檢討改進失敗原因之後，自 1930 年代起，雙方實力差距有逐漸縮小的趨勢。其中又以棒球、網球和田徑較為明顯，甚至出現締造日本全國紀錄和代表日本參加奧林匹克運動會的臺籍運動員。然而，總結整個日治時期臺灣的運動實力，就臺灣島內而言，其實仍是日本人比臺灣人強。至於臺灣和同為日本殖民地的朝鮮與滿洲相較，在運動組織、場地設備和競賽表現各方面，但仍處於相對落後的地位。

五、運動風氣漸及全臺

明治時期(1895-1912)是臺灣體育運動的草創奠基時期，大正年間(1912-1926)是開始加速成長的興盛時期，昭和初期(1926-1932)則是發展成熟的巔峰時期。其中，1920年臺灣體育協會成立，代表了臺灣體育運動發展的分水嶺，此後各種體育團體便如雨後春筍般陸續成立。另一方面，由武德會體育俱樂部成立(1902年)、臺灣體育協會在全島設立地方支部(1920年)來看，可發現體育活動是以臺北為中心，而後漸及全臺，且以都會區、日人聚居處較盛。

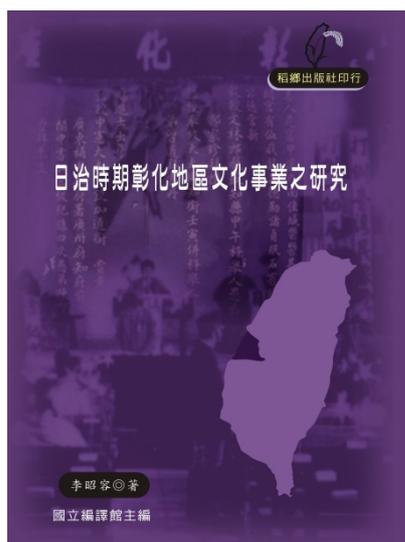
從《臺灣人士鑑》社會名士的興趣調查可知，當時臺灣社會已將臺灣體育活動視為一種生活休閒。然而，受限於時間與金錢等因素，運動風氣在日本人、社會上流階層較盛；從中亦可發現教育程度與運動興趣間的關係。

在日本統治之下，臺灣體育運動具備了上述五項特色，並且在各項運動實力、運動組織和硬體設備上具備相當程度的水準。而該時期所培養出來的運動內涵與觀念，也對日後臺灣體育運動產生深遠的影響，在今日運動競賽場上依然可見。

A Study of Cultural Undertakings in the Changhwa Region of Taiwan during the Era of Japanese Colonial Rule

Chao-Jung Li

Translated by Hsiang-Yang Chen



During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, central Taiwan played a leading role in cultural establishment and progressive thinking. Changhwa, a region in central Taiwan, was deemed by the Japanese a place "filled with malicious thinking" since the people on Bagua Mountain (a mountain in the Changhwa region) fought against the Japanese during their takeover, and rebellious thoughts were constantly expressed through words and speech by Changhwa residents. This study aims to discuss this spirit of protest and to look into the condition and development of

cultural undertakings in Changhwa region under Japanese rule. The region studied is today's Changhwa County (the Changhwa prefecture, Yuanlin prefecture, and Beidou prefecture during the Japanese occupation). By analyzing official documents, newspapers, magazines, and statistics and interviewing 30 elders over 75 years old who lived in Changhwa during the Japanese occupation, a better understanding of the cultural undertakings in Changhwa during the Japanese occupation can be reached.

Broadly speaking, the term "cultural undertakings" covers a wide variety of activities, including education, literature, music, art, drama and many others. This study, which is based on various local chronicles, examines six types of activities falling under the rubric of the cultural undertakings: publishing, news, speeches, libraries, movies, and broadcasts. It should be noted that cultural undertakings are not the same as cultural industries. The focus of cultural undertakings is the winning of influence, rather than the economic value resulting from these undertakings. Nevertheless, cultural undertakings are not opposed to the profitable activities that support their own operation.

The present consists of an introduction, a conclusion, and five other chapters. Chapter

2 discusses the administrative boundaries and cultural background of the Changhwa region, and is divided into three sections—late Qing Dynasty, early Japanese rule, and later Japanese occupation. Chapter 3 looks into publishing and the news industry. The major issues include relevant laws and regulations, institutions, the spatial distribution of the two industries in Taiwan, types of publications, incidents involving violation of the regulations, and so forth. Chapter 4 focuses on speeches and libraries. Aside from an introduction to relevant regulations and institutions, this chapter also analyzes the differences in appeals between speeches issued by Taiwanese institutions and Japanese institutions. The spatial distribution, management, services, and social educational functions of libraries are also discussed in this chapter. Chapter 5 looks into the movie and broadcasting industry, and introduces the spatial distribution, functions, and different kinds of programs provided. Chapter 6 sums up the introductions to the six cultural undertakings and analyzes the effects of developing cultural undertakings in Changhwa in terms of time period, regions, cultural contents, and different social classes. What the residents felt about cultural undertakings is also studied through oral history and various texts.

On the whole, since Japan's assimilation policy encompasses the idea of "assimilation into (modern) civilization" and "assimilation into the (Japanese) nation," the cultural undertakings developed in Taiwan have the quality of modern civilization, molding Taiwanese society into a citizen society. Among the cultural undertakings discussed in this study, libraries and the broadcast industry were completely controlled by the Japanese. However, Changhwa residents strove for their power and rights in the publishing, news and movie industries against the cultural dominance of the Japanese, which is described in the following paragraphs.

The publishing industry in the Changhwa region thrived due to the cultural legacy of the Qing Dynasty and the introduction of the new printing press during the Japanese occupation. Although books written in Japanese still dominated, a significant amount of books written in Chinese were also published, whose contents included basic Chinese studies and ancient/modern Chinese poetry. These Chinese books were the result of work done by Changhwa intellectuals who strove to pass on their own culture. On the other hand, the International Bookstore in Taichung run by Zhuang Chui-Sheng, who was born in Lukang, was one of the three largest Chinese bookstores during the Japanese occupation. The International Bookstore in Taipei run by Xie Xue-Hong, who was born in Changhwa, was a leftwing bookshop. In the Girls' High School Incident which happened in Changhwa, the intellectuals also protested against the government's verdicts through publications. By spreading knowledge and

information, then, the Taiwanese tried to fight against Japanese domination.

As for the news industry, the Changhwa region during the Japanese occupation had entered the era of mass media. Newspapers and magazines were important means of access to new information as well as a part of the daily life of the people. Changhwa residents also took pleasure in expressing their own opinions and fighting against Japan's cultural colonization through the news media. For instance, some Changhwa residents were involved in the administration and editing of the 1920s' *Taiwanese People's Newspaper*, *New Taiwanese's Newspaper*, *Taiwan People Times*, and *New Taiwan People Times*; some of them invested in these newspapers, expressing their spirit of protest in them. When some news reports were banned and deleted by the Japanese government, for example, the editors would leave a blank space in the newspaper as an act of protest. After the 1930s, reporters in the Changhwa region founded the "Chang Yuan Bei News Association" to watch over the society, speak for the people, and push for regional development. It can be inferred from the newspapers and magazines from the period of Japanese occupation that the people of Changhwa were called "malicious in thinking" because they fought against the oppression of the Japanese.

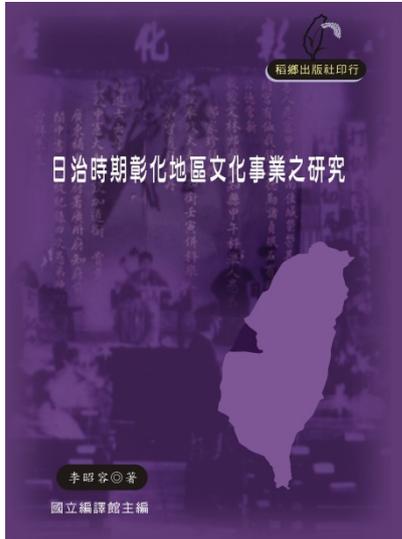
As for speeches, the Changhwa region was where leftwing and rightwing scholars conducted their heated debates during the Japanese occupation. Although freedom of speech was restricted at that time, the people still tried to fight against the government's oppression and to reform Taiwanese society by expressing the opinion of the multitude and debating over public affairs. Also, the Taiwanese learned how modern judicial systems worked in some libel suits, and tried to fight against policemen's abuse and oppression by resorting to legal action. As far as the movie industry was concerned, theaters in the Changhwa region emerged in the 1920s and thrived in the 1930s. In the 1930s, modern theaters were built all over Taiwan. The equipment inside the theaters could also play sound movies, which kept up with the development of movies in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation. At that time, the movies played in the theaters were mostly Japanese movies. Aside from sound movies, theaters in Changhwa also served as the stage for Taiwanese opera performances. It was noteworthy that the Taiwan-American group founded by the Taiwan Culture Association played many foreign educational films and documentaries at local theaters, with its members explaining the content of the films, trying to educate and enlighten the common people as well as to raise their national consciousness. With their headquarters in Changhwa, the Dingxin Club and the Taiwan Black Youth Union traveled around Taiwan and used drama performances to promote anarchism. As the

Japanese government tried to achieve the purpose of cultural assimilation and cultural reproduction with movies, the aforementioned associations tried to counter this cultural colonization with movies.

In conclusion, this study divides the development of cultural undertakings in Taiwan into an emerging period (1895-1921), a growing period (1921-1937), a restricted period (1937-1941), and a stagnant period (1941-1945). The process of cultural development in the Changhwa region is similar to the four periods stated above. The development of cultural undertakings is related to the time when the region is developed. The cultural undertakings in Changhwa, Lukang, Yuanlin, and Beidou achieved greater success. In addition, cultural undertakings were closely related to social-economic status—richer and higher-educated people tend to care more about cultural undertakings. Lastly, cultural undertakings during the Japanese occupation gave rise to a public sphere in which people could exchange their thoughts and express their opinions on public affairs. A citizen society was thus formed under the rule of the Japanese. The participants in social undertakings in Changhwa region strove to raise the standard of Taiwanese culture through publishing, news forums, speech delivery, drama performance, and movies. Their efforts against Japanese oppression were such that they were deemed "malicious" by the Japanese officials; their spirit was called the "Huangxi spirit" by their descendants. The activities held by the participants in cultural undertakings in Changhwa have expanded to Taichung City and become a part of the cultural sphere in central Taiwan, making central Taiwan the pioneer of progressive thinking.

日治時期彰化地區文化事業之研究

李昭容



在

日治時期，臺灣中部地區是臺灣思想的領航者，具有文化上的指標性；而彰化地區作為中部地區的一環，因割讓時曾在八卦山的展開激烈反抗，殖民時期亦勇於以言論、思想表達反抗精神，被日人以「思想惡化」稱之。本研究目的為探討思想惡化一詞背後的抗議精神，了解日治時期彰化地區文化事業的發展過程與面貌。因此本研究以今日的彰化縣轄區（即日治時期的彰化郡、員林郡及北斗郡）為研究區域，藉由分析各種日治時代官方文獻、報紙、雜誌與統計資料等，並訪談 30 位日治時期居於彰化、現已 75 歲以上的耆老，來了解日治時

期彰化地區的文化事業與特質。

一般而言，文化事業涵蓋的範圍相當廣泛，舉凡教育、文學、音樂、美術、戲劇皆為其範疇。本研究則參考方志學對「文化事業篇」之歸類，同時選擇文化事業中具有影響力、傳播力、大眾化及通俗化特色的事業為分析對象，分別為出版、新聞、講演、圖書館、電影與廣播等六項事業。而且文化事業之性質與「文化產業」又有區別，文化事業關注的焦點是文化影響，而非活動所產生的經濟價值，但為了機構營運，不排斥維持運作的收費行為。

本書的章節架構除緒論、結論外共分五章，第二章探討彰化地區的行政區劃與人文背景，分為清末、日治初期、日治中後期三節。第三章探討出版事業與新聞事業，包含相關法規、管制機關、從業者分佈、出版品種類、違反規定之事例等。第四章以講演事業與圖書館事業為主，除相關法規與管制機構外，也分析日人、臺人主導機構的講演訴求差異，以及圖書館的分佈、管理、服務與社教功能。第五章將電影與廣播事業合併討論，介紹此二事業的分佈、功能與節目種類。第六章則綜合六項文化事業，在時間階段、文化事業實施地區、文化事業內涵與階級差別下，分析彰化地區文化事業實施的成效，並透過口述歷史、文本內容來呈現該地區民眾的內心感受。

整體而言，由於日本的同化運動包含「同化於（近代）文明」、「同化於（日本）民族」兩個面向之故，使其所的文化事業具有了近代文明特質，也讓臺灣由俗民社會進入公民社會。而在本研究所論之文化事業中，圖書館與廣播事業是由日人完全主導的；但在出版、新聞、講演及電影事業方面，彰化地區民眾則企圖在日人主宰的文化霸權中，爭取文化事業的制衡力量。以下針對後者略為敘述。

在出版事業上，彰化地區延續其自清代以來的文風基礎，加上日治時期引進

的新式印刷機，擁有相當蓬勃的出版印刷事業。在出版類型上雖以日文書為多，但漢學啟蒙書與新、舊文學的詩文集等漢文書亦有一席之地，可以看出彰化地區知識分子力圖傳承原有文化的努力。另一方面，鹿港人莊垂勝於臺中經營的中央書局為日治時期臺灣三大漢文書店之一，彰化人謝雪紅於臺北經營的國際書局則是販賣左翼書籍的專門書店；違反「臺灣出版規則」的「彰化高女事件」中，該地區的知識分子也以印刷品表達抗議意見，這些都是臺人企圖以知識傳播與日人抗衡的證據。

在新聞事業方面，彰化地區的新聞事業在日治時期已進入大眾媒體的時代，報刊、雜誌已是民眾獲得新知的重要管道，也是生活習慣的一部分。而彰化地區的民眾也樂於以在新聞事業中為民喉舌，在日本主宰的文化霸權中發揮制衡力量。例如，在 1920 年代的《臺灣民報》、《臺灣新民報》、《臺灣大眾時報》及《新臺灣大眾時報》中，皆有彰化人參與業務、編輯或者是投資，在其中勇於表達抗議精神。例如，當報導內容遭官方檢查刪除時，便索性以空白版面出刊，以示抗議。1930 年代後，彰化地區的記者組成「彰員北新聞人會」，在體制內發揮監督社會、為民喉舌及促進地區發展的目標。由日治時期的報章雜誌記載，可瞭解彰化被稱為思想惡化實因反抗日人壓迫而得名。

在講演事業上，彰化地區是當時左、右派激辯的大本營。民眾雖無法擁有完全的意見自由，但仍企圖由公眾形成意見、進行公共事務論辯，以此反抗殖民政府的壓迫，改造臺灣社會。同時，臺人也在訴訟事件中體會到現代的司法制度，學會以訴訟平衡警察的欺壓及無理取締。在電影事業方面，彰化地區的戲院在 1920 年代興起，興盛於 1930 年代。1930 年代時，各地逐漸興建現代劇院，內部設備亦可播放有聲電影，大致與日治時期的臺灣電影發展同步。而在日治時期，臺灣播放的電影以日本片最多；但彰化地區大多為混合戲院，也提供歌仔戲等表演場地。比較特別的是，由臺灣文化協會發起的美臺團放映了許多外國教育與記錄片，配合辯士的解說以啟迪民智、喚醒民眾的民族自覺意識；而鼎新社與臺灣黑色青年聯盟則以彰化為據點，巡迴全台演出並宣揚無政府主義思想。在日本官方以電影傳播文明教化、達到文化再製時，前述團體則企圖以電影反抗文化霸權。

總結而言，本研究將臺灣文化事業發展分為開端期（1895~1921）、發展期（1921~1937）、管制期（1937~1941）及停滯期（1941~1945），彰化地區也反映出同樣的分期特性。而文化事業發展與地區開發時間、繁榮程度有所關聯，以彰化、鹿港、員林與北斗的文化事業較為興盛。再則，文化事業與階級有密切關係，經濟較佳及受教育者對文化事業的感受較強。最後，文化事業促成日治時期臺灣公共領域的形成，民眾可藉各種文化事業凝聚共識、表達公意，形成一個仍受日人管制的公民社會。而彰化地區文化事業的參與人士，以出版寫作、新聞論壇、舉辦講演及電影、戲劇演出等方式，企圖提昇臺灣文化，其反映的特色即為「思想惡化」的實際表現，後人則以「磺溪精神」稱之。彰化地區文化人士的活動場域已擴及臺中市，附屬於中部地區文化圈，讓中部地區成為當時臺灣思想的重要領航者。

The Theoretical Structure and Development of Metafiction in Taiwan

Qing-Shun Huang

Translated by Amanda Tsai



As a genre, the novel reached its maturity during the 18th century. During the earlier phases of its development, novelists would often stress the “veracity” of their narratives. But in “metafiction” novelists deliberately insert themselves into the narrative, so as to emphasize that the basic nature of the novel is that it is pure “fiction.” Metafiction became popular in western literary circles in the middle of the 20th century, and generally speaking scholars are in agreement that metafiction is the art form that is best able to reflect the theories of post-modernism. The reason is that postmodernism stresses “indeterminacy.” It also rejects the premise that the creation of linguistic signs equals the “representation” of truth. Thus the traditional view that realistic novels can objectively reflect reality, receives a through re-evaluation and criticism in metafiction.

The earliest and most authentic piece of metafiction, in the view of most scholars, is *Tristan Shandy*, written by Laurence Sterne (1713-1768) in the mid-18th century. As to the technical term “metafiction,” it was first coined by the American critic William Gass (1924-) in his essay “Philosophy and the Form of the Novel,” published in 1970. Before Gass proposed the term, the titles “new novel,” “anti-novel,” “surfiction,” “irrealism,” “self-conscious fiction,” “introverted novel,” “self-begetting novel,” and so on, had also been proposed. In Taiwanese literary circles, the first occurrence of this type of metafiction is probably the short story “Preface,” which was published in the 128th issue (January 1983) of the *Chung Wai Literary Monthly*. However, the first work to really make an impact on the Taiwanese literary scene was Huang Fan’s work “How to Measure the Width of a Ditch,” which appeared in the literary section of the *United Daily News* on November 24, 1985. Afterwards, various local authors—including Zhang Dachun, Lin Yaode, Ping Lu, and Huang Jinshu—wrote metafiction, thereby helping to push metafiction in Taiwan to new heights. However,

starting in 1988, metafiction lost its preeminent position, and thereafter its popularity declined precipitously.

The present work is focused mainly on topics relating to metafiction. It explores theories relating to metafiction, and analyzes the rise and fall of metafiction in Taiwan during a 20-year period (1983-2002). The specific topics explored include the following: What is the definition of metafiction? What are its theoretical foundations? What are the times and circumstances that gave birth to it? Why did metafiction become an indicator of postmodern literature? How should researchers understand why western techniques of metafiction, when transplanted into Taiwan, suddenly became so popular? How should they understand the trajectory of its growth and development in Taiwan? What are the critical factors behind the rise and fall of metafiction in Taiwan? In short, everything relating to the development of metafiction in Taiwan falls under the purview of the present work.

It is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One serves as the introduction: It explains some of the concerns of the present work, its interpretive strategies, and critical concepts. Chapter Two seeks to explain the reasons for the use of the term 'metafiction'; it also explores how metafiction has actually manifested itself in history. Chapter Three provides an in-depth analysis of the theoretical background behind metafiction, as well as its philosophical nature, with special attention paid to the link between metafiction and postmodernism. For example, it looks at Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) and his deconstructionism theories. It also considers the view of Jean-François Lyotard (1924-1998), as put forth in his work *La Condition postmoderne*, on why "grand narratives" have collapsed. At the same time, the chapter analyzes metafiction by looking at issues such as narrative techniques, creation of atmosphere, and the nature of fiction.

The purpose of Chapter Four and Chapter Five is to describe the circumstances under which metafiction was introduced to the Taiwanese literary scene, and to look at the development of metafiction in Taiwan after it was first introduced. This work argues that the development of metafiction in Taiwan can be divided into three main periods: the preliminary stage (1983-1986), during which the concept of metafiction was introduced and metafiction was attempted and then developed; the middle stage (1987-1996), during which metafiction became popular; and the final stage (1997-2002), during which metafiction declined, changed course and evolved. These three stages mark the rise and fall of metafiction in Taiwan.

Chapter Six looks at the sudden popularity and eventual decline of metafiction in

Taiwan from an academic perspective. In the view of the present work, metafiction in Taiwan has been beset by three major problems: (1) It has an overly rigid creative framework, causing it to fall into difficulties of its own making; (2) It places too much emphasis on theory, so that metafiction suffers from an absence of an aesthetic sense of beauty; (3) It tends to present things in a formulaic way, so that metafiction stories seem to all be the same. At the same time, the development of metafiction in Taiwan has suffered from a lack of philosophical depth, so that its high-minded theoretical discussions are unable to carve out new frontiers. As a result, metafiction has been unable to take root in Taiwan (in other words, it was easy for it to become shallow and repetitive); thus it was doomed to suffer a decline. Furthermore, the present work argues, the theories of postmodernism have had a negative effect on fiction. Because metafiction is closely related to postmodernist theory, its creative tendency is to question the trustworthiness of reality, to indulge in word play, and to make a mockery of historical truths. These tendencies, however, have caused many to call metafiction itself into question.

Chapter Seven forms the conclusion to this work. It argues that objectively speaking metafiction has made undeniable contributions to Taiwan, but it has also encountered an impasse that ought to be carefully considered; historical circumstances gave rise to the development of metafiction in Taiwan, but at the same also limited its development. As a representative of postmodernist thought, metafiction's main contribution is to give the lie to the mistaken belief that "language can adequately reflect reality." Metafiction also sharply criticizes the blind spots of traditional realistic novels. At the same time, we cannot deny that metafiction has resulted in the "deconstruction of the form and descriptive techniques of the traditional novel." Metafiction has made a positive contribution insofar as it has led readers "to think about and reconsider their views on reality and language." Its experimental innovation and philosophical reflections have also made a contribution to the development of fiction writing.

Thus from one point of view, Taiwanese literature, after its baptism into metafiction, has branched out and become more multifaceted and open. Such indeed is the value of metafiction. However, too much and too little of anything are both liable to cause bottlenecks and blind spots. Metafiction is stuck in a rut from which it cannot extricate itself, a rut caused by its own belief that language and words are "fictitious" constructs, by its love of word play arising from a spirit that delights in mocking realistic novels. When the views of metafiction are taken to an extreme, they can easily lead readers to fall into the belief that the entire world is absurd, that nothing is real.

However, from another more optimistic point of view, now that metafiction has become formally ossified, what is required is that it make a breakthrough in terms of its content. Metafiction is no longer popular on the Taiwanese literary scene today; but some of its techniques and the way it turns everything upside-down (for example, when a narrator intrudes on the narrative or when he self-consciously points to himself) can still be found in the works of many practicing authors (for example, in the works of Luo Yi-jun and Lee Ang). Thus it is also not entirely correct to categorically declare that metafiction is dead.

後設小說的理論建構與在臺發展

黃清順



約 莫成熟於十八世紀的「小說」(Novel) 文體，在發展之初，作者往往強調其敘事內容的「真實性」；而「後設小說」(metafiction) 卻是作家有意識地在作品中現身說法，從而凸顯小說的本質是「虛構」(fiction) 這一事實的特殊創作。後設小說流行於二十世紀中葉的西方文藝圈中，學術界基本上認為這是最能體現「後現代主義」(postmodernism) 理論的創作形式——因為後現代主義強調「不確定性」(indeterminacy)、不接受語言符號的創作等於事實原貌「再現」(representation) 的設想，因此傳統認為寫實小

說能客觀反映現實的觀念，在後設小說中得到了徹底的反省與批判。

一般認為，西方文學史中最早且最為道地的後設小說，要以十八世紀中葉勞倫斯·斯特恩 (Laurence Sterne, 1713~1768) 的《項狄傳》(Tristan Shandy) 為代表；而「後設小說」這一專有名詞，則創始於美國文論家威廉·加斯 (William Gass, 1924~) 發表在 1970 年的〈哲學和小說形式〉(Philosophy and the Form of Fiction) 一文當中。在加斯提出此一名稱之前，它又被稱作「新小說」(new novel)、「反小說」(anti-novel)、「超小說」(surfiction)、「非現實主義」(irrealism)、「自覺小說」(self-conscious fiction)、「內向小說」(introverted novel)、「自我衍生小說」(self begetting novel) ... 等等意見紛紜的「命名」。臺灣文學界最早引進後設小說這一創作模式，應可追溯到伍軒宏發表於《中外文學》第 128 期的〈前言〉(1983.01) 一文，但真正讓臺灣文壇普遍接受且引發流行的後設作品，則要以黃凡發表在《聯合副刊》的小說——〈如何測量水溝的寬度〉(1985.11.24) 為開端。此後，包括張大春、林耀德、平路、黃錦樹等作家競相投入後設小說的創作之中，從而讓臺灣文學界的後設創作之路，推向高峰；但在 1998 年之後，後設小說在臺灣文壇已不復見昔日聲勢，而且迅速走向凋零。

本書旨以後設小說相關議題為論述主軸，探討後設小說相關理論，並分析後設小說在臺發展二十年間 (1983~2002) 的起伏興衰。具體探討問題包含：後設小說的定義、理論根據與時代背景為何？何以後設小說成為後現代文學的具體指標？研究者該如何理解西方後設寫作技巧移植來臺後，乍然而興的後設小說創作風潮與發展狀況？而讓後設小說在臺發展「乍起旋衰」的關鍵因素是？簡而言之，與臺灣後設小說發展有關的各個面向，均為本書亟欲探究的課題。

本書共分七章，首章為緒論，說明本書的書寫模式、詮釋策略與關鍵概念。

第二章主要追溯「後設小說」這一名詞的「命名」用意和「詞根」內涵，並探討歷史上後設小說的實際創作情況。第三章則深入整理後設小說的理論背景和哲學屬性，特別著墨在後設小說與後現代主義（postmodernism）間的學理關係，如德希達（Jacques Derrida，1930～2004）的「解構」（deconstruction）理論和李歐塔（Jean-François Lyotard，1924～1998）《後現代狀況》（La condition postmoderne）一書中所謂「偉大正統敘事（grand narratives）的瓦解」等觀點。同時，也由敘事方式、小說情境氛圍、小說的本質等面向來分析後設小說之創作。

第四、第五兩章旨在闡述後設小說引進臺灣文壇前的時代背景，以及後設小說進入臺灣後的實際發展情形。本書認為，臺灣文壇的後設小說發展可簡單分為三個階段——前期（1983～1986）：後設小說概念引介、嘗鮮與接續發展；中期（1987～1996）：後設小說創作的流行與多元觸角的呈現；後期（1997～2002）：後設小說創作沒落、轉向與變革。上述三階段構成臺灣小說後設之路的興起與衰落。第六章則針對後設小說在臺發展「乍起旋衰」的情形作出學術觀察。本書認為，後設小說創作在臺灣面臨三大問題：1. 創作形式僵化，自陷困境；2. 創作時過於強調理論，讓小說失去美感表現；3. 表述方式公式化，讓小說看起來千篇一律。同時，臺灣的後設小說在創作時也缺乏深入的哲學思考，讓具備高度理論性的後設小說無法充分拓展意義。這讓臺灣的後設作品無法深入紮根（即容易膚淺化、千篇一律），注定走向沒落之途。其次，本書認為「後現代」理論對小說創作具有負面影響。由於後設小說與後現代理論息息相關，其質疑現實的可信度，並強調讓文字遊戲愉悅化，甚至具有恣意虛構、嘲弄史實的創作傾向，但卻反而讓這種小說體裁遭受莫大質疑。

第七章則為結論。本書認為，平心而論，後設小說在臺灣有其不可磨滅的貢獻，但發展時亦有值得深思的瓶頸，具有時代的必然性與相對而來的侷限。代表後現代思維的後設小說，其主要貢獻在於戳破所謂「語言能充分反映真相」的迷思，並對寫實主義的盲點提出尖銳的批評。同時，我們也不能否認後設小說「在形式上和語言上導致了傳統小說和敘述方式的解體」，在促進讀者「去思考，去重新認識現實和語言」有其正面意義；而其實驗式的創新、具哲理內涵的省思亦賦予小說發展一定程度的貢獻。

因此，從一定觀點而言，臺灣文學經過後設文學的洗禮，得以朝更多元、開放的寫作架構中伸展觸角。而這就是後設小說的價值所在。然而，任何太過與不及，都會造成相對的瓶頸與盲點。後設小說便因認定語言文字的「虛構性」，極度調侃「寫實主義」精神而導致其游移在「文字遊戲」的概念中難以自拔。而這些觀點行至極端，便容易讓讀者陷溺於世界是荒謬、不可解的「虛無主義」之中。不過，從樂觀的角度來看，當後設文本面臨形式僵化的困境時，也就是它必須在內涵上突圍轉進的開始。時至今日，後設小說雖已不再盛行於臺灣文壇，然其特有的表現技巧與顛覆姿態（如話語介入、自我指涉等手法），卻依然以各種形式廣泛地存在當前的後現代文「中」（如駱以軍、李昂作品）。故若斷然宣稱「後設已死」，也不盡符實際。

中文原著圖書出版資訊

Selected Books Published Information

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1	謝美娥	清代臺灣米價研究	稻鄉出版社	2008	9789866913402
2	曾華璧	戰後臺灣環境史： 從毒油到國家公園	五南圖書出版	2011	97895711161945
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4	柯榮三	時事題材之臺灣歌仔冊研究	鼎文書局	2008	9789860130760
5	黃文車	日治時期臺灣閩南歌謠研究	文津出版社	2008	9789576688805
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12	賴貴三	臺海兩岸焦循文獻考察與學 術研究	文津出版社	2008	9789576688843
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