

# 臺灣集體儀式的韌性、轉型與適應：藉由二十四年來 對西港刈香田野工作的挖掘呈現成果

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臺南西港地區每 3 年舉行一次的「西港刈香」，仍是今日主要的漢人民俗慶典之一。此儀式同時有祈求平安和驅邪除惡等多種象徵意義，且因活動與地方社會相互連結也包含廣闊的社會意義。刈香旨在表達對「千歲爺（泛指 12 位瘟王；三位一組輪值代天巡狩，在儀式期間只停留 100 多個小時）」的崇祀。其同時包括「王醮」、於模仿臨時官廳接待前來巡狩的千歲爺的「王府科儀」、為王爺送行的「燒王船」，以及為期 4 天地域性的遶境「刈香」。凝聚數以千計的參與者進行熱切且隆重的交流之刈香也就為此次研究的主要對象。

200 年前由 13 個庄頭發起的活動，至今已經有 90 個以上鄰近的社群參與（具有不同神明的崇祀），讓儀式的時間與空間已發展到飽和狀態。自 1784 年以降，無論遭遇多嚴重的挑戰，刈香活動沒有中斷舉行，為臺灣歷史留下深刻註記，也是民間信仰系統豐富的展現。此外，為更進一步瞭解西港刈香，需將其放在多層面的臺南地區環境（包含地理因素）中，同樣地，也放在大環境的社會經濟變遷及全球潮流（包含文化政策的一些潮流）中進行研究。

艾茉莉教授的演講將先透過照片和簡短的解說，分享標題中提到的多年田野研究途徑。之後將重心放在教授在這 24 年來和儀式參與者、耆老與居民等種種交流互動，以及時間面向層面的相關分析。聚焦於這個個案研究與

個人體驗，希望瞭解臺灣民間信仰許多方面的轉變，並從這兩個面向做出反射分析（reflexive analysis）。在呈現大量傳統符號、行為、物品的同時，是什麼因素讓西港的儀式（如同許多類似的活動）在時代中找到歸屬，並且產生出一種獨特的集體凝聚思維？這些現象又反映臺灣社會與文化的哪些現象？

**Resilience, Transformation and Adaptation of Communal Rituals in Taiwan:  
Mining on Twenty-Four Years of Fieldwork  
Research on Saikang's Koah-hiu<sup>n</sup> (西港刈香) (Tainan) for results**

The triennial festival of Hsikang (西港) in the Tainan region, commonly named by the locals ‘Saikang *Koah-hiu*’<sup>n</sup>, remains one of the major Han folk religion’s celebrations in Taiwan. It holds different symbolic functions, from propitiatory to exorcistic, and, embedded in local society, it entails a wide range of social meanings as well. The festival is organized to honor Chhian-Soe-ia 千歲爺 (a generic term to designate three of the twelve Kings of Epidemics, invited in rotation for the occasion, for a little longer than 100 hours) and comprises several ritual performances taking place at the same time, such as a Taoist service, *wangjiao* (王醮), a service celebrating the Kings in a ‘palace’, *wangfu keyi* (王府科儀), the burning of the King’s boat, *shao wangchuan* (燒王船), a four-day procession going around the local territory, *koah-hiu*<sup>n</sup> (刈香). The current research mainly focuses on this last ritual, drawing thousands and thousands of social actors for an intense moment of sharing and exchanging.

Having started with thirteen villages more than two hundred years ago, the territorial procession involves nowadays 90-odd neighboring cult communities, worshipping different gods of the folk religion pantheon, thus reaching a limit in terms of space and time. Performed without interruption ever since 1784, despite a series of challenges, the event does offer a quite remarkable historical depth for Han Taiwan and a significant display of the folk religion beliefs system. Besides, it is well worth considering it in the multi-dimensional local context of the region of Tainan, including its geographical setting,

as well as in the general environment of socio-economic change and global trends, including cultural policies.

After introducing the object through photographs and short descriptions, and evoking the approach adopted in her extensive fieldwork on the topic, Fiorella Allio will elaborate on the multi-faceted interactions with rituals' protagonists and locals and the temporal dimension of her observations spanning over two decades as points of reflexive analysis. Focused on this case study and based on this personal experience, the perspective aims at understanding the evolution of several aspects of folk religion on Taiwan. While overwhelmingly displaying traditional symbols, practices and objects, what makes the ritual of Hsikang, as well as many similar events, definitely belonging to their time and producing a unique reflection on the collective being? What general features does this reflect of Taiwan's culture and society?

### 主講人介紹：

艾茉莉 (Fiorella F. Allio)，法國籍，艾茉莉教授係法國巴黎第十大學 (Paris 10th University) 人類學與比較社會學博士。並於紐約哥倫比亞大學 (Columbia University, New York) 人類學系從事博士後研究。艾教授曾任法國現代中國研究中心臺北分部 (CEFC) 主任 (1998-2003)，現為法國國家科學院亞洲研究所研究員。本 (2012) 上半年獲漢學研究中心獎助，來臺對臺南地區宗教活動的轉型和韌性進行研究。