

Ethnicity and the history of Ilan

族群與宜蘭歷史

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歷史上的宜蘭，以蘭陽平原為主要活動舞臺。雖然蘭陽平原面積只有 330 平方公里，卻由於擁有複雜的族群、豐富多元的文化，而在歷史過程中交織、糾葛出一幕幕動人心弦的悲喜劇。

Historically, the Lanyang Plain has been center stage of life in Ilan. Although it covers an area of only 330 square kilometers, thanks to its complex ethnic mix and richly diverse cultures, emerging from its history is an endless interwoven tragicomedy touching the heart.

多族群文化背景

從史前時代以來，蘭陽平原就有史前人類活動居住；近千年來的住民，則是噶瑪蘭人，主要分佈在低濕沼地，依傍溪流而居、形成數十個村落。雪山、中央兩大山脈的廣大山區，則是泰雅族群的活動天地；而十九世紀初才從西部遷移進來的西部平埔族群，也和噶瑪蘭人發生密切的關係。至於嘉慶元(1796)年開始以集團方式入墾的漢人，因人數眾多，不但對本地所有南島民族造成重大衝擊，並且快速成為蘭陽平原的主要人群。

A backdrop of many different cultures

The Lanyang Plain has seen human habitation since prehistoric times. The Kavalan people, residents for the last several hundred years, were distributed mostly among the low, marshy land, where they established dozens of villages along the watercourses. The vast mountain areas of the Hsuehshan and Central Mountain Ranges represented the active realm of the Atayal tribe, and it wasn't until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Pingpu tribes from the western region moved into the area, forging close relations with the Kavalan people. As for the Han Chinese, who started their ingress for the purpose of clearing land for cultivation in 1796, they were so numerous that they not only had a major impact on the Austronesian people who inhabited the land, they quickly became the major ethnic group on the Lanyang Plain.

蘭陽溪的隔絕性與「溪北」、「溪南」的開墾

蘭陽溪是蘭陽平原裡最長、最大的河流。流入平原後，在扇端形成網狀流路。充滿礫石的廣闊溪灘，水道游移不定，下游則水路分歧易變，水淺流急；在近代堤防修築之前，蘭陽溪可說毫無通航與使用上的便利性。因此，蘭陽溪將平原切割為二：形成「溪北」、「溪南」兩個歷史發展步調不一的地區。

The isolated nature of the Lanyang River, and the development of the areas to its north and south

The Lanyang River is the longest and largest river on the Lanyang Plain. After it flows into the plain, its alluvial fan forms a network of waterways. The broad river is full of gravel, and the watercourse is forever changing. Downstream, the river splits up into many mercurial riverlets, where the water runs shallow and brisk. In recent times, before the embankments were built, the Lanyang River could be said to completely unnavigable by boat, and quite unusable. Consequently, the Lanyang River divides the plain into two: areas “north of the river” and “south of the river,” each having had different historical developments.



Han people at work in the fields.

從事農業的漢人

十九世紀初，以吳沙家族為首的漳、泉、粵三籍漢人，運用「結首制」組成拓墾集團，大舉進入蘭陽平原。由於組織嚴謹，開墾工作進行迅速，不過十五年光景(嘉慶1～15年，1796～1810)，就已開墾蘭陽溪北的土地；而從噶瑪蘭廳的設置到嘉慶、道光兩朝更替的十年間，溪南草埔也很快轉變為水田稻作的農地。道光至光緒年間(1821～1895)，漢人與平埔族群共組開墾集團，深入蘭陽溪上游，開墾今三星鄉及一部份員山鄉。經由此一長達百年的入墾過

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Han Chinese from three different areas in China -- Guangdong, and Quanzhou and Zhangjiang, both in Fujian -- and led by the Wu Sha Clan, formed armed groups to develop the land, and entered the Lanyang Plain in great numbers. Because they were so well organized, development work proceeded rapidly, and within fifteen years (the first fifteen years of the Qing Dynasty's Jiaqing Reign, 1796-1810), the Lanyang Plain north of the river came to be fully developed. During the ten years from the establishment of the Kavalan Office to the ascension of Daoguang to the Qing throne, the grasslands to the south of the

程，蘭陽平原遂轉變成以漢人爲主的街莊世界。

river also rapidly became agricultural paddy. From 1821 to 1895, Han Chinese and Pingpu people worked together in land-development teams, penetrating the Lanyang River far upstream, developing the Chinsanhsing Township and part of the Yuenshan Township areas. Through this century of development, the Lanyang Plan became a world of streets and villages populated mainly by Han Chinese.

清朝政府的難題

噶瑪蘭初入版圖，清廷必須處理的族群問題有四：一是如何阻隔中央山地的泰雅族人，使其不得逸入平原墾區，造成治安的困擾？二是在漢人自行入墾、國家不及防範的前提下，如何彌補溪北噶瑪蘭村社已經形成的土地流失問題；及如何防止溪南噶瑪蘭村社重蹈覆轍，以保留適量土地讓他們維持基本生計？三是如何在兼顧噶瑪蘭人土地所有與生計的同時，也能妥善控制漢人的開墾秩序，並進行土地的分配？最後，則是如何安排西部平埔族群的角色與生計？

The difficulties of the Qing government

When the Kavalan people were first brought under the Qing domain, there were four ethnic problems with which the court had to deal. First was that of cordoning off the Atayal people in the central mountain regions, denying them access to the developed land of the plain, where they would create problems of public order. Second, with the Han Chinese making pioneering inroads on their own before the nation could set up defensive countermeasures, there was the problem of how make up loss of land already created by erosion in the Kavalan villages to the north of the river; and how to prevent the same from happening in the Kavalan villages to the south, so that land sufficient for making a basic living could be preserved. The third problem was how to look after the wherewithal for the Kavalan people's livelihood while at the same time imposing orderly controls on Han Chinese land development in the course of land allocation. Finally, how were the roles and livelihoods of the western Pingpu people to be arranged?



Old photograph of Atayal tribespeople.

泰雅族人舊照 Historical Photograph of Atayal

漢人與噶瑪蘭人的生存空間競爭

漢人的農業拓墾，目的在獲取土地、並將「荒埔」轉變成適於水田稻作的農地。因此，漢人不但在拓墾過程中，由領導者分配土地；清廷也想盡辦法，替漢人製造租佃土地的機會。清代宜蘭開築多條埤圳，灌溉田園，可耕地因此快速水田化。然而，漢人改造土地生產方式的結果，不僅引進水利制度，也導致自然生態的改變。漢人眼中有待改造的「荒埔」，原是噶瑪蘭人狩獵的草地；曲折、蜿蜒、易氾濫的溪流，提供噶瑪蘭人豐富的水生資源與交通管道。全面性的水利設施，固然使蘭陽平原成為稻米產量穩定的穀倉；但另一方面，也使噶瑪蘭人從此失去經營、維持傳統社會文化生活的自然環境。不僅如此，漢人街莊的大量成立，使噶瑪蘭村落被緊密包圍；蘭陽平原的空間族群性，開始從量變步入質變的過程。

Competition for survival space between Han Chinese and Kavalan

With the pioneering work of the Han Chinese, their purpose was to acquire land and turn the “wild plains” into paddy suitable for rice cultivation. As a result, in the course of Han Chinese land development, their leaders not only distributed the land, but the Qing court too did its best to find ways to create opportunities for the Han people to rent land. During the Qing dynasty, many water transport ditches were constructed and fields and gardens irrigated, so arable land was rapidly transformed into paddy. However, the resulting Han transformation of land production techniques not only introduced irrigation systems, but also led to a change in the natural ecology. The “wild plains,” which in Han Chinese eyes needed to be transformed, had been the Kavalan people’s hunting grounds; intricate, twisting streams and rivers which easily burst their banks had provided the Kavalan with rich aquatic resources and transport channels. The comprehensive hydraulic facilities turned the Lanyang Plain into a granary of stable rice production, but on the other hand this development meant the loss for the Kavalan people of the management and preservation of the natural environment for their traditional culture and lives. Not only this, but the large-scale

establishment of roads and villages by the Han Chinese also tightly encroached upon the Kavalan villages, and the ethnic demographics on the Lanyang Plain went through a process first of quantitative and then qualitative change.

噶瑪蘭人在進入清代國家體制後，傳統社會文化開始產生巨大變遷。此變遷一方面造成噶瑪蘭村落「貧窮化」，一方面使噶瑪蘭人成為大環境中最底層的社會階級。族群差異與貧窮、低位階相互結合，形成生活困難、備受歧視的族群處境。離開原居地的族群關係、尋求新空間的生存機會，是噶瑪蘭人解脫困境的策略。

After the Kavalan people came under Qing state control, their traditional society and culture started undergoing massive changes. These changes on the one hand impoverished the Kavalan villages, while on the other hand they put the Kavalan people at the very bottom stratum of the social hierarchy in the general environment. The combination of ethnic differences, poverty and low status made life very difficult, and they suffered from racial discrimination. The Kavalan strategy for shaking off these difficulties was to leave the ethnic relations of their original homes and seek new space for survival opportunities.

噶瑪蘭族的遷徙

我們發現，噶瑪蘭人從十九世紀中葉開始，不但在蘭陽平原境內、境外展開大大小小的移動，使其分佈超越原居地的空間範圍，還可以歸納出一個大致的趨勢：溪北的部份社眾，往頭城靠雪山山脈的狹小海岸平原遷移；溪南的部份社眾，則往接近中央山脈的蘇澳、南方澳遷移。而無論溪南、溪北，共同吸引噶瑪蘭人與西部平埔族群起而去的新天地，則是三星地區與花蓮平原。

The migration of the Kavalan people

We discover that starting in the mid-nineteenth century, the Kavalan people, whether living on the Lanyang Plain or outside it, launched migrations large and small, and spread beyond the scope of their original homes. We can even conclude that there was a general trend: the communities north of the Lanyang River moved to Toucheng, on the narrow coastal plain, nestling up against the Hsuehsan Mountain Range. The communities south of the river moved to Suao and Nanfangao, close to the Central Mountain Range. The new world which attracted both Kavalan and Western Pingpu people from the communities north and south of the river was that of the Sanhsing region and the Hualien Plain.



Old photograph of Kavalan people.

噶瑪蘭人舊照 Historical photograph of Kavalan people

近一百年來，花蓮平原、東海岸一帶一群被稱為「加禮宛族」的人，就是南下遷徙的宜蘭噶瑪蘭後裔。這群移民的宜蘭原鄉，雖然包括溪南、溪北好幾個村落，但因大多由加禮宛港(今冬山河接蘭陽溪出口)移出，而在花蓮地區被稱為加禮宛人。到今天為止，包括花蓮縣新城鄉、花蓮市、豐濱鄉，及臺東縣長濱鄉等處，都有噶瑪蘭後裔分佈；其中人數較具規模的聚落，則為：新社、立德與大峰峰。

For nearly a hundred years, the people throughout the Hualien Plain and the east coast were known as the “Kalewan tribe” people. They were the descendants of the Kavalan people from Ilan who had migrated south. The Ilan home of this group of migrants included several villages both north and south of the Lanyang River, but because most of these people had moved from Kalewan Harbor (now an outlet of the Tungshan and Lanyang Rivers), in the Hualien region, they became known as the Kalewan people. To this day, Hsincheng Township, Hualien City and Fengpin Township in Hualien County, and Changpin Township in Taitung County are all places where the descendants of the Kavalan people are now distributed. Places which have a fairly strong Kavalan presence include Hsin She (in Hualien County), Litch (Hualien County), and Tafengfeng (Taitung County).

族群意識的甦醒與復名運動

移居花東，使噶瑪蘭人的傳統社會文化與母語得以部份保存；「我是噶 瑪蘭」的自覺，也使其不像其他平埔族群那般隱晦。九〇年代以來，隨著社會大眾對認識本土文化的強烈需求，噶瑪蘭後裔也開始追尋

Revival of ethnic consciousness and reclaiming old names

The relocation to Hualien and Taitung actually made it easier for the Kavalan people to preserve some of their traditional society, culture and mother tongue. The “I am a Kavalan” self-awakening also made the Kavalan tribe different from the other Pingpu tribes, whose identity has become more obscure

自己的歷史、強調族群意識、要求政府予以正名與承認，此即噶瑪蘭的復名運動。

over time. Since the 1990s, in the wake of the intense need for much of society to acknowledge its native culture, the descendants of the Kavalan have begun to seek out their history, emphasize their ethnic identity, and demand that the government formally name and acknowledge them. The movement to reclaim the name of the Kavalan has been born.

Edited by Ann Lin / translated by Elizabeth Hoile.

(林玫君編輯／何麗薩翻譯)