

## **From Shamanic Ritual to Theatre, Cultural Industry and Cultural Heritage: The State, Shamanism and Gender among the Kavalan and the Amis (Taiwan)**

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Empirical field research in Kavalan and Amis villages in the north of Hualian on the periphery of the city will explore the social context under which shamanic rituals have gradually evolved from the village level to the united ethnic group, becoming labels of particular nations and finally a kind of cultural industry or heritage. Why have shamanic rituals, stripped of their mystifying religious, ritualistic, and taboo characteristics, been put on the stage of the National Theater by aboriginal groups in the form of modern theater? These shamanic rituals have taken on new life, transforming from rituals that were a part of everyday village life to a performance genre that receives widespread attention-- objects for gaze and enjoyment by others.

In Kavalan village, shamanic rituals are no longer only periodically social practices, having instead broken with tradition to become realities existing only in performance. What kind of social circumstances lead to such performances being further transformed into a creative industry, being continually duplicated, disseminated, and reproduced like a commercial product by State policy? In the Amis Lilau village, whose shamanism and shamanic activities have an extremely close interactive relationship with Kavalan, Amis shamanic ritual is still practiced on a daily basis and was officially recognized as national cultural heritage and worthy of preservation in 2009.

What particular political and economic significance does this theatricalization, commercialization and property of shamanic ritual have? During twenty short years, in the local and tribal societies the relationships among the shaman, the state and gender have been characterized by variation. Different actions and reactions have occurred in different villages in the same area, causing different development, and forming diverse and changing local communities.

從巫師祭儀到劇場、文化產業與文化資產：  
噶瑪蘭族與北部阿美轉變中的國家、巫師信仰與性別

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本文將藉由台灣東海岸的噶瑪蘭族新社部落與北部阿美族里漏部落的實例，比較探討在何種轉變的社會情境中，巫師的儀式從部落到逐漸被族群化，成為特定群體的標籤，進而一例在部落中消失，而以文化產業的形式存在，另一例卻登錄為文化資產，持續展現生命力。

為何在 1980 年代末的台灣，巫師相關的祭儀被掀去宗教、儀式與禁忌的神祕色彩，集體性的搬上國家劇院的舞台，以現代劇場的方式出現？這些儀式搖身一變，從過去村子裡的日常生活，轉換成一種被他者所凝視與觀賞的對象。此文類體現與創造的不再只是生活中的真實，而是舞台上的想像真實，與傳統產生斷裂。噶瑪蘭人的這種表演又在何種社會情境中，被轉換成文創產業，像商品一樣，不斷地在國家的政策中被複製傳播與再生產？

地緣上與噶瑪蘭人新社部落相近，彼此巫師活動又有密切互動關係的阿美族里漏部落，其巫師祭儀至今反而仍是部落裡的日常生活實踐，2009 年基於具「傳統性、地方性、文化性與典範性」成為官方承認、全民共有的文化資產，必須保存。這種巫師祭儀的劇場化、商品化與文化資產化的轉變過程，具有什麼特殊的政治經濟意涵？短暫的二十年間，地方部落社會中的巫師、巫師信仰、男人女人與國家的互動關係卻充滿變數，同區域中不同的部落，有著不同的反應與行動，造成不同的發展，形塑出多元與複雜的地方。