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土牛、番界*、隘勇線：

劃界與劃線**

Tu-niu Ditch、Aboriginal Boundary、Defense Line of Frontier Gourd:

Demarcation and Lineation

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* 針對本文題目，土牛、隘勇線並非是對於「番界」的全部面向，此三者歷史的脈絡中各有自獨特的歷史背景，但彼此卻也相互交纏、彼此作用與拉扯。因此本文題目的設定並未有指涉「番界」為另兩者的構成，其順序是依照歷史出現以及文本中書寫的順序而放置，主要討論面向是放在線與界的社會構成，以及在歷史過程中所謂「番界」實際意義與對象為何。

** 本文修改自2006年台灣社會學會年會之會議論文。撰文期間，感謝指導老師黃金麟教授撥冗討論與修訂，以及年會論文發表，評論人汪明輝教授與紀駿傑教授的指導與建議，並感謝兩位匿名審查老師的寶貴意見，從中學習到在論文撰寫的過程中所需更嚴謹的態度。而相關口述資料的彙整，感謝各部落耆老與年輕人的協助，得以在長時間的歷史脈絡中，找到自己一些原住民的聲音。

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摘要

在台灣開拓史的過程中，漢人移民社會與台灣原住民族群間的互動不僅在經濟生活的交換層面，同時也有武裝衝突與戰爭態勢。從早期的土牛溝，建立所謂的「番界」，而直至清末日治初期的隘勇線，無論是處在哪一種型態下，有具體工事而劃定了界線，也有在界線之際進行的各種活動。但在不同地區與社會型態中，在不同認知與認定的情形下，界線的意涵不僅為具體的工事，同時因文化差異而形塑出一條看不到的線，在歷史與社會的過程中進行各種重構與變化。因此界線的變化不僅指涉是一種勢力的消長，它也進行了認定的工作，同時也讓雙邊的各種活動進行了修正。界線的劃定後產生了防禦或是攻擊的向度，在空間上藉由「界線」逐步的「山地變平地，後山變前山」。而在社會的意義上，也從將「生番變熟番、熟番變漢人」，這些都回頭引發了界線的重構與再認定。「劃線」又再一次成為一股推進的動力，驅動了人越界的慾望，使界線內外的人們有了行動上的依據，在所謂的跨界、拓邊與包圍的過程中不斷地循環。

本文主要關心的是透過「劃界與劃線」這組概念，如何在這一條界線的歷史過程中，在各種的時代背景上，產生了什麼樣的作用？並且在不同的社會因素下，又是如何看待這條界線？希望透過一個歷史社會學的角度，重新思考今日台灣原住民的現代性形構是如何開展進行初步的探討。

關鍵字：土牛、番界、隘勇線、劃界與劃線、現代性

Abstract

In the development history of Taiwan, interactions between the Han Chinese and Taiwan's aborigine groups were not only on the economic level but also armed conflicts and wars. From the Tu-niu Ditch in the early period to the so-called “Defense Line of Frontier Guard” by the end of the Ching Dynasty and early Japanese colonization period, aboriginal land boundaries of various modes have served concrete boundary purposes. There have also been different kinds of activities along these borderlines. However, boundaries are significant not just in concrete terms. In different areas and social modes, and because of different perceptions and designations, disparities have often resulted in the formation of an invisible line, which underwent change and re-constructed in the course of historical and social progress. Thus, changes in demarcations not only refer to shift of power, they also serve the purpose of making definitions, and lead to revisions in various types of activities of both sides. The drawing of demarcations created the dimension of defenses and attacks. In terms of space, demarcations were gradually moved, such as “mountain lands into flat lands, from rear to front sides of mountains.” In sociological terms, “rough savages turned into tamed savages, and then the tamed savages assimilated into

the Han populace.” All these reflect the re-structuring and re-defining of boundaries. Demarcations became a driving force that aroused people's desire to cross boundaries, while also serving as a reference point for people's actions on both sides. They continued to get involved in a circulating process of crossing borders, encroachment and encirclement.

This paper attempts to investigate how the concept of “demarcation and lineation” has functioned in this historical process in different historical settings and how the boundary has been viewed by different social factors. This study also aims to re-evaluate the modern formation of contemporary Taiwanese aborigine from the perspectives of historical sociology.

Keywords : Tu-niu Ditch, Aboriginal Boundary, Defense Line of Frontier Gourd, Demarcation and Lineation, Modernity