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台灣原住民之民族史觀 ： 以布農族內本鹿為例

Ethnohistorical Perspectives of the Bunun: A Case Study of Laipunuk, Taiwan

Student: Steven Andrew Martin

Advisor: Jiunn Yih Chang

中華民國九十五年七月

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With genuine gratitude I am forever indebted to Barry B. Crivello, MBA, CPA and his family who encouraged me to go abroad for this study and managed my countless affairs at home in Hawaii.

DEDICATION

To

The Elders of Laipunuk, Taiwan

From the earliest of times mankind has been touched and moved by the oral story –
it is a splendid element of humanity

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a compilation of ethnographic narrative and ethnohistorical research in the form of a case study of the Bunun people of the Laipunuk geographic region of Taiwan. The research encompasses the life experiences of three members of the Istanda family, with cross verification of narrative history from extant documentation where possible. Informants were videotaped, audio taped, and where not possible, extensive and detailed notes were taken. Some informants also served as translators for others; one particularly valuable source is conversant in the Bunun language, Japanese, Chinese, and English, providing invaluable material and insight. This report begins with an overview of indigenous peoples, their prehistory, and their relationship with the greater Austronesian culture. This is followed by a brief survey of each indigenous culture's social organization, with emphasis on the Bunun. Included is a political survey of major transformational and developmental periods in Taiwan's history, beginning with the Dutch East India Company period, and ending with the modern Democratic Reform period. I have concluded, based on my extensive work with these indigenous peoples and my examination of available historical documentation, that Taiwan's indigenous people have endured constant pressure from external forces and, as a direct result, have undergone acute social and cultural degradation from the loss of their native homelands. Nevertheless, vast knowledge is still available from elderly informants born into a relatively pristine Bunun culture. This knowledge contributes to the field of *Taiwan Studies* by providing an objective survey across the history of Taiwan's indigenous peoples, offering a view through a previously closed window into the richness of Taiwan's *full* history. It is recommended that such studies continue and expand.

Key words: Bunun, Laipunuk, Austronesian, Taiwan, ethnohistorical, indigenous

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INTRODUCTION

"We can say that this area (Laipunuk) was the last area to be annexed into the modern country ruling system (of the Japanese Colony on Taiwan)...
Laipunuk is the window of history"

Ying-kuei Huang, Ph.D.[1]
Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica

The Bunun are one of Taiwan's twelve indigenous Austronesian-speaking cultures. When the Japanese took control over the remote and densely forested region of Laipunuk they found nearly two thousand Bunun people living there. Laipunuk is among the very last areas to come under Japanese rule (Huang 2006 interview). During the mid-late 1920's and until 1941, all of the Bunun people were systematically relocated to the Taitung plain along the Beinan River [see *Map 3*]. As the Bunun lost their hold of Laipunuk, similarly, the Japanese lost their hold of Taiwan. Between 1945 and 1949 the Nationalist Kuomintang Regime (KMT) replaced the Japanese as absolute rulers over the island and its peoples. The KMT did not permit the Bunun to return to Laipunuk and required them to speak Chinese and take Chinese names. According to Nabu Istanda, Culture Director of the *Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation* and son of 84 year-old Laipunuk-born Langus Istanda, "The Bunun had learned from the Japanese that they must obey the global power and therefore conformed to the Chinese authority and made no effort to return to their native land" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

With the exception of KMT forestry activities in the 1960s and 1970s, Laipunuk was left behind and nearly forgotten by the mainstream Chinese culture and progress, which claimed much of Taiwan during the twentieth century. Today, not a single person lives in Laipunuk. Nabu Istanda remarks, "Laipunuk is an empty space, like a black hole" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

[1]*Author's note:* Dr. Ying-kuei Huang, Research Fellow at Academia Sinica, Taipei, appears in this thesis reference list under three headings: English Language References; Chinese Language References; and Personal Interviews.

As this thesis is the first English language documentation of Laipunuk, its purpose includes contributing a well-formed understanding of Taiwan history with respect to the indigenous peoples. *Chapter 1* overviews the research methodology and procedures, and provides an understanding of Taiwan's topography and natural environment. *Chapter 2* offers a brief yet well-rounded introduction to Taiwan's indigenous peoples: from Austronesian origins and movement theories; to a survey of twelve ethnicities; to an assessment of four centuries of foreign rule and government policies targeting the indigenous peoples. *Chapter 3* introduces the Bunun peoples and culture. *Chapter 4* serves as a literature review of Laipunuk history together with ethnohistorical research. *Chapter 5* presents the ethnographic narratives and ethnohistorical perspectives of two key informants, and together with an in-depth explanation of the research methodology employed, it shapes the spirit of this thesis. Where appropriate, research methods and methodologies have been explained at the beginning of sections and chapters, whilst findings have been presented at the end of sections or chapters. This thesis subsequently moves to its Conclusion and Recommendations. As a final point, it offers an anthology of the Bunun words found herein.

Photo 1: Thesis Informant (T.B. Istanda) Teaching Pasibutbut
Source: Author, 2004

CHAPTER 1—THE RESEARCH

1.1. Purposes of the Research

The main purpose of this research is the recordation and documentation of the few remaining Laipunuk-born Bunun individual's oral history, and to provide a comprehensive account of Laipunuk's *full* history in the English language. This research is significant in the field of *Taiwan Studies* as it serves to reconstruct the ethos and cosmos of a special and select group of pre-1930 Laipunuk-born Bunun elders. When these few remaining Bunun elders are gone, we lose this primary resource and with them any opportunity to discover their rich knowledge of history, cultural tradition, and details of events surrounding the Japanese incursion. Due to the late arrival of Japanese Colonial rule in Laipunuk, the Bunun elders can shed light on a time when their culture was intact. From them we can learn of indigenous family life, hunting, agriculture, trade relations, and cultural behaviors particular to the region. Furthermore, this research developed to be mutually beneficial to both researcher and participant and offered a sense of reconciliation to the Bunun elders.

Currently, there is very little information available on this topic for following reasons: (1) inadequate literature from the Qing dynasty; (2) remoteness of Laipunuk and late arrival of Japanese forces, there was very little research or information produced by the Japanese[2] and only a handful of photographs ever taken by them; (3) events occurring in the late 1930's resulted in a mass exodus of every living person from the region by 1942 and the burning of houses by the Japanese; (4) inconsequential documents were produced during the KMT period (mainly forestry records); (5) only a small number of articles and several theses have been generated during the current People's Democratic Party (DPP) period thus far[3]; (6) there is at present no information available in English.

This study, with its conclusions and recommendations, opens a path to cultural conservation and a retrieval of ethnic identity, and addresses many current issues, the resolution of which is desperately sought after by Bunun elders, their descendants, and the diverse peoples of Taiwan. In this way, the purpose of this research is to make a significant contribution to the developing

[2]Author's note on Japanese reference materials: firstly, Dr. Ying-kuei Huang has located and researched several Japanese *Field Reports* (1904 and 1922) pertaining to Laipunuk. He was interviewed by the author and these findings are presented in Chapter 4.2; secondly, there were three public announcements appearing in the 1941 Japanese *Friend of Savage Report* and this material was incorporated in Chapter 4.3.

[3] For a complete list of Chinese materials from the period, see the Chinese Language Reference section.

field of *Taiwan Studies*, to offer a sense of reconciliation to Taiwan's indigenous peoples, and to serve as a lasting academic and ethnohistorical record.

1.2. Methodology and Procedures

Although academics perceive oral history as a research methodology, for the Bunun it comes naturally. Oral history is the way they traditionally pass on their story and life experience. In this way, institutional oral ethnography benefits both researcher and informant.

This qualitative research uses an ethnohistorical case study approach, which is an appropriate methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed to compare and integrate oral history with limited existing literature. By definition, ethnohistory is an "anthropological study of cultures lacking a written history of their own, chiefly by examining their oral traditions and comparing them against whatever external evidence is available, as written accounts from other cultures of contact with these societies" (Webster's 2004: 273). This comparison is necessary in order to reconstruct the cultural tradition and social identity of a people who experienced abrupt and severe cultural degradation in their youth. The case study approach is suitable for this thesis, which seeks to delineate and reconstruct the social fabric and perception of cosmos of the Bunun from the perspectives of the few remaining individuals who can recollect the time and place of query.

One of the major characteristics of this research design is that it captures the meaning of how Laipunuk elders describe, in their own words, their personal-life experiences, and the historic events that shaped their perspectives. Through examining the elders' narratives and perspectives I identify commonalities in their experiences and viewpoints and then look across their realities through cross-case analysis. These cultural portraits can then be compared with existing literature on Bunun cultural tradition and history.

Bunun participant interviews have been translated to English and organized into appropriate categories, such as spiritual beliefs, headhunting, wine making, trading, and other perspectives of indigenous epistemology. The nature of expression and the content revealed by informants generated the final categories chosen for this thesis.

The procedure of data collection and recordation forming the heart of this project, centered on the narratives of Bunun elders, employed digital video and audio recording equipment. Data was translated into English by working with elders, their families, and bilingual individuals

familiar with the Isbukun dialect once spoken in Laipunuk. In some cases informants also spoke in Japanese or Chinese (or mixed); in such cases the translation process followed the same methodology. Where appropriate, a Bunun *Romanized* script has been provided in order to preserve the language's atypical nuances and philosophy.

The raison d'être of ethno-history serves to place oral history into perspective through an understanding of existing information. Informant data analysis occurred in four stages:

1. organizing the raw data
2. generating categories
3. arranging the emerging categories
4. searching for alternative explanations

Given the circumstances of this study, primarily the limited literature targeting the Laipunuk people and region, information was gathered from interviews with the informant's families as well as Taiwan-based scholars in the related fields. This additional data has been imperative to this case study. Through the recordation, translation, and documentation of primary resources, and the examination of existing literature, scholars, and Bunun descendants, this research is an authentic and unique compilation and construct of the people, place, and time in query.

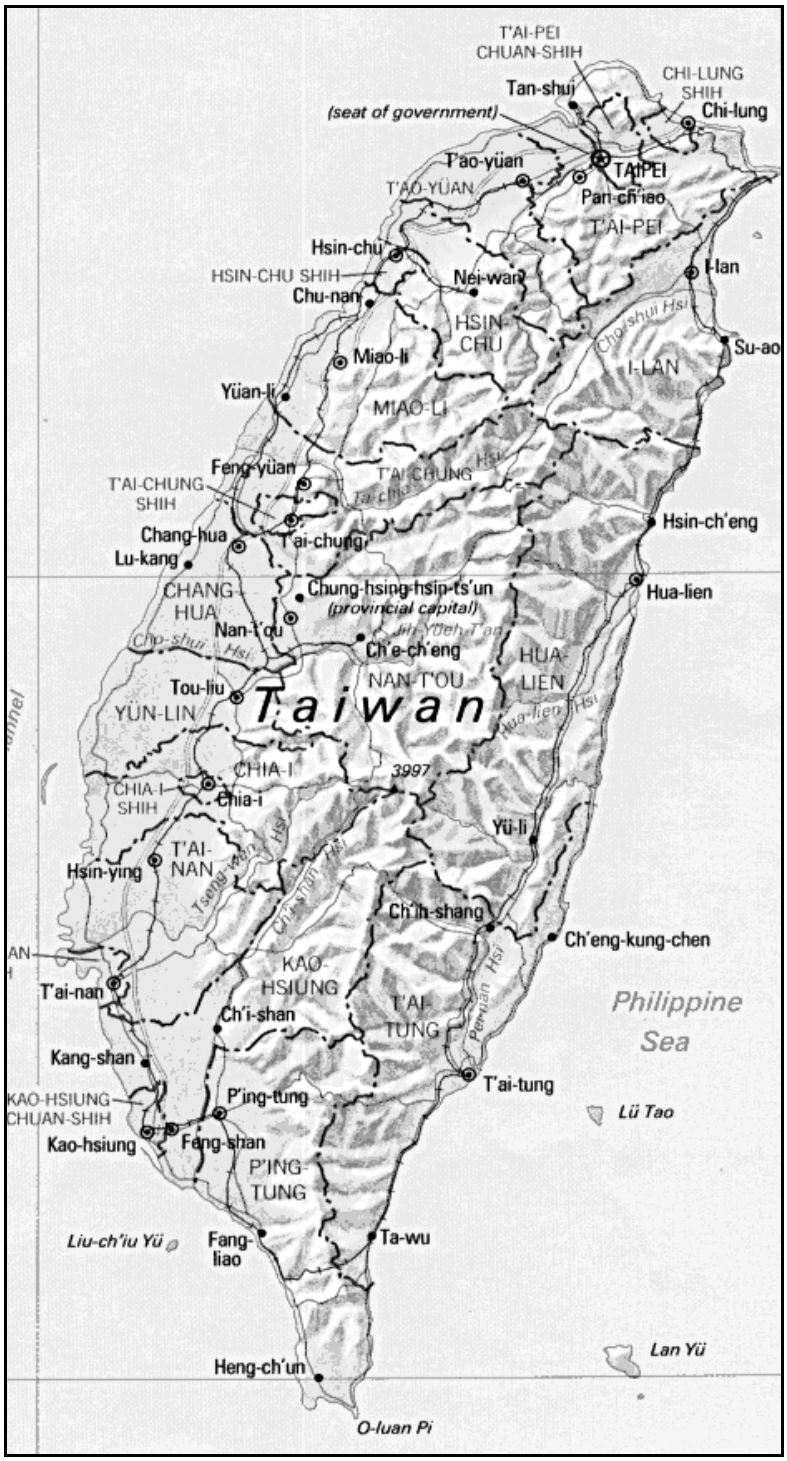
1.3. Topography and the Natural Environment

Taiwan

Taiwan has 200 mountain peaks over 3,000 meters. Rising to the greatest height is the 3,952-meter Jade Mountain. These mountains gave haven to the indigenous peoples throughout repeated centuries of traders and invaders. The relationship between the mountains and the indigenous peoples will be a reoccurring theme throughout this thesis.

The island of Taiwan is nestled between the world's largest continent (Asia) and the world's largest ocean (the Pacific). It is 394 km long and 144 km at its widest point. With a total land area of 35,801 sq. km, Taiwan is over three times the size of the land area of the Big Island of Hawaii (10,458 sq. km). It is located between 21°53'50" and 25°18'20"N latitude and between 120°01'00" and 121°59'15"E longitude. Consequently the Tropic of Cancer dissects the island. The southern tip of Taiwan is approximately the same latitude as the island of Kauai, Hawaii. Taiwan is separated from China by the Taiwan Strait, which is about 130 km at its narrowest

point. The island is almost equidistant from Shanghai and Hong Kong. *Map 1* shows the topography and north-south orientation of Taiwan's mountain ranges.



Map 1: Relief of Taiwan

In the simplest terms, the western one-third of the island is a level plain well suited for agriculture and settlement, whereas the eastern two-thirds are stacked with extreme mountains that run north to south like the back of a great dragon. On the East Coast, the mountains rise steeply from the Pacific. Although only one-third of the land area is arable, Taiwan has a larger proportion of useable land than Japan. Natural resources and agricultural potential provided Taiwan's western plain with great importance.

Other important natural phenomena in Taiwan include earthquakes and typhoons. Whereas quakes are common and sometimes catastrophic (such as on September 21, 1999), typhoons are likely to occur from May to October; for a normal summer season may see any number of direct hits on the island. Given the composition of shale and soft limestone rock in the high mountains, massive landslides and flooding are just a few of the earthquake and typhoon-related perils endured by the mountain-dwelling indigenous peoples.

Laipunuk

Laipunuk (Nei Ben Lu 內本鹿), the focal point of this thesis, is a remote area located primarily within Yen-Ping Township, Taitung County, Taiwan.

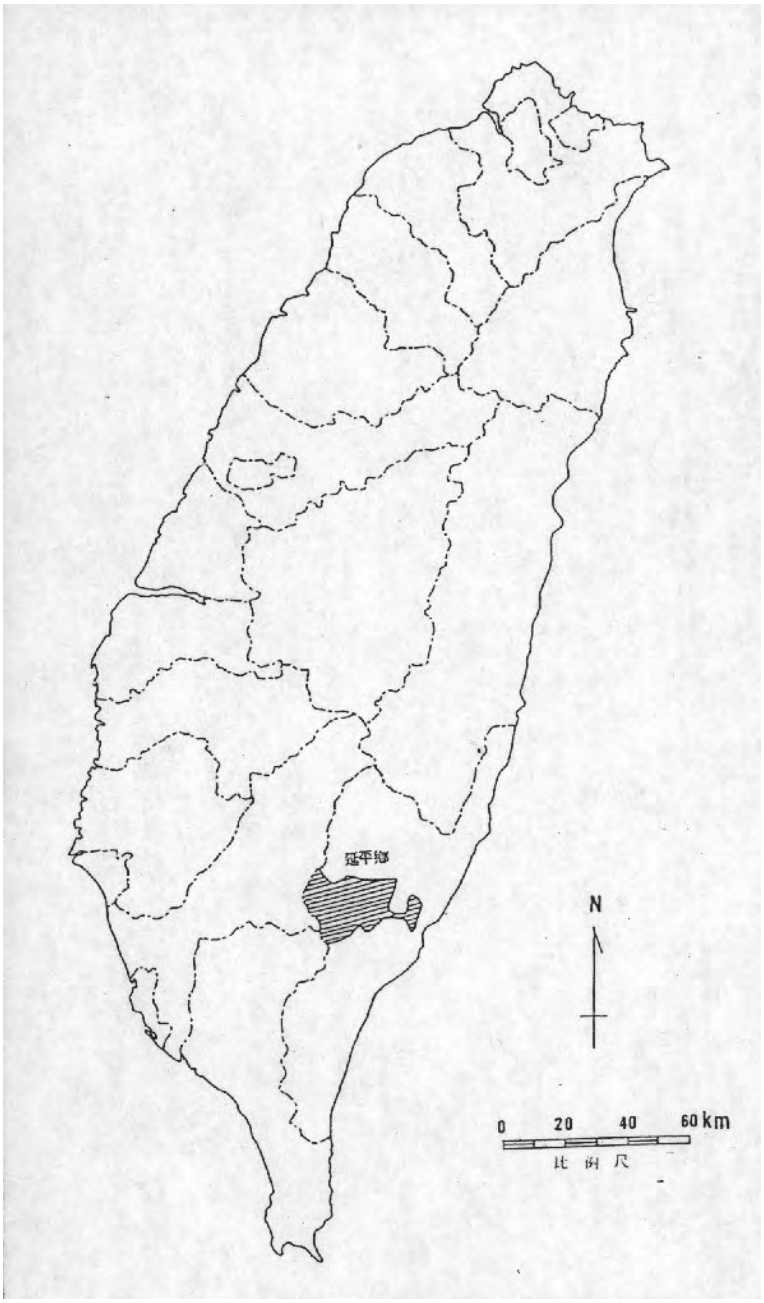
Covering approximately 15,084 hectares of natural forest, Laipunuk contains abundant flora and fauna. An alpine watershed, Laipunuk is comprised of an arc of high mountain peaks and ridges, the source of numerous small streams and rivers. These tributaries converge to form the Lu Ye River (originally called Pasikau River). The Lu Ye River flows down through Laipunuk's steep canyons and onto the East Taiwan Plain where it merges with the Beinan River and meets the Pacific Ocean just north of Taitung. The vast majority of the tributaries leading to the Lu Ye River have yet to be named.

Access to the Laipunuk region has long been treacherous and difficult. Prior to the opening of the Japanese cordon trail[4], most of the external trade relations to the area came from the west (across the central mountain range). The Japanese trail was carved into the canyon walls and crossed through the heart of the Lu Ye River basin from the small village of Hong Ye (Hot Springs Village) in Yen-Ping County to the trading village of Liu-Kuei in Ping Dong County, opening access to the Taitung plain. However, the Japanese trail has long been abandoned and due to erosion and landslides since 1942, gaining access to Laipunuk is once again extremely

[4] The excavation of *Laipunuk Police Cordon* was agreed in the *South Tribe's People Meeting* in the fifth and sixth year of King Taishou of Japan (1916-17 A.D.) (Mao 2003: 321).

dangerous. Today, right of entry is obtained through permission from the government and is executed with support from skilled mountaineers and expert Bunun guides.

Map 10 at the end of Chapter 4, serves as a reference throughout this thesis. *Map 2* shows the political boundaries on Island of Taiwan with Yen-Ping Township (延平鄉) shaded.



Map 2: Yen-Ping Township

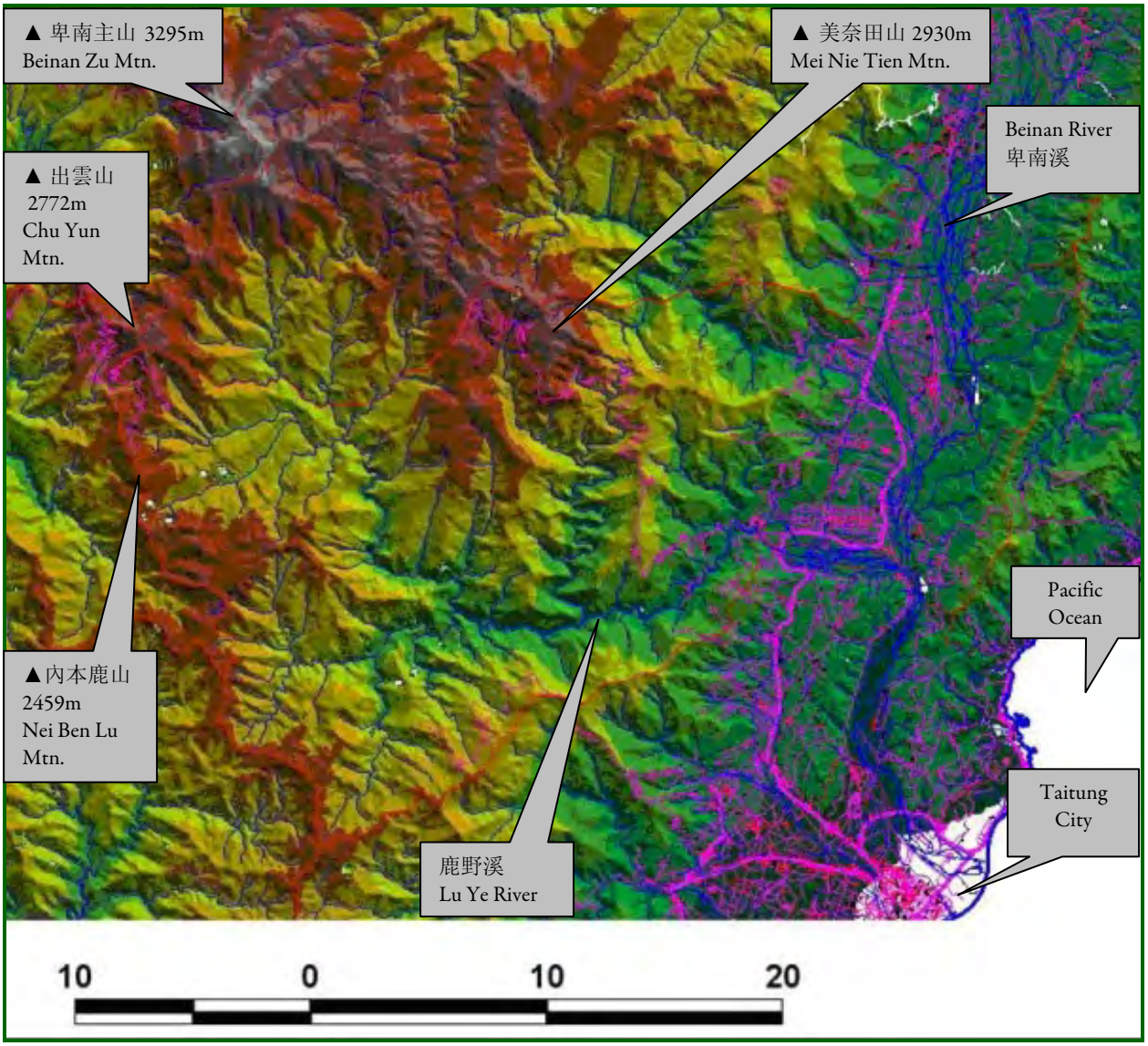
Due to the absence of human activity (KMT logging around the outer reaches notwithstanding), Laipunuk has had a chance to 'catch its breath' and recover from human impact. Recently completed research by the Taiwan Forestry Bureau (TFB), working with indigenous Bunun, recorded 403 vascular plants, 71 ferns, 15 conifers, 317 flowering plants. They identified 18 medium and large size mammals (including the endangered Chinese otter (*lutra lutra chinensis*). There have been reported sightings of the endangered Taiwan bear (*ursus thibetanus)* by Bunun hunters and conservation researchers (Istanda, N. 2004 interview) and Langus Istanda vividly recalls her father bringing home a bear he killed early last century (Istanda, L. 2006 interview).

Laipunuk elders attest that the region was once an abundant hunting area. While on expedition in January 2006, I observed an abundance of Taiwan Barking Deer (*muntiacus reevesi micrurus*), the larger in stature Taiwan Deer (*mervus unicolor swinhoei*), saw innumerable areas dug up or rooted by wild pigs, and heard the screeches of flying squirrels each and every night. I sighted numerous birds of prey and various small birds. I saw very few monkeys. Although Taiwan's mountains are notorious for deadly snakes, they tend to hibernate in winter and the 2006 expedition members saw only one single snake swimming in a brook. Among the natural treasures of Laipunuk, perhaps the most obvious and dynamic are the magnificent cypress trees[5] at the higher elevations, which can be thousands of years old.

Among the many high mountains surrounding the Laipunuk watershed, Beinan Mtn. (3,295 meters), Jian Qing Mtn. (2,720 meters), Chu Yun Mtn. (2,772 meters), and Nei Ben Lu Mtn. (2,458 meters), are orientated along a north – south divide, forming the backbone of the central mountain range in this region. To the east of these mountains the water flows eastward toward the Pacific, and to their west, the water flows westward toward the Taiwan Strait.

Map 3 on the following page illustrates the topography of Laipunuk with outstanding geographic features illustrated by text boxes.

[5] Taiwan Yellow Cypress, called *Banil* in Bunun, is especially valued by Laipunuk Bunun for a variety of uses.



Map 3: Outstanding Geographic Features of Laipunuk

CHAPTER 2—TAIWAN'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

"During the Dutch period there lived a mosaic of Austronesian-speaking cultures on the western plains. These cultures have been either assimilated into the greater Han culture or they had sought refuge in Taiwan's mountains through the course of history"

David Blundell Ph.D.
UCLA scholar in residence at National Chengchi University

This chapter addresses the identity of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, where they may have come from, their current population, and the key events leading to their contemporary situation. The purpose of this chapter is to survey three significant areas of focus: firstly, Taiwan and Austronesian prehistory; secondly, Taiwan's twelve indigenous ethnicities, their similarities and dissimilarities, and how their social organizations make them unique; and thirdly, a survey of the outstanding socio-political periods in Taiwan's *full* history. These key topics, when placed together, form a foundation for this thesis' case study on the Bunun people, the history of Laipunuk, and the ethnographic narratives of this thesis' key informants.

Currently the ROC government recognizes twelve Austronesian-speaking indigenous cultures in Taiwan, making up two percent of the island's population. Eleven reside on the main island and one, the Yami, on Orchid Island (*Lan Yu*). There were at one time twenty-seven distinct Austronesian languages in Taiwan (Blundell 2006 interview).

While anthropologists struggle with identifying the boundaries of indigenous languages and cultures, the individuals of indigenous cultural groups struggle with classification of their ethos. The people themselves may not identify with external classifications imposed upon them; they may or may not seek their own identification. Taiwan's Austronesian speakers are no exception. When the Japanese identified *nine tribes* in Taiwan, they classified the Paiwan and Rukai as one culture, the Tsou and Thao as another, the Atayal and Truku yet another. Today, these people are recognized as separate and distinct cultures, and current ethnographic work may, for example, separate Mantauran speakers from the Rukai, or the Northern Tsou from the Southern Tsou. Thus, from time to time, there are heated debates in the light of democracy in Taiwan. Zeitoun (2006 interview) discerns three means of classification for us to consider: the individual or ethnic group's self perception; the government's perception; and those perceptions made by academics (which may be split between various fields, for example linguists and ethnologists).

With official government recognition, inherent issues arise that include land rights, privileges for education, and retributions. The population of Taiwan's indigenes constitutes approximately two percent of the total population; however, the government measurement follows the aboriginal father's lineage (patrilineal). Therefore, if a child's father is aboriginal and the mother is Han Chinese, the child is classified as an aboriginal. Conversely, if the child's Father is Han Chinese and the mother is aboriginal, the child is classified as Chinese. In the latter case, the descendants of these offspring must follow the government classification as non-aboriginal. This law was recently revised to allow a child born to a Han father to legally change his or her family name to the mother's aboriginal name. However, statistically they will still not be counted as aboriginal, nor do they enjoy any of the recently drafted benefits attributed to being an indigenous minority. Taiwan's indigenous peoples and populations are shown in *Table 1* (GIO Yearbook, 2005)[6].

INDIGENOUS POPULATION BY ETHNICITY (DECEMBER 2004)

Amis	阿美	167,700
Atayal	泰雅	88,000
Truku	太魯閣	7,000
Paiwan	排灣	79,000
Rukai	魯凱	11,000
Puyuma	卑南	10,000
Bunun	布農	46,000
Tsou	鄒	6,000
Thao	邵	550
Saisiyat	賽夏	5,500
Yami	雅美	3,000
Kavalan	噶瑪蘭	800
TOTAL POPULATION		**454,682**

Table 1: Indigenous Population by Ethnicity
Source: Taiwan GIO Yearbook (2005)

Although the plains indigenes are assimilated into the mainstream Han Chinese culture, this does not mean that there is today no trace of them at all. For example, the Thao, Kavalan, and Pazih are all plain tribe languages. There are some native speakers still alive who can remember

[6] Adapted from GIO 2005 Yearbook (Note that 29,000 indigenous peoples did not identify or provide details of their ethnic origins). Available at: http://www.gio.gov.tw/ (last accessed Oct. 2006).

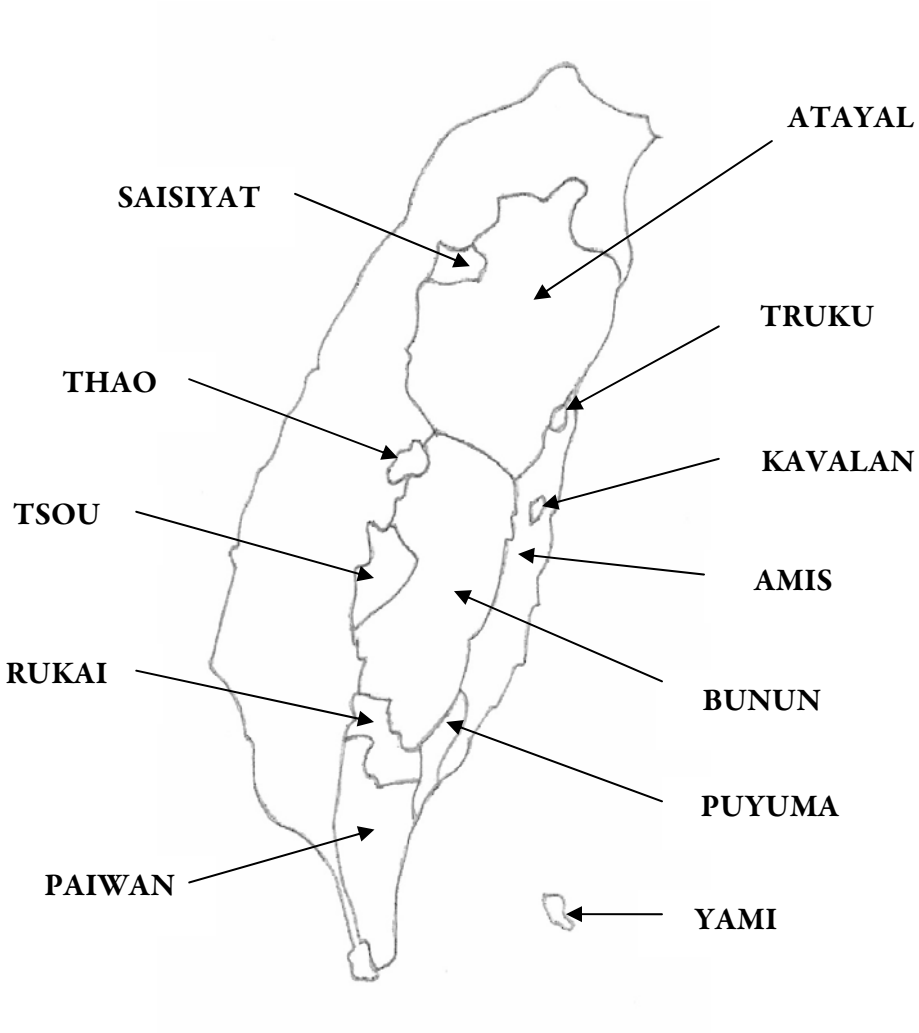
most or part of these languages or can attest to their ancestry as belonging to one of these ethnicities. In alphabetical order, the plains indigenes are as follows: Babuza (貓霧揀); Basay (巴賽); Hoanya (洪安雅); Ketagalan (凱達格蘭); Luilang (雷朗); Pazih (巴宰); Papora (巴布拉); Qauqaut (猴猴); Siraya (西拉雅); Taokas (道卡斯); and Trobiawan (多囉美).

Until the early twenty-first century, the Formosan languages were classified into nine distinct languages. At the beginning of this century the Taiwan government realized the diversity of each group and their dialects and began designing new teaching materials and textbooks to address such issues, and now recognize twelve ethno-linguistic groups. The line between language and ethnicity is intricate and ambiguous. Blundell (2003 lecture) expresses this sensitive and complex issue in the following way: "We now believe there to be nine Formosan language groups with forty dialects remaining, but this number is arbitrary and not static. As the methods of classification change, the challenge is to define the actual boundaries of a language. There are many ethno-linguistically unique cultures within the Formosan language family." A fairly accurate distribution of Taiwan's indigenous peoples is illustrated on *Map 4* below[7].

2.1. Prehistory and the Austronesians

A great mystery surrounds the origin of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. As mentioned, scholars generally agree that they belong to different stocks of people, yet little is known of exactly how or when they arrived in Taiwan. We can only engage in conjecture regarding whether they evolved from Taiwan's Paleolithic or Neolithic cultures, arrived during or after the Neolithic period from China or South-east Asia or both, and whether individuals or groups came during a specific period or at various periods.

[7] The locations illustrated here are very general, and although approximate current locations of the Truku and Kavalan are shown, this map does not reflect the significant relocations of the Atayal, Bunun, Tsou, Paiwan and Rukai to lower elevations or the plains. See *Map 7* regarding the history of the Formosan languages.



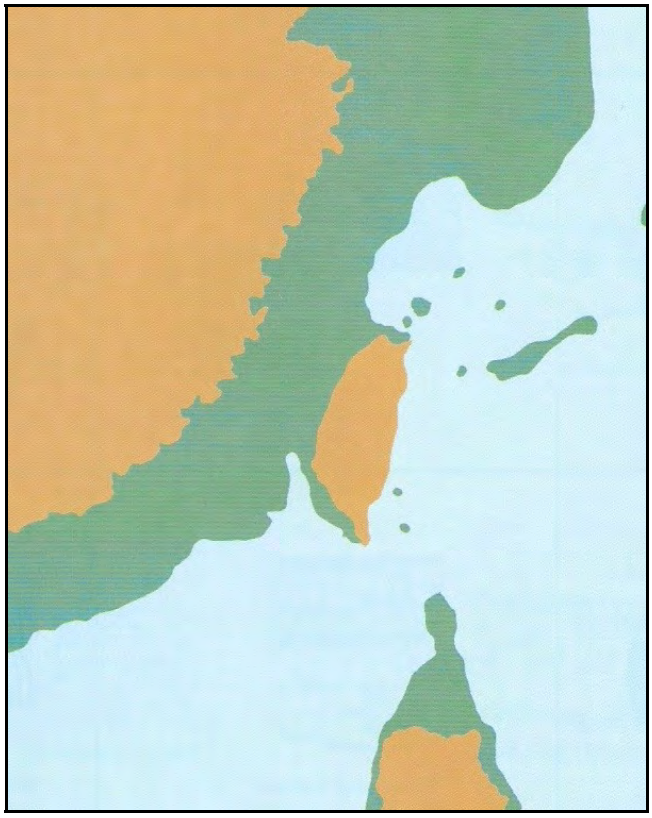
Map 4: Approximate Distribution of Taiwan's Twelve Indigenous Ethnicities
Source: Author

The study of Taiwan's indigenous peoples and their origins offers great insight to, and is a key component of, the wider field of Austronesian Studies. Similarly, the wider field of Austronesian Studies offers great insight to the study of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. Bellwood (2006 interview) offers three key fields of Austronesian Studies: archaeology, linguistics, and human genetics. These fields are significant for a number of reasons: from an archaeological point of view we can understand the arrival and development of early man in Taiwan and entertain various hypothesis of Austronesian arrivals and dispersals; from a linguistic point of view we can better recognize the relationship between Taiwan's indigenous peoples as well as to other Austronesian speaking peoples around the world; and from a genetic point of view we can

search for DNA evidence of these relationships[8].

Archaeology

During the Pleistocene epoch (approximately 3 million to 10,000 years ago) sea levels were at times lower than today. As recent as 10,000 to 12,000 years ago ocean water was still contained in glacial forms and sea levels were low enough to allow the migration of animals across land bridge extending from mainland China to Taiwan (see *Map 5*) (Tsang 2000: 53). It is logical to presume that hunters and gatherers followed these great animal migrations south and eastward onto Taiwan (*ibid.*). In the early 1970's cranial bones and teeth of Taiwan's earliest of Homo Sapiens Sapiens were unearthed in Tsochen, Tainan Prefecture. These fossils are believed to be 20,000 to 30,000 years old and collectively known as *Tsochen Man* (*ibid.*).



Map 5: The Pleistocene Epoch
Source: Archaeology of Taiwan (Tsang 2000: 52)

[8] Bellwood (2006 interview) identifies current studies targeting mitochondrial DNA and the *Y* chromosome.

Other sites, dating from the Paleolithic, such as Pahsientung Cave on Taiwan's east coast, have revealed lithic artifacts, bone needles, harpoons, and other tools and are generally referred to by archeologists as *Changpin Culture*. Material culture and lithic assemblage from this era shares a great deal with Paleolithic cultures in South Mainland China, and scholars such as Sung Wenhsun propose that these people may have crossed the Pleistocene land bridge (*ibid*: 55).

As early as 6,500 BP a new culture emerges in Taiwan with the evidence of unsophisticated pottery making. Named *Tapenkeng Culture*, after a site in Taipei, evidence of this type of Cord-marked pottery has been found at numerous sites in Taiwan as well as the nearby Penghu Islands.

Cereal agriculture and diverse cultures appear between 5,000 and 3,500 BP. This era marks the appearance of *Fine Cord-marked* pottery and the appearance of sites all over the island. After the appearance of cereal agriculture on Taiwan and into to Christian era, the population of indigenous peoples increased enormously with human habitation occurring all over the island. One of the great mysteries of this era is just which cereal agriculture appeared first (rice, millet, or Job's tears), who brought them, and why has millet become deeply embedded into Taiwan's indigenous culture? Responding to this question, Solheim (2006 interview) suggested to me, "If you can crack the mystery of millet cultivation you will have solved a great puzzle."

There are a great number of archaeological sites during this period. Of these sites, by far the most significant and complete is from the mid-to-late Neolithic period. Called the *Peinan Culture*, it constitutes the longest continuous and largest Neolithic site in the Pacific Rim (Blundell 2006 interview)[9]. *Peinan culture* was a large Neolithic village with pottery and jade workshops, they practiced tooth extraction and in-house burials[10], used slate coffins, and were hunters and fishermen (Tsang 2000: 77). This site is named after the Beinan River due to its proximate location[11].

Stone pillars from *Peinan* and large stone monoliths, wheels, and pillars from the *Chilin Culture* of the same period, demonstrate that Taiwan had its own *Megalithic Culture* like Stonehenge (*ibid*.). Blundell (2004 interview) proposes that these monoliths could be related or similar to Maoi (stone heads) found on Easter Island, pointing out that Taiwan's are thousands

[9] D. Blundell worked for several years at the Peinan site and served as editor of *Austronesian Taiwan.*

[10] Several of Taiwan's indigenous cultures, including the Bunun, practiced tooth extraction and in-house burials well into the Japanese era.

[11] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Lu Ye River of Laipunuk is a tributary of the Beinan River.

of years older and therefore more primitive. Below, *Photo 2* shows a stone pillar of the *Peinan Culture* period standing approximately six meters tall.

Photo 2: Stone Pillar of the Peinan Culture Period
Source: Author, 2004

Beginning at least four thousand years ago (according to radio carbon dates), crude jade (nephrite) from Hualien, Taiwan was exported to Itbayat island in the northern Batanes Island chain[12], where it was manufactured into numerous products which included jewelry fashioned in a style consistent with that found in the Philippines (Bellwood 2006 interview)[13]. Bellwood believes that nephrite materials from workshops on Itbayat were then traded southward (*ibid*.). Nephrite materials have been found in Sarawak (island of Borneo) and a number of other locations, including the southern Philippines and Viet Nam (*ibid*.). The presence of prolific nephrite workshops in the Batanes is compelling evidence of a well-established relationship between Taiwan and the Philippines and clearly demonstrates the movement of materials out of Taiwan[14]. *Table 2* provides a general overview of Taiwan prehistory.

[12] The Batanes Islands are located in the Bashi Channel between Taiwan and Luzon.
[13] While I was in company with Bellwood in the Batanes Islands during his recent archeological survey (April 2006) he explained this matter to me.
[14] This discovery supports Peter Bellwood's theory on the movement of people, material, and language out of Taiwan as is further addressed in the next section.

PREHISTORIC CULTURES ON TAIWAN

Dates Before Present (BP)	Archeological Period on Taiwan	Corresponding Period	Major Event On Taiwan
30,000	Tsochen Man	Pleistocene	appearance of homo sapiens sapiens
? to 6,500	Changpin	Paleolithic	hunting, fishing, shell gathering
6,500 to 5,000	Tapenkeng	Late Paleolithic	appearance of *Cord-marked* pottery, incipient agriculture (root and tuber cultivation) and the appearance of an Austronesian *cultural package*[15]
Pre 4,000 to 2,000?	Taiwan-Batanes	Neolithic	movement of materials southward (including nephrite jade) from Taiwan to the Batanes Islands
3,500 to 2,000	Peinan, Chilin, and others	Neolithic	*Fine Cord-marked* pottery, megalithic culture, rice and millet cultivation
2,000 to 500	Shihsanhang and others	Iron age	stone artifacts decrease

Table 2: Prehistoric Cultures on Taiwan
Source: Adapted and Modified from Tsang (Tsang 2000: 48)

Currently there is not enough evidence to support a clear-cut conclusion that Taiwan's Neolithic age people were *proto*-Austronesian. Nonetheless, Taiwan's prehistoric cultures, dating as far back as the *Tapenkeng* culture, may yet prove to be related to today's indigenous peoples. According to Blust (1995: 592)[16], the oldest Austronesian archaeological site in the world is the *Pa-chia-tsun* site (4300 B.C.), near Tainan, Taiwan.

Diamond (1999: 340)[17] offers the following chronology on Taiwan prehistory: originating with *Tapenkeng culture period* we see a *cultural package* of pottery, stone tools, bones of domesticated pigs, and crop remains, which move southward into the Philippines around 3000 B.C.; subsequently appearing in Celebres and Borneo around 2,500 B.C.; Java and Sumatra around 2,000 B.C.; and coastal New Guinea around 1600 B.C. It was at this later period, beginning about 3,500 years ago, that the *cultural package* assumed *speedboat* pace to Polynesia. Diamond (*ibid*.) notes, "One specific type of artifact linking Taiwan's *Tapenkeng* culture to later Pacific island cultures in the bark beater, a stone implement used for pounding the fibrous bark of certain tree species into rope, nets, and clothing."

[15] The concept of the Austronesian cultural package is offered by Diamond (1999: 340).
[16] Blust (1995: 592) provides a table of widely accepted radiocarbon dates associated with Austronesian Southeast Asia and the Pacific (in *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan* published by Academia Sinica).
[17] J. Diamond wrote *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, which includes a chapter on Taiwan prehistory, entitled *Speedboat to Polynesia*.

Languages and People

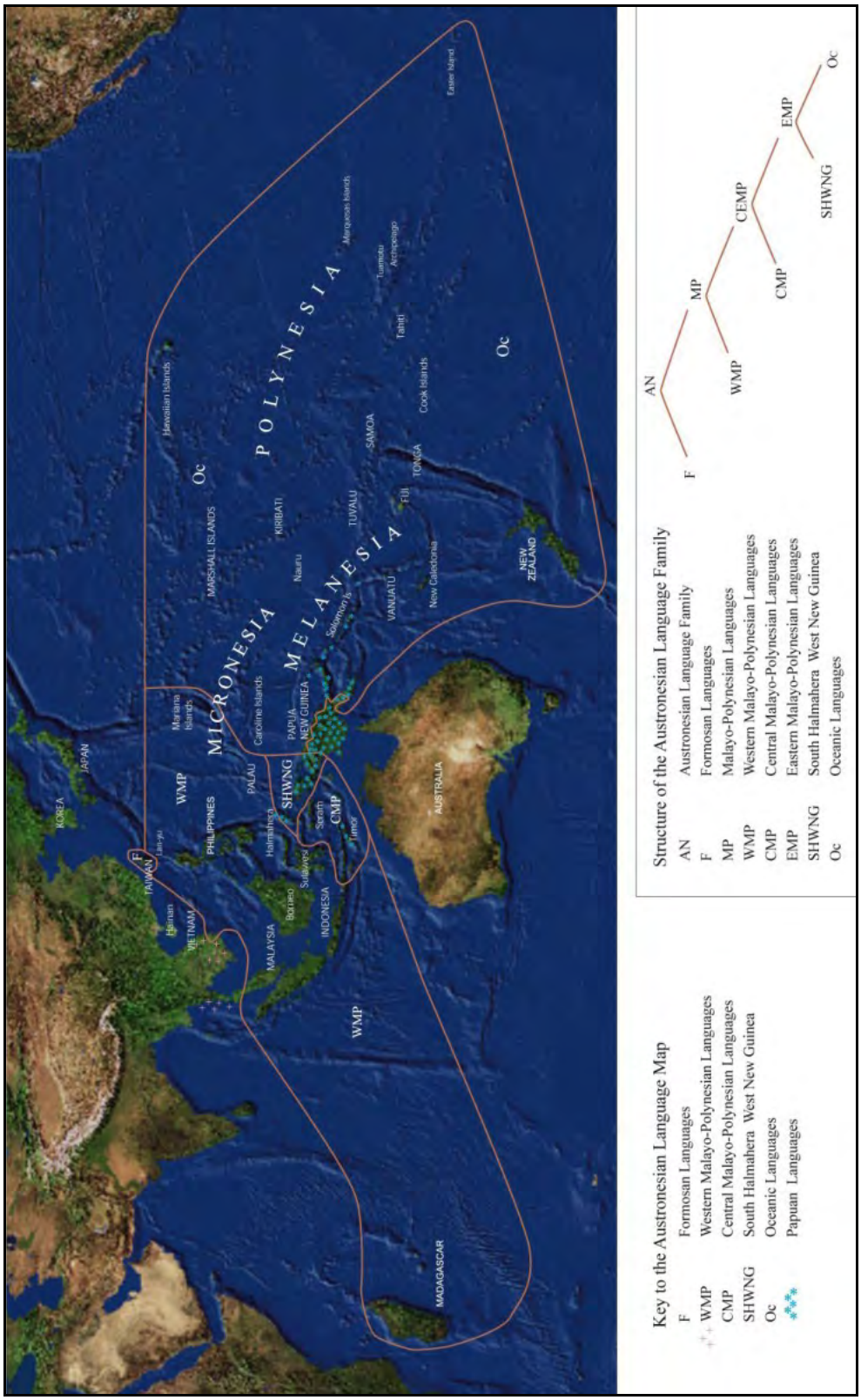
As previously mentioned, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan speak Formosan languages belonging to the Austronesian language family. The Austronesian languages are among the most widely distributed of the world's language families. The area inhabited by Austronesian-speaking peoples extends from Taiwan and Hawaii in the north to New Zealand and the islands of the South Pacific in the south; and from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east. *Map 6* (Blundell 2000: 343) shows the vast geographic area of the Austronesian language family. In total there are 959 languages, with 945 of them belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian subfamily (Diamond 1999: 338).

Austronesian speakers on Taiwan can be roughly divided into the mountain tribes and the plain tribes (called *pingpu* tribes). As aforementioned, most of the plains aborigines have been completely sinicized. *Map 7* (Academia Sinica, after Tsuchida 1983)[18] provides clear reference of the geographic distribution for twenty [of the twenty-seven previously mentioned] of Taiwan's indigenous languages belonging to the Formosan language group.

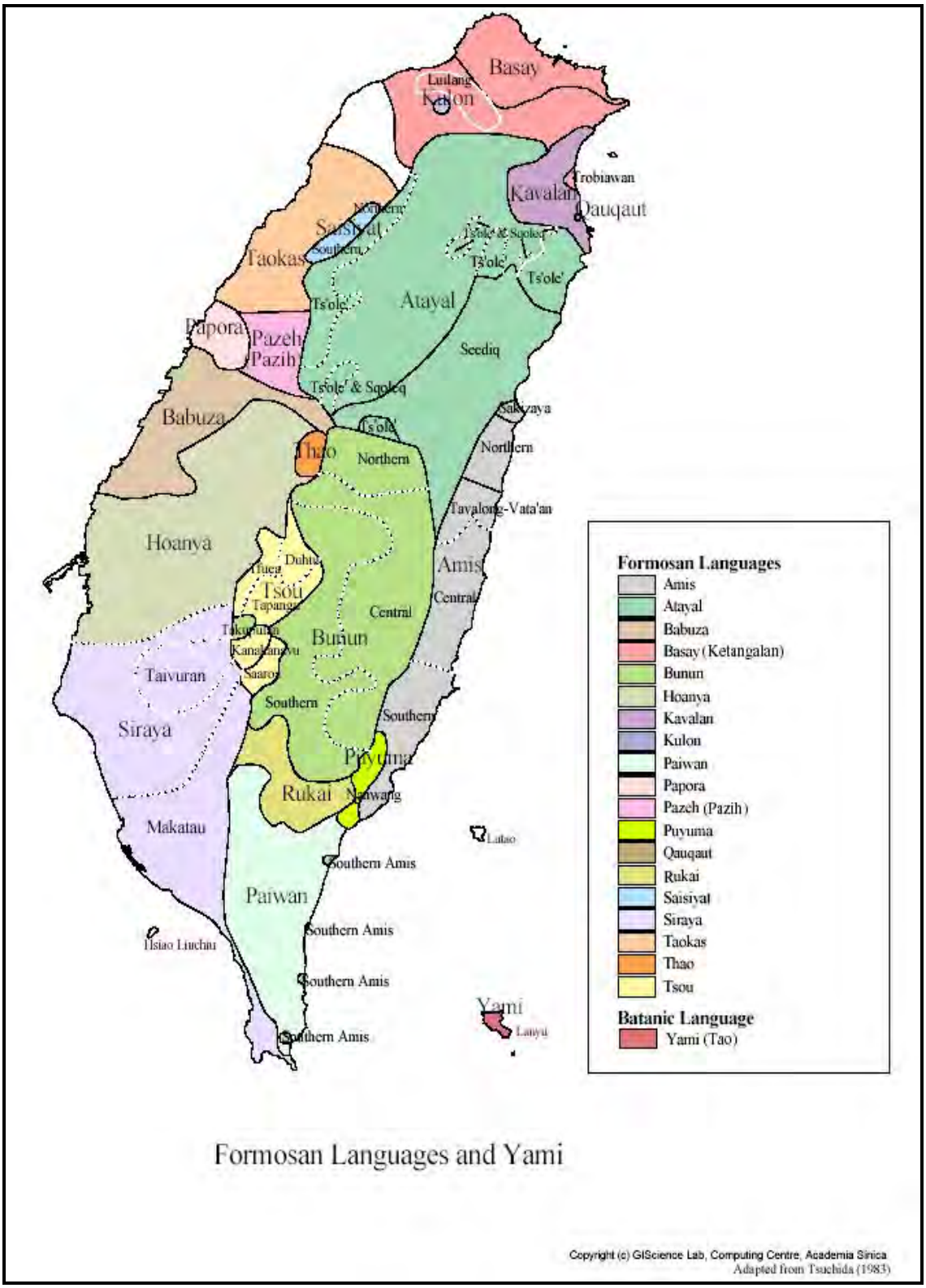
To reiterate, Austronesian-speaking people may very well represent the last peopling of the Pacific, the 'last layer of the human cake', inasmuch as they found uninhabited places and inhabited them (Blundell 2006 interview)[19]. They were ethnocentric and not united in terms of their cultures (*ibid*.). They were a "pottery making, farming, pig and dog keeping population" (Bellwood 2006 interview). Austronesian speakers show us that maritime trade had tremendous organization networks that covered two-thirds of the world. This language family represents the widest dispersal of humankind before global European expansion (the *Columbian Era*).

[18] GI Science Lab, Computing Center, Academia Sinica; Adapted from Tsuchida (1983).

[19] Blundell was referring to primarily to the islands east, northeast, and south of Melanesia, such as French Polynesia, Hawaii, and New Zealand.



Map 6: The Geographic Realm of the Austronesian Language Family
Source: Blundell (2000: 343)



Map 7: Formosan Languages
Source: Academia Sinica, after Tsuchida (1983) Copyright ©

Diamond (1999: 336) believes that the Austronesian expansion was among the biggest population movements of the last 6,000 years and "One prong of it became the Polynesians, who populated the most remote islands of the Pacific and were the greatest seafarers among Neolithic peoples."

Austronesian-speakers seem to prefer islands. Austronesian is almost exclusively found on islands. When considering Taiwan, New Zealand, and Madagascar, we find three great islands with Austronesian languages not found on their adjacent continents.

There are currently two main hypotheses concerning the origin of the Taiwanese aborigines and the wider Austronesian puzzle. These theories are generally based on the current topics under address (archaeological, linguistic, and genetic), but may also include mythology and other historical sources.

The first hypothesis proposes that the Austronesians originated in some area other that Taiwan, for example the South-coastal China and/or South-east Asia. The second proposes that Taiwan is the ancestral homeland of the Austronesian peoples. These theories may overlap when examining pre- or proto-Austronesian origins. Regardless of the debate amongst scholars, Taiwan certainly has fascinating connections to the greater Austronesian cultural realm and is a focal point in scholarly discussions.

Peter Bellwood, proponent of the second hypothesis, Taiwan as the Austronesian homeland, postulates that proto-Austronesian would have come from China, but Austronesian as we know it today developed in Taiwan. Philosophically he states: "Nothing really originates, everything evolves from something else" (Bellwood 2006 interview). "The most widespread opinion held by linguists concerning the origin of the Austronesian language family is that a common ancestral language, Proto-Austronesian, was spoken in Taiwan. This is because the homeland of any given language family is very likely to be close to or within the geographical location of the first determinable separation of the ancestral common stock into two or more separate groups" (Bellwood 2000: 340)[20]. Therefore, Bellwood (*ibid*: 340) agrees with linguist Robert Blust who proposes that first separation into two or more subgroups in the case of Austronesian occurred in Taiwan.

Blust (1999) proposed that the Austronesian language family is split into two early groups. One is the Formosan group and the other is the Malayo-Polynesian group; and while nine of these

[20] P. Bellwood's article *Formosan Prehistory and Austronesian Dispersal* appears in Blundell, D. *Austronesian Taiwan*.

are found in Taiwan, the remaining nine groups constitute the other half of the Austronesian linguistic family (comprising nearly a thousand languages). In this way, the *nine tribes* identified by Japanese anthropologists at the turn of the twentieth century represent nine Formosan sub-branches. *Figure 1* illustrates these primary divisions.

Diamond (1999: 339), subscribing to the second hypothesis, put it in plain words: "Taiwan is the homeland where Austronesian languages have been spoken for the most millennia and have consequently had the longest time in which to diverge. All other Austronesian languages, from those on Madagascar to those on Easter Island, would then stem from a population expansion out of Taiwan."

In this context, Bellwood (2000: 346) offers a simplified five-point summary regarding Austronesian development and dispersal:

1. Pre-Austronesian people moved to Taiwan from Southern China.
2. A period of time passed in Taiwan that allowed the Formosan Austronesian languages to develop a head start in primary subgroup diversity compared to all other Austronesian areas.
3. This was followed by a rapid movement of these peoples through the Philippines, Indonesia and Oceania, to as far as East Samoa.
4. A further movement in western Polynesia took place, perhaps for up to a millennium.
5. The Great Eastern Polynesian Dispersal took place within the past 1,500 years, perhaps the greatest in geographical terms, with Austronesian- derived peoples finally reaching New Zealand (Aotearoa) less than 1,000 years ago.

Approximate dates for initial Austronesian contact and/or colonization: Taiwan was 4000 to 3500 BC; Luzon was 3000 BC; Borneo was 2,000 BC; French Polynesia and Hawaii was AD 1 to 1000; and ultimately New Zealand was AD 800 (Bellwood 1995: 102). The Austronesian language chart below illustrates the archaic nature of the Formosan languages. They represent the earliest linguistic group in the Austronesian family. Conversely, Hawaiian language (just one of the many languages in the vast Oceania group) represents one of the furthest places inhabited by Austronesian speakers. The author of the present thesis has added Bunun and the currently acknowledged Formosan languages and Hawaiian to *Figure 1* (below) in order to make obvious a distant relationship. Consider that Taipei, Taiwan is 5,053 miles from Honolulu, Hawaii over open water, and the Bunun are renowned as a high mountain-dwelling people with no relationship with the sea. To further illustrate this point, *Table 3* (below) provides a few cognates among Hawaiian and Bunun and those listed in *Table 3* are common to

a myriad of Austronesian languages. Cognates among Austronesian languages serve as a key component to the study of Austronesian linguistics.

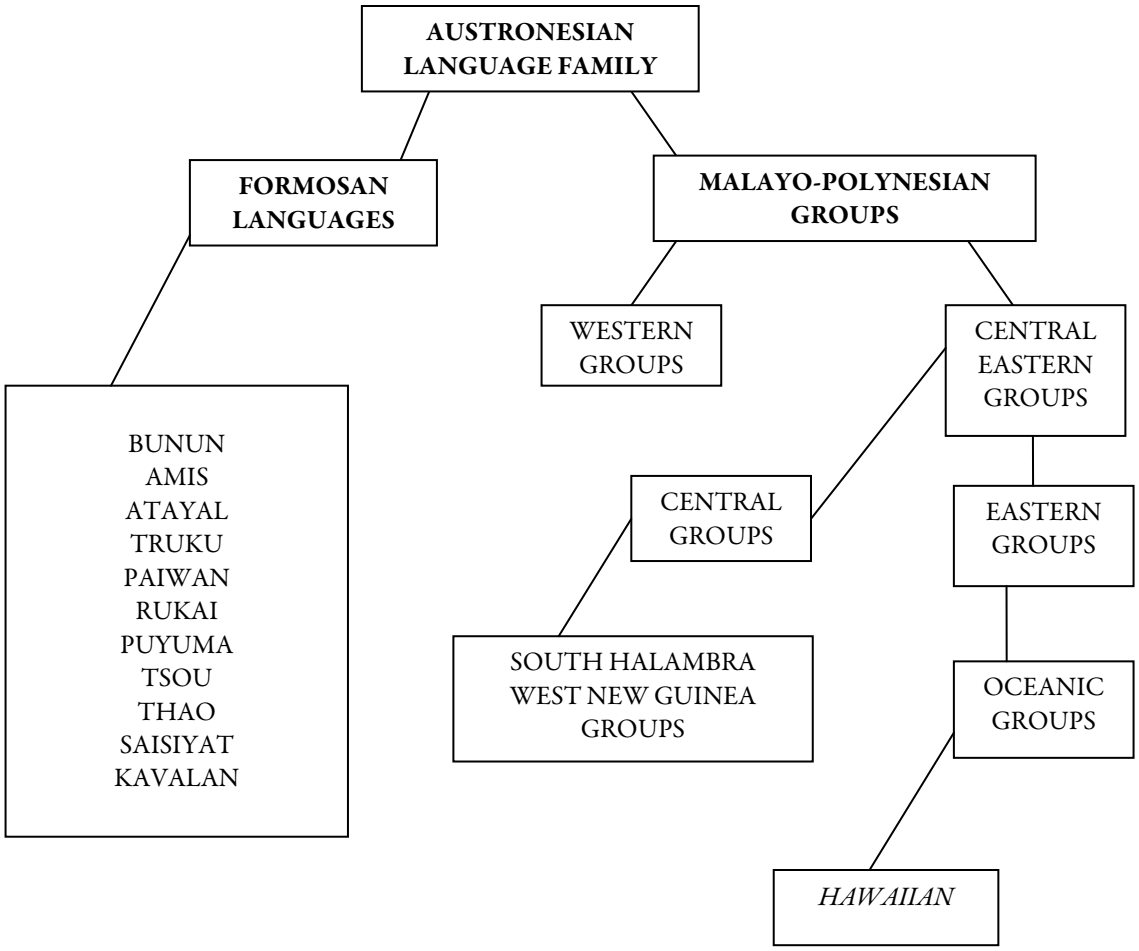


Figure 1: Structure of the Austronesian Language Family[21]
Source: Adopted and Modified from Blust (Bellwood 2000: 343)[22]

[21] Yami (spoken on Orchid Island) is classified as a Batanic language and is not placed on the Formosan language list.

[22] Adapted and modified by author from R. Blust, *Australian National University* (Bellwood 2000: 343). Note that not all of the nine sub-groups under Malayo-Polynesian are not shown here, nor does Hawaiian form its own sub-group.

AUSTRONESIAN COGNATES

	Hand	***Eye***	***Two***	***Five***	***Seven***	***Eight***	***Nine***
Bunun	ima	mata	dusa	hima	pitu	vau	Siva
Hawaiian	lima	maka	lua	lima	hiku	walu	Iwa

Table 3: Austronesian Cognates
Source: Istanda and Author[23]

Wilhelm G. Solheim, II[24] subscribes to the first hypothesis, that Taiwan's aboriginal Austronesian peoples originated elsewhere, perhaps South China and/or Southeast Asia. My first question for Solheim during a recent interview was: "Who are the Austronesians and where did they come from?" He responded: "First of all, to assume that Austronesian is a people is incorrect; *Austronesian* is a linguistics term, it refers only to a very major super-family of languages, and should not refer to people" (Solheim 2006 interview). He proposes that indigenous peoples came to Taiwan as early as 5,000 or 6,000 BC, and that independent small populations of must have had: "Very little contact with each other in order to have developed mutually unintelligible Austronesian languages" (*ibid*.). Solheim recognizes the peculiar position of Taiwan in the field of *Austronesian Studies*, however he offers a unique hypothesis regarding the quest to pinpoint the Austronesian place of origin: "The Austronesian homeland was on the boats – they may have lived their lives without having ever set foot on land" (*ibid*.).

With respect to the second hypothesis, which offers a reasonably clear-cut view that people, language, and materials were moving out of Taiwan, Solheim maintains that: "People aren't simple, people are complicated, there is no simple answer, everything came from many directions" (*ibid*.). He believes that we need to consider the terms *migration*, *dispersal*, *diasporas*, and *circulation*, and know their differences (*ibid*.). "The majority of the prehistoric relationships between Formosa and Southeast Asia do not appear to me to be direct, but the results of small movements from a common general source in south China and northern Indochina, and possibly even more important, the diffusion of specific culture elements in all directions from late Neolithic times on" (Solheim 2006: 57).

With regard to these links among Austronesian languages, cultures, people, and materials, Solheim offers an hypothesis dubbed *Nusantao* as part of a scheme which he calls *Nusantao Maritime Trading and Communication Networks*: "I created the term *Nusantao* to represent

[23] The Bunun words listed in *Table 3* were recorded from N. Istanda, (2004 interview), whereas the Hawaiian was based upon the author's personal experiences with the language.
[24] 86 year old Wilhelm G. Solheim, II is a professor at the University of the Philippines at Diliman (UP-Diliman), Quezon City.

people rather than language" (Solheim 2006 interview). *Nusantao* represents the ocean-going Austronesian-speaking peoples (Solheim 2006: 57). *Nusantao* stems from the Austronesian root terms *nusa* for *south island* and *tau* for *man* or *people* (Solheim 2006: 58). Solheim wants us to understand that this term is open to change: "My hypothesis changes as new data becomes available and as I come to understand these people and their networks better" (Solheim 2006 interview).

Setting the two main hypothesis regarding Austronesian Taiwan aside, Blundell (2006 interview) surmises that it is obvious that indigenous peoples came to Taiwan a very long time ago and their languages and cultures got old there. An appropriate term for Taiwan's indigenous peoples may well be Taiwan's *first residents* (Sinorama I 1994: 21) inasmuch as they indisputably belong to the oldest group of peoples who have maintained Taiwan as their homeland.

Nonetheless there is yet another puzzle behind the first residents of Taiwan. Common among the indigenes are myths and tales of a little people who inhabited the island long ago. Blundell (2004 interview) notes that such mythology is pervasive throughout the Austronesian-speaking world. Certainly Hawaii, with their legends of the *menehune*, is no exception. Although this topic is shrouded in speculation, there is evidence to support a theory that such a people once lived on Taiwan and were in contact with Taiwan's indigenes. Beauclair (1986: 416) addresses the question of the former presence of "Negritos on Formosa" as a question well-worthy of research:

> "As *Kano*[25] has proved and later fieldworkers had many occasions to confirm, most of the tribes retain traditions of former dark-skinned dwarfs. Such traditions are especially vivid among the Saisiyat and the Paiwan. Among the Paiwan of the southeastern of Formosa some artifacts were found in places described by the Paiwan as former dwelling sites of the Negritos. The Saisiyat, who celebrate a festival in remembrance of the dwarfs (Pastai), preserve the memory of their strong magic. Among the Paiwan, the alleged former living places of the Negritos are tabooed and are not used for agricultural purposes. It is not impossible that these sites include old burial places, and their exploration seems an urgent task."[26]

[25] Tadeo Kano, The tradition of dwarfs among the Formosan aborigines. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo, vol. XLVII, no. 533, 1932.
[26] Spellings are those used by Beauclair.

2.2. Social Organization of Taiwan's Indigenous Cultures

The Research

This section of the thesis is constructed from secondary sources and serves to précis the social organization of each ethnicity, especially in the context of community structure, family, marriage, and gender-specific responsibilities through a brief survey of each ethnicity. This section is not intended to provide a comprehensive documentation; rather it serves to shed light on obvious commonalities, particularities, and diversities. Although social organization has been employed as a means to look across the ethos of each ethnicity, in order to better identify each society, a brief introductory paragraph providing alternative names, apparent cultural markers, and other key points of interest has been provided. A shortlist of anthropological kinship terms has been provided below and all in-text kinship terms have been italicized.

KINSHIP TERMS RELATED TO THIS SECTION

Ambilineal	descent traced and kinship groups assigned through either the male or female line; allows the individual the option of choosing their own lineage
Ambilocal	newly married couples live with the husband or wife's parents
Endogamy	marriages occur within the boundaries of the domestic group (between members of the same group); not the same as incest
Exogamy	marriages occur outside of the domestic group (between members of different groups, villages, classes, casts, or lineages)
Matriarchy	a form of social organization in which the mother, and not the father, is the head of the family, and in which descent and relationship are reckoned through mothers and not by fathers
Matrilineal	descent traced through the mother's line; example of unilineal rule system (unilineal meaning a single lineage)
Matrilocal	applied to the custom in certain social groups for a married couple to settle in the wife's home or community
Patriarchal	of or belonging to a patriarch; of or belonging to a hierarchical patriarch; ruled by a patriarch
Patrilineal	kinship with and descent through the father or the male line
Patrilocal	applied to the custom in certain social groups for a married couple to settle in the husband's home or community
Phratry	kinship division consisting of two or more distinct clans which are considered as single units with separate identities with the phratry
Primogeniture	the fact or condition of being the first-born of the children of the same parents; the right (of succession) of the first born
Uxorilocal	newly married couple lives with wife's kin
Virilocal	newly married couple lives with husband's kin

Table 4: Anthropological Kinship Terms
Source: Author

A Survey of Twelve Ethnicities

As aforementioned, Taiwan's indigenous cultures (and languages) as defined by the government, are categorized into twelve distinct ethnicities. Commonalities include the following: Austronesian language (the Formosan languages); swidden (slash and burn) agriculture; the farming of millet and rituals centered on the harvest of millet; domestication of chickens, pigs and dogs; hunting of wild boar and deer; dances or ceremonies held by circular formation; shamanism; and they were basically animists who believed in the spirits of their ancestors, the dead, and those of environmental features. All ethnicities pierced their ears (both men and women). All ethnicities transmitted their culture and history through oral traditions and had no writing system[27].

Sagawa's 1953 study on Taiwan's indigenes noted the following: all groups grow foxtail millet, sweet potato, taro, banana, ginger, ramie, sugarcane, and the bottle-gourd; all groups (except for the Yami of Orchid Island) grow Job's tears, tobacco, and peanuts; and foxtail millet is the considered the most valuable crop, whereas taro and sweet potato are important staples (Chen 1988: 22)[28]. Foxtail millet is the most important cereal crop, highly valued and sacred (*ibid*: 54).

Notably, all ethnicities were headhunters (except for the Yami) and headhunting profoundly contributed to cultural and physical boundaries. Chiang (2000) discusses the lack of unity among Taiwan's ethnicities: "Feuds and hostilities between villages (sometimes even of the same cultural and language group) were frequent. Conflicts were mostly settled by revenge or negotiation with compensation. Village alliances were found in some cases, but none of the groups had developed any formal or centralized political organization beyond the village level."

In 1930 Ogawa and Asai compiled *Traditions and Myths of the Taiwan Aborigines* (which was translated by Baudhuin in 1960)[29]. This literature lends insight into the cosmic world of Taiwan indigenes, a people whose perceptions of the cosmos were inextricably linked to their taboos of headhunting, hunting, religion, agriculture, and daily social life; divinations of ornithomancy (birds), oneiromancy (dreams), hydromancy (water), animals, and plants; omens connected to plants, animals, natural phenomena, human activities, and ghosts and spirits;

[27] The Bunun had a primitive writing in the form of a moon calendar (see Chapter 3).

[28] A table of Sagawa's observations is provided by Chi-Lu Chen who wrote *Material Culture of the Formosan Aborigines* in 1968. The book was reprinted by SMC Inc. in 1988.

[29] Baudhuin's 1960 work was an English translation (from Japanese) of *Traditions and Myths of the Taiwan Aborigines* compiled by Ogawa and Asai in 1930.

incantations (spells and charms); and imprecations (curses). The para-science of the Taiwan indigenous cosmos is embodied in superstitious beliefs:

> "The aborigines attribute the natural calamity and good or ill luck to the supernatural beings. Natural phenomena and daily occurrences are interpreted by means of various superstitious beliefs, which have been handed down from the forefathers. Taboos are strictly observed above all things. When there appears some boding phenomenon, divination and incantation are practiced. The superstitious beliefs, which are of a great variety, are grouped under several heads according to the various tribes" (Baudhuin 1960: 425).

All groups fashioned weapons such as spears, bows, and arrows, used for hunting animals, head-hunting, and war. In some cases they used harpoons and crossbows (Chen 1998: 146). All groups played the Jew's harp (except for the Yami) (*ibid*: 74) and although all groups played the mouth flute (*ibid*: 77), the Rukai, Paiwan, and Tsou are known for their nose flutes (*ibid*: 76). All groups wove baskets (*ibid*: 87), used bamboo (*ibid*: 125), used both gourds and wood as vessels (*ibid*: 129), and used animal hides (except for the Yami) (*ibid*: 142). Most groups did tattooing (*ibid*: 246), plucked their body hairs to some extent (*ibid*: 257), and wore distinguishing headgear (*ibid*: 201). Very little in known about indigenous toys and pastimes, but like children everywhere they imitated the doings of the adults (*ibid*: 83). The spinning of *tops*, which were used in religious rituals, was also used as toys by children (*ibid*: 83).

Worthy of note is the existence of totemic art in Taiwan. Totems, or figures arranged in vertical series, were prevalent among the Kavalan, Paiwan, and Yami. Although totems are most well-known among the Northwest coastal American Indians and Pacific Islanders (Chen 1988: 388), Formosan art offers the most primitive of motifs of the *Old Pacific* style (*ibid*: 404).

Particularities are also striking: each ethnicity is a different stock and has their own physical appearance, language, geographic area and settlement pattern, material culture, music, origin and other mythology, artistic expression, and social organization.

Social organization of each ethnicity differs considerably at the community, family, or individual level and serves as a point of departure from common practices. Individuality, collectivity, and societal and political hierarchy are evident in gender roles, marriage practices, and community affairs. Comparatively, the Bunun of the high mountains are principally *patrilineal* and *patrilocal*, the Amis of the eastern-coastal region are principally *matrilineal* and *matrilocal*, and the Puyuma of southeast are principally *matrilineal* (Chiu 1972: 49) and

uxorilocal (*ibid*: 37)[30]. Whereas the Bunun have a clan system normally consisting of small family groups whose societal decisions are made by a highly respected male elder, the Paiwan and Rukai of southern Taiwan observe strict political hierarchies based on family nobility. Such variation in social organization on a small island is not only out of the ordinary, it is encoded with information that can help us to grasp the dynamic and legacy of their cultures.

The Chinese, or *Han*, culture constitutes ninety-eight percent of the population on Taiwan and is profoundly *patriarchal*, *patrilineal*, and *patrilocal*. With the Han migration to Taiwan, the indigenous peoples living on the Western Plain were either displaced or assimilated, often through marriage when Han males took indigenous wives[31]. As land areas came under increasing pressure, indigenous groups were often pushed closer together, resulting in the integration of their cultures (such as the Saisiyat and Atayal, the Amis and Kavalan, or the Tsou and the Thao). Questions of whether or not association with or assimilation to Han *patri*-centered culture may have encouraged a shift in *matri*-centered tribal behaviors are difficult to answer. Taiwan's plain peoples are generally thought to have been primarily *matrilineal* societies (Blundell 2006 interview).

Scholars have proposed that some cultural groups took refuge in the mountains. This corresponds to some orally transmitted legends, like that of the Bunun, which indicate an ancient migration to the mountains from the plains (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). As aforementioned, the Amis, Kavalan, and Thao are considered plain-dwelling cultures, although the Thao live in the mountains.

Some generalizations regarding marriage culture are: indigenous cultures are strictly *monogamies* (Paiwan and Rukai cultures notwithstanding); they all have strict rules which prohibit incest based on various kinship lineages; heads of families normally conduct marriage negotiations and wedding preparations involving the brewing of wine and hunting of wild boars, which may last for several days to a week (Sinorama I 1994: 95); and women often play an important role as mediators between the mortal and spiritual worlds through shamanism and spiritual divination (this is especially pronounced in Amis culture where women shamans are still highly visible in society) (Blundell 2003 lecture).

Taiwan's indigenous cultures have many gender-specific behaviors manifest in daily life, such as superstitions, taboos, rituals, use of foods, and agriculture related practices. All men wore

[30] The terms used here provide only a general classification and may vary among anthropologists. Furthermore, due to pressures from foreign cultures, social systems have been, and currently are, in a state of change.
[31] This issue is addressed in Chapter 2.3 (Socio-political survey).

loincloths (Chen 1988: 163) and practiced hunting, fishing, blacksmithing, and basketry (except the Rukai) (*ibid*: 49). All women wore skirts (*ibid*: 169) pounded millet (apart from for Yami) (*ibid*: 49). General examples include: women weave, with strict taboos on men touching the instruments of weaving (which was thought to bring bad luck). Men hunt, with strict taboos on women touching their hunting implements. Other examples include taboos centered on harvest rituals, the household, and the consumptions of foods. Within each culture, there are unique and clear-cut rules and roles that must be strictly adhered to in the scheme of social organization.

The discussion of social organization would not be complete without mentioning that a great many of Taiwan's indigenous peoples have converted to Christianity. This and other contemporary influences have, and are having, a profound influence on the indigenes' social systems. Many marriages are now Christianized and ancient traditions are either infused into the Christian tradition or abandoned altogether. However, this thesis will mainly address social organization in a historical context.

The Bunun 布農

The name Bunun means *man* or *human*. The Bunun people lived in the highest mountains, moved frequently in search of better hunting areas, and therefore would have come into contact with most or all of the other ethnicities on mainland Taiwan. They are conspicuously eclectic (Ferrell 1969: 32), adopting material culture from other ethnicities. The Bunun are the only ethnicity in Taiwan who did not dance; rather they held rituals (often in circular formation) where body movements were of a serious nature and supported the telling of material or military exploits[32]. Blundell (2004 interview) notes that historically the Bunun were of a solemn nature when compared to other ethnicities such as the Amis. Istanda, N. (2004 interview) attests to culture markers: "Adults grew their hair extremely long and pierced both ears; children's lateral incisors were extracted by their parents; wore tight waist bands which held the abdomen tight; and we once practiced in-house burials."

Social positions within Bunun society are meritoriously achieved; especially rewarded are valor and bravery. In the wider sense, the Bunun constitute an *egalitarian* society with a *patrilineal* clan kinship structure. Their communities are considered patrilineal clans. These clans are like small family groups, which at all levels form their social organization. Therefore, larger communities consisted of *phratries*. Social organization among the Bunun is very complex,

[32] Refer to Chapter 3.2 (Bunun Ethnomusicology) for further explanation.

particularly concerning kinship structures, marriage taboos, and family alliances. Specific to the Bunun is the manner in which many aspects of their social organization can be overshadowed by exceptional behavior or deeds that benefit the collective family or community.

Although marriage by exchange was common in many of Taiwan's indigenous cultures, the Bunun were particularly attuned to the practice. The Japanese ethnographers Ogawa and Asai noted in the 1930's that Bunun marriages were commonly arranged and the principle practice was "marriage of exchange" (Baudhuin 1960: 379; Istanda, N. 2004 interview). This means that when a woman from one family is offered to another family, that family must provide a woman in return. In a case where one of the parties has no marriageable person for exchange, then the bride may be obtained through payment in betrothal goods (Baudhuin 1960: 379). Normal marriage age is late teens for men and early teens for women. However, in the case of marriage exchange, sometimes a girl who has not reached marrying age is sent to her husband's house, and a young boy may be sent to an older woman (*ibid*: 379; Istanda, N. 2004 interview). In the case of a mother giving birth to twins, the Bunun once killed both newborns.

The Bunun people and culture will be addressed in more detail in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

The Amis 阿美

The name Amis may mean *north* and the Amis people self-identify using other names such as *Pangtsah*. There are five major cultural-linguistic groups (each with their own names) oriented in a north – south distribution (mainly Hualien and Taitung counties). Archeological and ethnographic evidence suggests that the Amis may have been living in the plains area of Eastern Taiwan for over four thousand years (Hsu 1991: 32)[33]. The Amis maintain the largest communities of all Taiwan's indigenous peoples (some as large as 1,000 to 2,000 residents), holding grand ceremonies with large groups of energetic circle dancers. They are the only Formosan ethnicity with detailed cosmogony and theogony[34] and this behavior is curiously Polynesian in flavor (Ferrell 1969: 54).

The Amis people are commonly referred to as a *matriarchal* culture (Sinorama I 1994: 90, 95). However, the Bureau of Culture Park, Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan's website mentions that there are actually communities based on *matrilineal* clans that are internally guided by senior age male cohorts who meet and make decisions at a

[33] Hsu cites Sung and Lien: *A Report on the Archeological Excavation of the Puyuma Site* (1986 unpublished manuscript, in Chinese).

[34] Theogony refers to the origin or descent of the gods, where as cosmogony refers to theories regarding the origin of the universe.

community-centered meetinghouse (Bureau of Culture Park)[35]. In this way, Amis society is an unusual type of *matriarchy* where men hold important tribal decision-making authorities. Although men are subordinate to their wives: "Men had legitimate and complete authority over tribal affairs" (Hsu 1991: 32). Within the male authority structure there was an age-grade hierarchal system, which positioned older generations above younger generations in tribal decision-making. This system has fallen into decay in recent decades, as younger generations are largely absent from tribal affairs due to migration to larger cities. The traditional age-grade system of Ami society is fading (*ibid*: 27).

In David Faure's article appearing in *Austronesian Taiwan*, he discusses the position of *mother* in recognizing that the Amis are a *matrilineal* society: "In Amis society, the mother holds a central position of respect and authority" (Faure 2000: 103). However, while males were subordinate in their wives' houses, they held great authority over their sister's children (Hsu 1991: 32). Yamaji (1991: 50) classifies Amis kinship in the following manner, "The Kinship structure of the Amis has always been one characterized by *matrilocal* residence, *matrilineal* inheritance and a *matrilineal* system of descent."

In marriage, the groom married into the bride's family and moved into her mother's house; there he had very little power (Hsu 1991: 32). A son-in-law was expected to work hard and be respectful. Divorce was normally initiated by the wife and could be swiftly commenced. "His wife could divorce him simply be throwing out his betel nut bag and hanging his waist knife outside the door" (*ibid*: 32; Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

The Atayal 泰雅

The name Atayal may mean *upright man*. The Atayal people occupy northern mountainous Taiwan and their society "is on the whole *egalitarian*" (Kasahara 1991: 4)[36]. Notably, the Atayal women have large horizontal facial tattoos that cover their mouth and cheek areas, whereas men have vertical tattoos on their foreheads and chins. Facial tattoos were a sign of maturity, accomplishment, and severed as a spiritual connection to their belief that it will help them to cross the *rainbow bridge* to the afterlife (Blundell 2004 interview). Another particularity of the Atayal is that they have no tradition of pottery (Ferrell 1969: 30).

[35] *Bureau of Culture Park, Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan* is hereafter cited as (Bureau of Culture Park). Available at: www.tacp.gov.tw/english/intro/fmintro.htm (last viewed Oct. 1, 2006).
[36] Kasahara, M., is a contributing author to *Kinship, Gender, and the Cosmic World* in Yamaji, K. (ed).

Atayal kinship system is often considered as *nuclear* and *patrilocal* (Hsu 1991: 30) as well as *ambilineal* (Ferrell 1969: 31). Social groups in traditional society identify themselves as being descended from a single ancestor and this single ancestor's identity is either *matrilineally* or *patrilineally* recognized (Hsu 1991: 30).

Atayal communities are based on the membership of the same lineage and all members participate in the same ancestral rites. These groups, called *alans*[37], average in size from fifty to two hundred people whom work and hunt together, sharing in both good and bad fortunes (*ibid*: 29). Consistent with egalitarian societies, *alan* leaders are chosen based on their: "Wisdom, integrity, bravery, and honesty" (*ibid*: 29). However, as the *alan* leaders are often younger than the community's influential elders, councils of elders may serve as to balance the *alan* leader's power.

The Atayal have a sense of *lineal* equality. For example, when a baby is born the father of a newborn presents a gift to a new mother's brother (or a male cousin) in order to gain social recognition for the birth by the *maternal* kinfolk. Kasahara (1991: 4) observes this behavior as: "The newborn infant first obtains status as a regular member of society by passing through a process of recognition by one of its *maternal* kinsfolk." Therefore we observe a sense of lineal equality insomuch as the *patri*-line seeks acceptance from the *matri*-line in acknowledging birth and potential inheritance rights.

Truku 太魯閣

The name Truku corresponds to a location near present day Hualien. The Truku people split from the Seediq ethnic group (which is divided into the three dialects of Truku, Toda, and Tkdayan). The name Seediq may refer to a location in the vicinity of present day Nantou. Stemming from the Atayalic language, Atayal forms one branch and Seediq forms the other (Zeitoun 2006 interview). However, these languages are nearly incommunicable. The Truku are infamous for their resistance to the Japanese in the Wushe incident in 1930[38].

Although Truku and the Atayal share a level of homogeneity of culture (Ferrell 1969: 32), such as facial tattooing, the Truku were officially recognized by the Taiwan government as an individual ethnicity in January of 2005.

[37] *Alan* is an Atayal kinship term.

[38] See Chapter 2.3 (Socio-political events) for more information.

Due to this recent distinction academic materials addressing there particularities are rather limited. However, Bureau of Culture Park website mentions that *gaya* (a kinship society) is home and the center of the tribal unit. Every family member or clan member must observe the regulations (if one person violates, the whole family or all tribal unit should be punished). The husband is the head of a family and it is the parent's responsibility is to participate in social gatherings and negotiate problems, whereas clan elders are responsible for mediating family's difficult problems, offering advice, and offering respect to the *gaya* ancestors. Children are strictly taught to fulfill filial piety towards parents, courteous to the elders.

Saisiyat 賽夏

The name Saisiyat may be related to a place where they lived prior to their current location in northwestern Taiwan (Zeitoun 2006 interview). As mentioned in at the end of the previous section, the Saisiyat people are often identified for their festival of the *little people* (Pas-taai) which is held every other year. Although many of Taiwan's indigenous people have some oral tradition regarding a clever, small stature people who once shared their territory, the Saisiyat still carry out a nostalgic festival in their honor. They Saisiyat wore facial tattoos inherited from the neighboring Atayal (Yuan-Liou 2002: 45) as well as unique chest tattoos for accomplished hunters.

Saisiyat stem from the plains indigenes; their societies are believed by some scholars to have been *matriarchal* and *matrilineal*. The social structure of the Saisiyat was deeply influenced by external social pressures from other indigenous peoples, such as the Atayal as well as the Chinese, that their current social organization is *patrilineal* and extremely sinicized. Originally, families related by blood lived together creating a large-family system (Baudhuin 1960: 369). This deep sense of family relation may explain their peculiar adoption of the Chinese tablet worship system used in the worship of ancestors (Suenari 1995: 147)[39].

The Saisiyat are strictly monogamous and marriage was often by exchange, as long as both families agreed (Baudhuin 1960: 375). Marriage between those with the same surname, or thought to have come from the same ancestor was strictly forbidden (*ibid*: 375).

Paiwan 排灣

Unique to the Paiwan people are their slate carvings, use of glass beads (which are passed down the family line), and their snake motifs. Precariously, they have a long tradition of prestige

[39] This is due mostly to neighboring Hakka influences (Suenari 1995: 147).

pottery jars handed down from distant generations, yet they have no recollection of pottery making (Ferrell 1969: 44). Legend has it that the chief of the Paiwan was born from a pot, and the ordinary people are descendants of the hundred-pace snakes and people (Sinorama I 1994: 156). They build well-crafted stone-slab houses from local materials and are renowned for their style of relief carving on slate.

The Paiwan are a class society controlled by ruling elite, made up by the members of noble and chiefly families. The chief is the member of the village with the highest status, most wealth, and greatest power. Wealth and social class are hereditary. In this way, the Paiwan fit the description of an *ascribed* society[40].

The signature aspects of Paiwan kinship structure are that they are *ambilineal* (Ferrell 1969: 45) and practice *primogeniture* (Bureau of Culture Park). Paiwan communities are based on a hierarchal structure of nobility, meaning that their societies are normally composed of several noble families at the highest stratus, commoners comprising a medium stratus, and tenant farmers making up the lower stratus. Each Paiwan community was under the rule of a high chief from the family with the most authority and the longest lineage, and councils of elders served as intermediaries between the nobility and the common people (Bureau of Culture Park).

Paiwan (and Rukai) are Taiwan's only cultures that permitted *polygamy*. Although it was not commonly practiced, in some cases a man from a noble family could take more than one wife (Sinorama I 1994: 95).

Marriage among nobles is much celebrated and has complicated protocols. The groom's family gives glass beads, ceramic jugs, and a piece of land (along with a tenant to farm it), with ten assorted tools, such as a harrow, axe, pot, and a knife (*ibid*: 93). The wedding night is spent at the bride's house and is supervised by her parents (meaning that they are separated and do not share the same bed.) Afterwards she can come to the groom's house and they can sleep together (*ibid*: 90).

Rukai 魯凱

The name Rukai means *elevated* (Zeitoun 2006 interview). Before their relocation during the Japanese Colonial Period, they occupied the remote areas of mountainous southern Taiwan. Noble classes wore elaborate headgear, communities were well organized, and their homes were

[40] *Ascribed* society is hierarchal society, such as in Hawaii and Tahiti before European colonization. In contrast to ascribed society of the Paiwan, there is *achieved* society, equalitarian, such as the Bunun.

constructed using stone-slab architecture. Uniquely, they decorated their homes with traditional art including wood sculpture and pottery.

Their social organization – like the Paiwan – is based on the nobility, meaning that their type of community is composed of several noble families, the commoners, and tenant farmers. Kasahara (1991: 4) observed, "Rukai society for its part is one formed of notable social stratification distinguishing aristocrats from commoners." Like the Paiwan, the Rukai community's high chief came from the family with the most power and the longest genealogy. Secondary leaders were selected from among the influential tenant farmers or the collateral branches of noble families; these leaders were responsible for community matters at various levels (Bureau of Culture Park).

Until the mountains came under the hegemony of the Japanese, not only did the chiefs possess vast tracts of land and exact tribute from the commoners, but also they monopolized rights particular to themselves. Thus, they held Rukai government and economics in their grasp (Kasahara 1991: 15).

Social stratification among the Rukai is vertical. When a person of higher standing gets married to a person of lower standing, one is lowered while the other rises, bringing them closer to each other (Sinorama I 1994: 95). People of higher standing are socially expected to find someone of equal status as not to lower their family's position by marrying to a person of lower status. Upon marriage, a Rukai wife ordinarily follows *uxorilocal* and *virilocal* norms and domicile at the home of her family with her husband for two or three years after their marriage (Kasahara 1991: 9).

The Rukai give preference to their first-born child, however this is not fundamental *primogeniture*. Although first-borns are given priority, males are given a higher position than females: "As a rule eldest sons fall heir to both their fortunes and positions, but in the event that there is no male successor, the eldest daughters benefit" (*ibid*: 15).

According to Rukai tradition, when twins are born, they would kill the second of the newborns. In the case of triplets, the practice was to kill both second and third newborns (*ibid*: 10; Istanda, N. 2004 interview)[41].

[41] This is slightly different from the Bunun who kill all infants of multiple births.

Puyuma 卑南

The name Puyuma was first spotted in the literature in 1898, and has been said to mean *gather together*, it may actually mean *be sent to the fields* (Zeitoun and Cauquelin 2006). Alternatively, they are identified as the *Peinan tribe*.

Cauquelin (2004: 104) categorizes the dichotomy of duties based on gender in Puyuma society (prior to the 1920s) as the following: men are in charge of hunting, guarding the village, protecting the women, driving away enemies, and preparing for hunting in the men's house; whereas women work in the fields, fetch wood and water, gather crops, raise children, cook, and bring breakfast to the men's house. Women ruled the domestic universe and tilled the fields; they looked after the possessions and represented stability (*ibid*: 103)

Traditionally, the Puyuma people had extended families, daughters remaining in their natal families usually taking husbands from families of the same village (Suenari 1995: 142) and given their moderate village sizes, had detailed rules to avoid incest (Cauquelin 2004: 84). However, such tradition of *endogamy* is almost completely replaced by a trend of *exogamy*, and most marriages today occur to spouses from outside of the village and culture (*ibid*: 84). Inheritance often went to the member of the family who stayed home, which was in general the eldest daughter (*ibid*: 84). Marriages are not determined until adulthood (*ibid*: 89).

The Puyuma have, since the Qing Dynasty (1683-1895), had significant level of contact with the Chinese including intermarriage. Descendants of mixed blood maintained a Puyuma identity although, like the Saisiyat, they incorporated the Han Chinese tradition of ancestor tablet worship (Suenari 1995: 143). Importantly, the Chinese and Japanese hegemonies made alliances with the Puyuma, using them as a workforce and empowering them over enemy tribes like the Bunun (Lee 2006 interview)[42].

Tsou 鄒

The name Tsou means *person* in the sense of Chinese person (*ren*). The Tsou are commonly identified by their leather caps and feather headdresses. They are noted to be keen hunters, able in the skills of tanning of animal hides, and were fierce rivals of the Bunun (Istanda 2004 interview).

[42] Such a divide-and-rule ideology was employed against the proud highland-dwelling Bunun who found themselves subservient to a *lowland tribe* who they considered an adversary (Lee 2006 interview).

The Northern Tsou and the Southern Tsou are slightly different in their kinship customs. However, both groups follow a *patrilineal* kinship structure and attend masculinity-training centers where women are forbidden. Their kinship structure is based primarily on social and traditional attitudes toward women (Bureau of Culture Park).

The social organization of the Tsou (like the Bunun and Thao) is a *patrilineal* clan structure, often consisting of *phratries*. In other words, the Tsou live in compound communities composed of several smaller communities. According to the Taiwan Bureau of Culture Park:

> "Newly formed communities did not cut organizational ties with the original community; instead, they maintained a stronger or weaker subordinate relationship, resulting in a two-level structure. The greater and lesser villages are representative of this pattern. Only the greater villages have formal chiefdom, and the heads of the lesser villages consist of either a representative of the heraldic field or a member of the leader's clan selected by the leaded. All major ceremonies or important decision-making was performed at the greater village" (*ibid*.).

Like the Bunun, principle matrimony practice of the Tsou is marriage by exchange. This means that when a woman from one family is given to another family, that family must provide a woman in return. In a case where one of the parties has no marriageable person for exchange, then the value of the bride may be compensated through the provision of labor (Baudhuin 1960: 385), this practice is in contrast to the Bunun who pay in betrothal goods. In such case, the man obtains his wife by offering his labor to the girl's family. The 1930 study by Ogawa and Asai offered a similar, more detailed account of this, which describes how the husband may live with and work for the wife's family for several years or oscillate between the husband's household and the wife's for periods of several months at a time (*ibid*: 385). This type of *ambilocal* behavior was deemed temporary and in the end this arrangement would become *patrilocal*.

Afterbirth and umbilical cord are buried either at the place of birth, in the back yard of the house, or under the floor of the house (Ogawa 1991: 94)[43]. Ogawa remarks that the mother's sub-clan has spiritual authority over the children of their clans-women who have married out. This may include specific rituals, which include gift giving to the infant through the natal family, such as a knife for the boy and a hoe for the girl (*ibid*: 95).

[43] Note that this author is Masayasu Ogawa, not to be confused with the late Ogawa of Ogawa and Asai (1930).

Thao 邵

The name Thao means *person* (Zeitoun and Cauquelin 2006). In 2001 they were officially recognized by the Executive Yuan as Taiwan's tenth aboriginal group, and as distinct from the Tsou. The Thao are noted for their pestle music, whereby eight to twelve players strike a large stone slab with long wooden poles of varying length to produce a unique rhythm and harmony. The Thao reside in the high mountain area of Sun Moon Lake in Nantou County where they farm, hunt, and fish; they look to the lake's *Lahu* Island as a sacred place where their ancestral spirits reside.

Social organization of the Thao is very similar to the Tsou inasmuch as they have a *patrilineal* clan structure with clan units forming an organizational structure. Therefore, unlike the Bunun and Tsou, the Thao did not have the *phratry* system. However, the Thao have a single hereditary clan that maintains control of the society's leadership.

Kavalan 噶瑪蘭

The name Kavalan may mean *flatland people*. In 2002, the Kavalan gained official registration as Taiwan's 11th indigenous ethnic group. Although their mythology and religion have long been neglected (Ferrell 1969: 55) they represent one of the significant surviving cultures of the plains tribes. They are believed to have lived on the East coast plains for a thousand years and their mythology indicates they arrived via the sea. Dutch sources indicate that there were once eight thousand Kavalan living in thirty-nine villages in 1650 (*ibid*: 56). A small and unique group, they have endured constant and severe external pressures from Chinese, Japanese, and other tribes, such as the Atayal and the Amis. They are thought to have been pushed southward and to the east coast area in the 1840s. Currently, only ten percent of the Kavalan can speak their native tongue, mainly older women, and very few children can speak it at all. Other cultural markers include the construction of ethnicity totems and fishing skills.

Although very little is known about the Kavalan's social organization, they are a *matriarchal* society and have a kin system whereby the eldest daughter inherits most property. In such a circumstance where there is no eldest daughter, then the eldest son is chosen.

Yami 雅美

The name Yami was imposed upon them by the Japanese and they may self-identify as the *Tao*. The Yami live on Orchid Island (*Lan Yu*) southeast of Taiwan. Their language belongs to the Batanic family and their culture is closely related to the Batanes Islands, Itbayat island in

particular (Bellwood 2006 interview)[44]. Unique to the Yami are their intricate irrigation systems used in the cultivation of taro. Blundell (interview 2006) compares the sophistication of Yami taro cultivation to that of the Hawaiians. The Yami build half underground typhoon-proof houses, fashion specially balanced boats from the wood of the breadfruit tree and painted white and red, and they worship the seasonal migrations of flying fish. The watercolor below illustrates the Yami men united in the launching of their cultural icon.

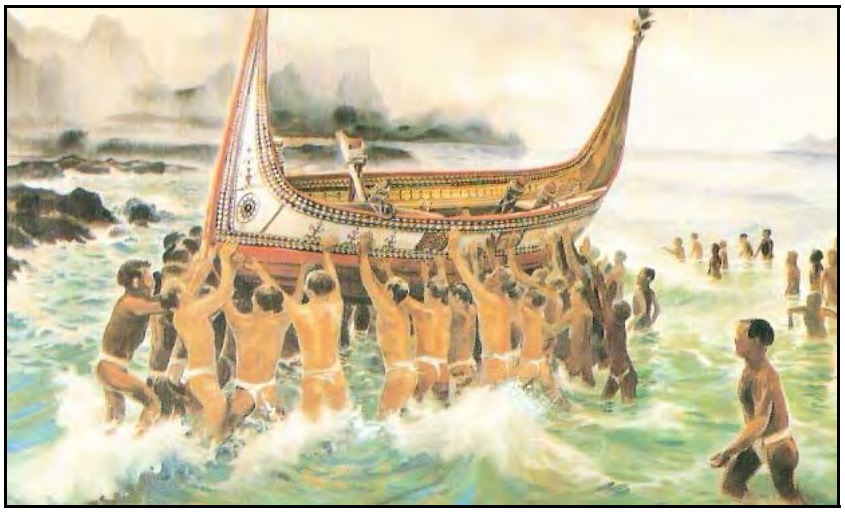


Photo 3: Watercolor of Launching of a Boat by the Yami Men
Source: Blundell (2000: 400); by Ho Sofeng

The Yami tribesmen are on equal terms, there were no class distinctions and they on principles of liberty and equality (Baudhuin 1960: 299). Their kinship structure is primarily *patrilineal* (*ibid*: 363). The Yami do not have the custom of marriage exchange, nor are there go betweens to facilitate unions (rare exceptions notwithstanding) as can be seen with other indigenous cultures in Taiwan (*ibid*: 389). Peculiar to the Yami, the parents may make arrangements for the marriage of their children when they are as young as four to ten years old – referred to as *infantile engagement* – although the actual marriage is consummated when both parties are around 20 years old (*ibid*: 390). For those who marry for the first time, no *free will* marriages are permitted, meaning that the children must obey the will of their parents. However, once married, divorce is permitted and a *free will* marriage can occur (*ibid*: 390).

[44] Interview conducted at Bosco, Batanes Islands, Philippines. April 2, 2006.

2.3. Socio-Political Events Affecting the Indigenous Peoples

A Survey of Six Political Periods in Taiwan

Socio-political and administrative policies affecting Taiwan's indigenous peoples are the result of a long history of foreign (non-indigenous) colonial authority and governments. This section will discuss the political agendas of ruling authorities and key events related to indigenous peoples and cultures through nearly four hundred years of Taiwan's history. Significant political authorities on Taiwan can be divided into six distinct sections: the Dutch East India Company Period (1624-1661); the Koxinga Period (1661-1683); the Qing Dynasty or Manchu Period (1683-1895); the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945); the Chinese Nationalist Period (1949-1996); and the current Independent or Democratic period (1996- present).

Although the Portuguese are credited with having given the name *Ilha Formosa* (meaning *beautiful island*) to Taiwan and the Spanish controlled the Taipei basin from 1626 to 1642, neither left an indelible mark on indigenous cultures. The Dutch era marks the keystone of socio-political transformation.

The Dutch East India Company

The Dutch East India Company, although not officially a government, established the first organized colonial authority in Taiwan in 1624. They built stone fortresses and kept first-rate official records. Fort Zeelandia at An-ping (Tainan) and Fort Provintia nearby are still partially standing; Dutch archives remain extremely valuable in the study of Taiwan's indigenous cultures.

The Dutch period was an age of trade and commerce. They governed the indigenous peoples in a roundabout way via employment of negotiation with tribal leaders. The Dutch learned indigenous languages, built schools on the plains, and developed a means to apply a Roman alphabetization system for indigenous languages in order to promote communication and Christianity. For example, the first indigenous language Bible was compiled in the Siraya language employing such a Dutch alphabet. "The Dutch with much foresight at once sought friendly relations with the savage tribes" (Davidson, 2005: 14)[45], always observing kind and considerate policy over these wild children whose friendship was so essential to the company's success (*ibid*: 15)."

[45] *The Island of Formosa Past and Present* was originally published in 1903, and most recently republished in 2005 by SMC Publishing Inc.

When the Dutch first arrived, the Austronesian speaking peoples inhabited the entire island of Taiwan, with a small Chinese population on the western plain. The indigenes that came into direct contact with the Dutch were mainly the plains-dwelling groups, although mountain-dwelling groups would have come into limited contact as a result of the deer hide trade (Chiang 1997: 4). Generally speaking, the Dutch were occupied with maintaining their port areas and governing Taiwan's indigenous peoples within their immediate reach.

From the beginning, the Dutch rushed along at headlong speed, intent on obtaining a maximum of financial gains in the shortest time possible (Davidson 2005: 14). The Dutch were primarily interested in obtaining resources through trade with the indigenous peoples, especially deer hides and rattan. The deer hides were sent in considerable quantities to Japan, while rattan was dispatched to China. In order to facilitate commerce, they set up trading posts on Taiwan's southwestern plain and encouraged the plains indigenes to deliver hides. The demand for hides was substantial and Dutch records indicate that staggering quantities were loaded on Dutch vessels. Campbell remarked on the Englishman Jacobus Valentyn's[46] thorough accounts about the Dutch trade on Formosa:

> "The chief articles of export were hides of various kinds, because the western side of the island then abounded in heavy game, and the skins were bought at nominal prices and sold in other markets at huge profits" (Campbell 2001: 541)[47].

The Dutch period also marks a time of prolific Chinese immigration. When the Dutch arrived, the estimated Chinese population on the island was approximately five thousand (Chiang 1997). Davidson (2005: 13) estimates there were as many as twenty-five thousand Chinese who were under the influence of pirate chiefdoms. The Dutch were the first to bring in large numbers of Chinese settlers for labor for the production of sugar, as colonial overlords could not easily convince enough aboriginal men to give up hunting and take up farming (Simon 2005b: 3)[48]. By 1649 there were an estimated 11,339 Han Chinese, of which 838 were women (Brown 2004: 136)[49]. Campbell (2001: 384) points out that thousands of Chinese were likely driven out of mainland China due to war, and formed an armed colony amounting to

[46] Jacobus Valentyn was a former magistrate (deputy governor) in the Dutch service (Campbell 2001: 628). He also acted as a historian for the Dutch (Davidson 2001: 11).

[47] *Formosa Under the Dutch* was originally published in 1903, and most recently reprinted in 2001 by SMC Publishing Inc.

[48] Scott Simon, a Canadian who authored on issues relating to indigenous economy, wrote *Paths to Autonomy: Aboriginality and the Nation in Taiwan*.

[49] Melissa J. Brown wrote *Is Taiwan Chinese?* This book addresses the issue of the *aboriginality* of the Taiwanese.

twenty-five thousand armed men, not including women and children. By the end of the Dutch period, an estimated twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand Chinese settlers were permanently living in Taiwan (Chiang 1997: 5).

One of the great legacies of Dutch trade was the Dutch Matchlock Rifle. According to Bunun descendant N. Istanda (2004 interview), indigenous people learned how to maintain and repair them, passing them down from generation to generation as these guns were especially prized: "The Bunun knew how to fix the Dutch guns and were able to keep them in working condition, they were fabricated in such a way that made them easily repairable and therefore prized, whereas the Chinese-made guns were not nearly as valued by our people"[50].

As many of the deer hides came from the mountains the deer hide trade may have brought groups from the mountainous interior into direct contact with the colonists (Chiang 1997: 4). Paiwan oral history from Bia Village area, which is located south of Laipunuk, indicates that the Dutch had ventured into the mountains of that area. Bia Shirakimura, an eighty-four year-old Paiwan man recalls, "The Japanese went to the places of the Dutch; they knew how to find those locations. The elders often spoke about a time, many years ago, when the Dutch had visited their village" (Shirakimura 2004 interview)[51]. Although that was 345 years ago, accounts of the Dutch among indigenous peoples tend to be positive: "Tsou and Bunun oral history has some mention of this and stories of the Dutch are favorable" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). When Koxinga forced the Dutch out in 1661, some Dutchmen may have been left behind, making their way to the high mountains.

All in all, the Dutch were the first western power to have a significant impact on the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. They brought western religion, organized agriculture, and a global economy. They exported enormous amounts of natural resources and opened the way for prolific Chinese immigration. Nevertheless, when compared to the Chinese and Japanese periods to follow, we can say that indigenous language and culture was fairly stable under the short-lived rain of the Dutch in Taiwan.

[50] N. Istanda notes that most of these rifles were confiscated during Japanese period.
[51] Shirakimura, father of thesis informant N. Istanda, currently uses his Japanese name.

The Koxinga Period (1661-1683)

Koxinga was the son of a Chinese trader and a Japanese mother. Having fled from China to the Pescadores Islands (Penghu Islands) off the central western coast of Taiwan, in 1661 (acting as a general of the Ming Dynasty) he launched an attack against the Dutch.

On the first of February 1662, with an estimated "12,000 troops and a fleet of about 300 junks with another 12,000 soldiers, reinforced later with seven regiments from China" Koxinga pressured the Dutch to abandon Taiwan including assets and goods estimated at 400,000 guilders (Weiss *et. al.* 1991: 104). However, Koxinga's establishment of an independent kingdom was fleeting. His vision was to use the island as a place to regroup and launch resistance against the mainland's Qing government. He offered Taiwan and all his possessions to Ming loyalists; his dream was to restore the lost Ming Empire (*ibid.*). Compared to the Europeans of the time, he was not considered to be an offensive pirate, rather a man who earned his respect among the indigenous people: "Koxinga never failed to treat the inhabitants with kindness and consideration, and further won their good-will by distributing tobacco and clothes among them" (Davidson 2005: 50).

Koxinga died the following year, on May 1, 1662. During most of the twenty-two years of the Koxinga period, his young son, Cheng Ching followed his deceased father's resistance against the Qing. Wartime events kept him occupied and affairs pertaining to the indigenous peoples were not of primary concern. On Taiwan, Cheng Ching promoted Chinese education (including official triennial examinations) and offered lands to newcomers and soldiers alike to farm (Weiss *et. al.* 1991: 108).

Shortly after the death of Cheng Ching, Taiwan fell to the Manchu when his young son surrendered on July 19, 1863 (Davidson 2005: 61). The legacy of the Koxinga era was the use of troops to farm the land in order to provide food for his forces. This legacy of agriculture, development, and Chinese education goes hand and hand with Chinese civilization, becoming a key issue with respect to the occupation of indigenous lands during the Manchu period that followed.

The Qing (Manchu) Period (1683-1895)

From 1683 to 1895, Taiwan was under consecutive Chinese authorities, ruled various Qing or Manchu Emperors. Unlike the Dutch, who had a trade-centered ideology, the Chinese were mostly farmers and long-term settlers. Over the next century plains indigenes were displaced or assimilated and their cultural identities suffered greatly. This is due in part to the fact that, from

1684 to 1788, Chinese settlers were not permitted to bring their wives with them, intermarried with local aboriginal women, and Han surnames were passed patrilineally (Brown 2004: 149).

First and foremost, it should be noted that Qing Dynasty did not officially consider Taiwan as part of its territory until 1887 when it was made a province. Overall, Taiwan was a wild frontier with countless rebellions against the colonialist rule of the Manchus. Professor Chen Hsiao-hung explains that the Manchu period was unruly and Taiwan was untamed and poorly administered place, with constant struggles against government authority: "Every three years a minor rebellion, every five years a major one" (Chen 2004 lecture).

Relations between the Chinese and the indigenous peoples on the plains can be looked at as a choice between assimilation and displacement. With limited government control over Chinese immigrants, indigenous people quickly became subject to discrimination as a minority. They thus sought refuge either in the mountains or the eastern-coastal region. For example, the Kavalan group still resides in eastern Taiwan today. Therefore, discussions of indigenous socio-political issues during the Qing and Japanese periods are herein focused primarily on the mountain-dwelling groups.

Taiwan's mountains form the highest ranges in East Asia. They are rugged and foreboding, with precipitous valleys prone to floods, and are home to a number of wild animals and deadly snakes. Plains-dwelling Chinese were mainly agriculturists and unaccustomed to this high-mountain environment, thus only later arrivals of Chinese settlers, mainly the Hakka Chinese, were willing to live in the foothills abutting the mountains and risk confrontation with the indigenes. The geographic delineation between plains and mountains becomes synonymous with the demarcation between Chinese and indigenes, and it would be hard to consider one without the other.

Qing strategies for mountain indigenes oscillated between two adversative policies: *defensive segregation* and *development by pacification*. It was under the *defensive segregation policy* that the line of demarcation between Taiwan's plains and mountains was distinctly stratified, and would remain so until the present day. This policy included construction of earth mounds, brick walls, and guard posts, especially at strategic points or passages between the mountains and the plains. Called the *Ai-Yun Line* 隘勇線 (literally the *Guardsmen Line*) it administratively, legally, and geographically divided the island into two parts for the first time in Taiwanese history (Chiang 1997: 5). We may consider the thinking behind the construction of this *Ai-Yun Line*, which began in 1722, to be analogous to the thinking behind the construction of the Great Wall of China (called *Wan Li Chang Cheng*) in the Chinese homeland from which these settlers came.

Although materials, style, and scale of construction were different, both were defensive barriers aimed at protecting plains-dwelling agricultural people from what they perceived to be aggressive barbarian cultures.

With respect to the other policy of the times, *development by pacification*, the Chinese did enter the mountainous areas and confront indigenous peoples. There are two possible explanations for this aggressive advancement. One is martial: the indigenes already had long-standing grudges against the Chinese; their headhunting practices were ever feared by Chinese settlers; and they launched periodic raids across the line. The second explanation is economic: the mountains held resources, especially camphor and timber. As the global demand for camphor oil and cellulose grew, so did justification for entering the mountains. Under the *development by pacification* policy, the Chinese entered the mountains, identified, and subordinated indigenous group leaders (called *tou-mu*), often imposing Chinese customs and principles on entire villages. However, mountain dwelling groups remained largely autonomous while maintaining ever-increasing trade relations, which introduced clothing, iron cooking pots and guns. Above all, indigenous peoples valued salt and guns from the Chinese.

As time went on, the Qing authority in Taiwan began to exercise a more aggressive policy toward the indigenous peoples. Peking was under increasing pressure from foreign governments, and transferred this pressure to the Taiwan prefecture. Two particular incidents occurred that affected politics in Peking and thus Taiwan, one concerning the United States, the other involving Japan. The first incident was the 1867 shipwreck of the American ship *Rover*, during which the crew was slain by the Paiwan tribe of Kulalus village, prompting the American Ambassador to give an ultimatum to Perking to control their frontier on Taiwan or face reprisal. The second incident in 1871 involved the killing of fifty-four out of sixty-six Ryukyuans after their boat ran ashore in eastern Taiwan, this by the Paiwan from Shinbauzan village, prompting Japan to officially protest to Peking. Japan used this incident as justification to attack Taiwan; they later reached an accord with Peking. Internally, the Qing government used these incidents to launch a military campaign across the *Ai-yun Line* in an attempt to subdue the indigenous peoples (Chiang 1997: 6-7).

Indicative of indigenous resistance to the Chinese advances, records of that time show a profound reduction in camphor production along forest boundaries. As a result, camphor exports in Tamshui fell from 1,239,028 pounds in 1881 to 656,089 pounds in 1882, and by

1885 it had fallen to just 399 pounds (Davidson 2005: 442). This profound decrease in camphor production is attributed to conflicts on the *Ai-yun Line* (Wei 2006 interview)[52].

By the end of the Manchu Period on Taiwan, the estimated Chinese population was 2,546,000. An 1886 survey lists the indigenous population at around 150,000 (Chiang 1997: 5). Officially, the unassimilated indigenes were classified as *raw barbarians* and assimilated indigenes *cooked barbarians*. The mountain indigenes (the raw barbarians) had managed to maintain a fair sense of cultural integrity and continuity, due in part to the magnitude and ruggedness of Taiwan's mountains as well as to the ideology behind the *Ai-yun Line*. Other than sporadic events when Chinese ventured beyond this boundary, indigenes were in relative isolation from the Chinese and the rest of the world. When comparing Taiwan with Austronesian-speaking peoples in the Philippines, Taiwan's were less assimilated. This is likely due to the more insistent cultural and religious influences such as Islam and Catholicism" (Blundell 2006 interview).

In summary, the Koxinga and Manchu periods saw prolific Chinese immigration into Taiwan, with two opposing socio-political ideologies and accompanying policies with regard to the indigenous peoples: one defensive; the other aggressive. The Chinese gained control step by step over the island as their populations and need for resources expanded. The construction of the *Ai-yun Line*, as a line of demarcation and discrimination, had separated Taiwan into mutually exclusive worlds. Demand for forest products fueled the breach of this line and by the 1870s things would change forever. Tragedies resulting from two foreign-power shipwrecks on Taiwan shores energized politically-charged aggression toward the mountain dwelling indigenes. Each of these legacies would carry over into the Japanese period that followed.

Japanese Colony of Taiwan (1895-1945)

In 1895, the Japanese defeated the Chinese in the Sino-Japan War. Li Hong-Zhang, the representative of China's Qing government, signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki and ceded Taiwan to the Japanese. This event marks the beginning of the Japanese colony of Taiwan and brings a new chapter of conflict for the indigenous peoples.

The Japanese occupation of Taiwan is an immense topic. The impact on the indigenous people is undeniably profound. Compared with the Manchu period, during which time only limited records were kept, the Japanese kept immaculate records. The legacy of the Japanese on Taiwan and their studies, management, and overall attention to the indigenous peoples is unprecedented in the history of Taiwan.

[52] Mr. Wei from SMC Publishing Inc.

During the Japanese period in Taiwan, the vast majority of indigenes were extradited from their remote mountain villages and relocated to lowland communities. Many were required to adopt wet-patty rice cultivation and attend Japanese schools. As the period progressed, the official language policy requiring indigenes to learn Japanese was strictly enforced. Linguistic and cultural degradation of indigenous languages were rapidly accelerated during this period.

Whereas the Han residents of Taiwan were rather easily brought under Japanese rule, the indigenous peoples were to become the key obstacle to complete control of the island for the Japanese: "The Japanese greatly underestimated the indigenous peoples, and the indigenous peoples would give the Japanese a bloody nose" (Lee 2006 interview). Lee points out that there were few Taiwanese resistance heroes, as the Han were actually immigrants themselves. However, the indigenous people had deep feelings that the mountains were their lands and were prepared to defend their lands at any cost (*ibid*.).

Overall, the Japanese plan of action was to *agriculturalize* Taiwan in order to *industrialize* Japan. Furthermore, Taiwan was the staging ground for the Japanese imperial expansion into the Pacific. The Japanese built Kaohsiung Harbor in Southwestern Taiwan as a base for their *Southern Conquest*, essential to their vision to create a *Grand & Glorious East-Asia Zone* (大東亞共榮圈). Taiwan was to serve as the model colony for all East Asia (*ibid*.). While the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, was primarily initiated out of the Kuril Islands, simultaneously the invasion of the Philippines was launched from Taiwan. These key global events signify that, like the world at large, the world of Taiwan's indigenous peoples was to be changed forever. Chiang (1997: 9) points out that the attack on Pearl Harbor and subsequent events increased Japan's need for materials. The Colonial government moved toward mobilizing all possible resources required for the war effort, including the resources found in the mountains of Taiwan, human as well as material. Mountain products were procured by any means necessary. This is known as the *Imperial-subjectification period* due to the special focus on human resources, including the enlistment of mountain indigenes for military service (the *Takasago Volunteers*) (*ibid.*).

The Japanese expected absolute obedience from the indigenes under their social policy of *Zet Tai Fuku Ju* (絕對服從):

> "*Zet Tai Fuku Ju* was the *Emperors Policy* and it stood for absolute obedience. During the Japanese Colonization era, there were three main ranks in Taiwan's society. In order of privilege, they were: Japanese; Han Chinese; and aboriginal. There was a strict separation between the ruling and the ruled. Japanese police had power and they made aboriginals work without pay, it was forced labor.

> This philosophy was pervasive in Japanese Colonial Society. There were clear-cut levels of society: lower level must obey the upper level" (Lin 2004 interview)[53].

This ruler-subject ideology (above mentioned by Lin) may have had lasting effects on the indigenous subjective mind as it broke the spirit and structure of the culture (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

The Japanese used a *Divide-and-Rule* ideology to bring the indigenous peoples under their control. Similar to the British rule in Africa, divide and rule involves dividing interests. Indigenous ethnicities were separated into small groups and juxtaposed with other ethnic groups such that one group may have a rival group on either side. This broke down the indigenes power structures and concord. The Japanese learned and documented the history of tribal disputes in order to manipulate them to their advantage: "Before they could divide they needed to know the tribal and intertribal relations, such as their hatreds, marriage disputes, hunting grounds, and headhunting events" (Lee 2006 interview). "In general, we can say that the Japanese did their anthropology with a purpose. It was a government mechanism. This activity resulted in the formation of National Taiwan University's Anthropology Department" (*ibid*.).

Prior to the Japanese attention to social science in Taiwan, there had been little or no actual research in regard to the indigenous peoples. The Japanese, likely influenced by western social sciences, were the first to initiate modern social science in Asia. Taiwan became somewhat of an island laboratory. Just a decade prior to the Japanese period on Taiwan, they had founded the Tokyo Anthropological Association, which was the first of its kind in Asia. "Compared with the Qing period, the Japanese were much more interactive with Taiwan indigenes: they paid attention to them, educated, modernized, and had a great interest in their ethnography" (Blundell 2004 interview).

When the Japanese inherited the *Ai-yun Line* it was under a loosely administered and primarily private system left over from the Chinese (B.I.A. 1911: 12). The Japanese Bureau of Indigenous Affairs [BIA] estimated the indigenous population in the high mountains at 120,000, and was divided into 671 large and small villages (*ibid*: 1). The new Japanese administration adopted a policy toward the mountain regions based solely on economic development for the benefit of Japan. The Japanese were interested in forest products (especially camphor and cypress), minerals, and the labor required to obtain these resources. Unlike the Qing government before

[53] Lin is a volunteer historian at the *Taiwan National Prehistory Museum* in Taitung.

them, the Japanese policy toward the mountains and indigenous affairs was well ordered Japanese administration was two-fold: economic development and law enforcement (Chiang 1997).

The year 1897 marks the Japanese initiation of reestablishing the *Ai-Yun Line*. In 1903 Japanese government officially instated all guardsmen as government employees (B.I.A. 1911: 14; Meyers 1984: 219). Taiwan's mountains and forests were more strictly administered than previously. After several stages of administrative reshuffling, the Bureau of Forestation became the bureaucratic machine required to administer management and control of Taiwan's mountains and forests. Camphor production was increased, island-wide resource evaluation was conducted, and mountain roads were constructed. *Map 8* below illustrates the approximate *Ai-Yun Line* (Davidson 2005 index)[54].

Military actions to take control of the mountains were launched in 1909 and by the end of the 1920s, the *Ai-yun Line* was refortified with land mines and electric fences (Chiang 1997). The Japanese had been trying to confine the aboriginals to certain large tracts of land in the interior of the island. The construction of some five hundred miles of fences and guarded walls proved very expensive, sometimes exceeding two million yen per year (Myers 1984: 218).

The 1930s and early 1940s saw an accelerated penetration into Taiwan's mountainous areas, resulting in intense deforestation and the dispossession of mountain dwelling indigenes. Particularly, the 1930 *Wu She* incident near Nantou marks the turning point for indigenous policy. Reportedly three hundred Seediq attacked a school during an athletic meeting, killing 134 Japanese. The Japanese retaliated with more than seven thousand men, machine guns, and artillery, even employing air power and poison gas to bombard an aboriginal settlement. By the time the rebellion was over, an estimated 644 indigenes were dead.

Following the *Wu She* incident, the Japanese incorporated lands into their empire as hastily as possible. In 1933, the Japanese launched a ten-year-plan for the relocation of mountain aborigines. Nearly every indigenous community was forcibly removed to lower elevations. Tactics employed included education of aboriginal children (using police officers as teachers) and recruitment of men for the military. Simon (2005b) points out that it's important not to overlook the violent use of state power that was necessary to subdue these indigenous communities. For many indigenes it was a paradox: on the one hand they lost their ancestral

[54] Davidson's map illustrates the boundary of the *Ai-Yun Line* in 1901 under the Japanese colony on Taiwan. The boundary is approximately the same that of the Qing Dynasty.

lands; on the other hand they found the benefits of modernity including nice clothing and medical care.

Map 8: The Ai-Yun Line of 1901
Source: Davidson (2005 Index)

By 1940 the Japanese began to strictly enforce a naming policy on all indigenous peoples. Every man, woman, and child was given a Japanese name. This was an attempt to accelerate the assimilation policy (similarly when the Chinese Nationalist took over, the aborigine's Japanese names were changed to Chinese).

The following year, 1941, marks the onset of WWII and opens a very significant new chapter for indigenous peoples, namely induction into the military. Chester Lin remembers the era:

> "A long time after the occupation, aborigines were summoned or forced to join the military. History says the aborigines were forced to fight, but actually they were taught to go. I mean that they were educated or brainwashed to enlist. They were considered as volunteers. These are the aboriginals we now call the "Takasago Volunteers." When these people left for the war, many people came to see them off. There was lots of encouragement and pride. Every child my age thought it was a great honor. I did to. As I remember, aborigines were often sent to the front lines as a group. They could be sent ahead of regular forces to cut the jungle. The Japanese were not fit for this type of work. Even a well train Japanese soldier was clumsy in the jungle when compared to the aborigines. It was a second nature to them. The aboriginals did the most dangerous jobs" (Lin 2004 interview).

Many aboriginals lost their lives and the history of the *Takasago Volunteers* is not well documented. As the Japanese government did not want to claim responsibility for wartime events, most records with reference to the *Takasago Volunteers* were destroyed: "The Japanese military authorities, aiming to avoid prosecution after the war, destroyed records of the bitterly-fought campaigns that took place in Asia and the Pacific from 1942 onwards" (Huang, C.)[55]. The war ended abruptly, the Chinese Nationalists took over, and the subject of the Takasago was not popular. Indeed, few people outside of Taiwan knew much about it: "The old folk won't talk about it, and the young don't know how to ask" (Sun, T.) [56]. However, interest was kindled with the discovery of an Amis tribesman on the Indonesian island of Morotai in 1974. The man, once named Suniyon and now called Li Kuang-hui[57], had been left behind on the island by the Japanese when the war ended. For thirty years he lived in total isolation with no knowledge that the war had ended. His story gained global attention and it was then that

[55] Professor Chih-hui Huang is an assistant researcher at Academia Sinica's Institute of Ethnology. Quoted from *Voices from a Buried History, The Takasago Volunteers*. This web source is no longer available and was last viewed on June 15, 2006 at http://www.sinorama.com.tw/en/1999/199903/803078e1.html

[56] *ibid.* Note: Ta-chuan Sun was vice chairman of Taiwan's Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) from Dec. 1996 to May 2000. In Jan. 2002 the CAA became the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP).

[57] Suniyon was the man's original Amis name. His Japanese is Nakamura Teruo. Upon being returned to Taiwan, the Nationalist government required his name to change to Chinese Li Kuang-hui.

scholars from around the world launched investigations in the history of the *Takasago Volunteers*.

First-hand accounts of sentiments felt by aboriginals at their time of conscription lends insight to cultural and community perspectives during that era. According to 88 year-old Tama Biung Istanda, a former *Takasago Volunteer:*

> "When the war came... I was very proud to join and serve in the military. In Bunun culture the man should be brave. Traditionally we fought with other tribes and were headhunters. At that time in my life it seemed the same: be brave and fight with other tribes. Joining with the Japanese was like joining a strong tribe. I felt I should be honest to the Japanese king and not be afraid to fight. I presented myself to the powerful Japanese. My decision was spontaneous. In Bunun culture, when we are needed, we go to fight. Bravery is rewarded in your social standing in the tribe. I was not afraid of getting hurt or dying" (Istanda, T.B. 2004 interview)[58].

Personal experiences of *Takasago Volunteers* attest to the expectation of the Japanese. Shirakimura (2004 interview) enlisted in the military and took great pride in being a model conscript:

> "At eighteen I enlisted in the military. The training was difficult and serious. We could not have any problems or bad relations with each other or with people from surrounding villages, including Japanese. Each of us was expected to be a good model, and if we weren't, we knew the alternative was to be kicked out, disgraced, and punished. I considered it a privilege to be in the Japanese military. My service in the military was entirely in Taiwan. My regiment's assignment was to protect and care for the forests, waterways, and villages. We served as peacekeepers of that area. I saw very little fighting during my service. They grouped all aboriginal servicemen together, regardless of which tribe they had originally come from. Although some tribes had long-standing rivalry, we needed to get along in the military. We were called, *Yamanaka Budai*, which meant *Mountain Troops*. We wore our Japanese military uniforms with pride" (Shirakimura 2004 interview).

As revealed in the testimonies by Lin, T.B. Istanda, and Shirakimura, each demonstrates a sense of excitement, encouragement, and the duty felt during that period regarding the military, providing a different and valuable perspective on much of the discourse found in the section of

[58] T.B. Istanda, a Laipunuk Bunun informant for this thesis' ethnohistorical research, served as a *Takasago Volunteer* from 1942 to 1945 in Papua New Guinea and saw active duty, including engagement with American forces.

this thesis. This input marks the first opportunity to integrate oral ethnography into this paper, as there are few informants over ninety years old alive today who can offer first-hand accounts of life before WWII.

At the end of World War II Japan gave up title to Taiwan, without specifying to whom. Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Chinese Nationalists or Kuomintang (KMT) representing the Allied forces, occupied Taiwan with his troops. Driven by the Chinese Communists, Chiang Kai-shek's KMT officially took refuge on Taiwan in 1949. These events lead to an entirely new chapter for indigenous peoples and the fate of their languages, cultures, and self-identities.

In summary, the Japanese era in Taiwan marks a complete upheaval of the indigenous peoples. As the plains indigenes were assimilated during the Manchu period, most mountain indigenes were acculturated during the Japanese period. By and large, they were removed from the mountains, forced to learn Japanese, and required to take Japanese names. Yet new changes and new challenges were about to unfold.

The Chinese Nationalist (KMT) Period (1949-1996)

At the beginning of the KMT (Kuomintang) Period, indigenous cultures and languages entered into a frozen stage. Before long the KMT began an assimilation policy and cultural degradation of the indigenes became acute. The 1950s through the 1980s were laden with social, political, and economic woes for the indigenes. However, the 1990s ushered in a new era and the KMT period ended in 1996 with democratic elections.

A short-list of milestone political events[59] during the early years of the KMT Period includes the following:

In 1947, the name official name for the indigenes was changed from *Mountain People* to *Mountain Compatriots*;

In 1948, the Government promulgated a new package of regulations for the management of Aboriginals;

In 1950, some aboriginals were executed for alleged involvement in the *228 Incident* or *228 Massacre*, an uprising in that began on February 28, 1947 against the KMT government, resulting in thirty thousand civilians killed. Chester Lin remembers when the KMT suddenly

[59] Many of the milestone political events described in this section are listed on the Shung Ye Museum for Formosan Aborigines (Taipei) exhibit, located on the basement floor. However the display offers only a chronological list and contains no commentary.

showed up in Taiwan and began to take control. His memory gives a deep sense of the emotion people felt at that time in Taitung, Taiwan:

> "When the KMT came, they hated everything Japanese – their language, their clothes. But Japanese had become my mother tongue. It was difficult. If I spoke Japanese, I was punished. The *228 Incident* was not too serious in Taitung, although many young people who had come from the military did go to fight against KMT. But some people brought KMT into their houses and fed them. In Taitung, the civilians were not trained to fight and they had no weapons, so they didn't get involved. I remember there was no school and lots of propaganda on the radio. Some students broke into gun storage places to get guns to fight KMT. They also occupied radio stations. I remember seeing truck full of young people on their way to *Jiayi* to fight. They were yelling, shouting, just the same as the Japanese pride and spirit" (Lin, 2004 interview).

The KMT government inherited the Bureau of Forestation and the Bureau of Minerals from the Japanese to become the Taiwan Forestry Bureau (TFB). There has been no large-scale military force in the mountains since that time. As the vast majority of mountain dwelling indigenes had already been extradited from the mountains, the KMT government only needed to control and restrict their reentry. The TFB created the *Mountain Reservation System*, out of the Japanese *Mountain Territories System*. The Japanese police offices were renamed as check points. Indigenous peoples were given only limited access to the mountains under the KMT.

With the indigenous population largely removed from the mountains during the Japanese period, TFB policies differed from the Qing and Japanese. Primary emphasis was on land management vs. people management, in stark contrast to the days of the *Ai-yun Line* and policies that combined a ruthless approach to man, forest, and the mountains, such as in the Japanese era. N. Istanda (2004 interview) feels that by this time, indigenous peoples had already learned to obey the government: "The Japanese taught us to obey, so when the KMT came we were not willing to put up a fight." Comparatively, KMT policies with respect to the indigenous people were more benign than those of the Japanese, with little bloodshed. Chen Hsiao-hung feels the Chinese were able to employ a live-and-let-live policy at that time: "If you make a fight, then we have a fight, if you are willing to go along, you will have some support" (Chen 2004 lecture).

In 1951, the Taiwan Provincial Government implemented the *life-improving proclamation* (生活改進運動), which was actually an acculturation policy with a title that appeared favorable to the indigenes: "[An] unapologetic campaign aiming at the sinicization of the indigenous

population. Among its goals are the promotions of things ranging from Chinese language (Mandarin) to… the use of chopsticks" (Chiang 1997: 11). Furthermore, the policy was a blend of vague moral statements prohibiting many indigenous traditions, including traditional healing.

The National Language Policy or g*uo-yu zheng-ce* (國語政策) specified that indigenous languages must be written in Chinese, which rapidly caused degeneration of linguistic and ethnic identity. The z*hu yin fu hao* phonetic system (nick-named *bo po mo fo*) replaced the Roman alphabet system previously developed by the Dutch as a phonetic model for language education, further accelerating degradation. In 1953 the Taiwan Provincial Government began a new 5-year assimilation plan and in 1954 the KMT prohibited Romanization of all indigenous languages, including names and place names.

Guo-yu zheng-ce reflects the mono-lingualism of the KMT government in Taiwan. Under this policy, Mandarin was chosen exclusively as the official or national language (*guo-yu*), and it would be considered the high language in diglossia. The Japanese first established the g*uo-yu zheng-ce* when Japanese was chosen as the *guo-yu*.

The g*uo-yu zheng-ce* was carried out in significant arenas: education, mass communication, and language rights. In the education arena, the teaching of indigenous languages was excluded from the national education system. In the arena of mass communication, indigenous languages were restricted and discriminated against in mass media; for example, the 1975 Broadcasting and Television Law. In the arena of language rights, people were not allowed to use indigenous languages in public places, such as post offices, theaters, and government offices. Even in the church, preaching in indigenous languages was not allowed until the most recent political reforms.

In 1983 an Atayal student named Evan Yukan at National Taiwan University (NTU) published a student journal named *Kau Shan Ching* (also called Green Mountains), which notably marks the beginning of indigenous cultural reconstruction. The stated purpose of the Journal was "to investigate the problems of the mountain territory, to arouse self awareness of the mountain population, to care about the mountain community, and to attain self-help and self-salvation" (Chiang 1997: 13). In 1984, the Minorities Committee was formed and the Association for Promoting the Rights of Taiwan Aborigines was set up to confront activities such as nuclear waste dumping on Orchid Island.

During the 1980s, the contemporary revitalization movement began. By then, political movements were somewhat tolerated and citizens could take action to voice their opinions. In 1987, with the lifting of martial law, the Tau (Yami) of Orchid Island began protesting against the Taiwan Power Corporation's (Taipower) dumping of nuclear waste on their island. In 1988, aboriginal students started a social movement, the *Return Our Land, Return Our Names Movement* or *Huan Wo Tudi*. Led by then fifty-eight-year old Igeung Ciban, a Seediq woman who joined forces with Bayan Dalur and other indigenous environmental activists, they took their long-standing case against Asia cement (dating back to 1973) to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1998 (Simon 2005b).

The 1990s ushered in a new era and political events become notably more favorable for the indigenes. In 1993, the United Nation's *Year of Indigenous Peoples* received extensive attention in Taiwan. In 1994, Japanese businessmen established the Shung Ye Museum for the Formosan Aborigines as a foundation. In 1995, the Nationalist Government approved the registration of identification cards for indigenous peoples in their own language (with Chinese Latinized writing). In 1996, the Taipei City Government changed several Taipei street names from Chinese to Austronesian (such as Chienshou to *Ketagalan*). A milestone event occurred during the same year: the founding of the Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, the country's first top-level indigenous peoples government organization to draft aboriginal-related policies and protect the rights and interests of Taiwan's indigenous peoples.

Public protests were at the heart of government reform in the 1990s. From 1990 to 1996, many indigenous peoples demonstrated at the Presidential Palace in Taipei. Their main concerns revolved around revitalizing their language and culture, as well as land rights issues. They demanded their right to rewrite their history, as they strongly felt that Taiwan's textbooks were not fair (Li 2004 interview). Although it may be difficult to measure the benefit of public protests, considering the powerlessness of indigenous groups during the KMT period, and examining the empowerment they now feel with the birth of democracy in Taiwan, local movements and demonstrations have resulted in much-needed attention. "Public protests in Taiwan have been very successful" (Chen 2004 lecture).

A few headlines reflecting a healthy image of Taiwan's indigenes during the early Nationalist Period include:

> In 1960, Chuan-Kuang Yang, an Amis athlete, won the men's decathlon in the Rome Olympics;

In 1970, the Bunun "Red Leaf Little League" from Taitung won the world championship in Tokyo (some of these children were Laipunuk descendants);

In 1973, the New Testament was published in the Isbukun dialect of the Bunun language;

In 1975, Kuang-hui Lee returned from Indonesia (the missing *Takasago Volunteer*) and in the same year Professor Ping-Chuan Lu's recording of the music of Taiwan aboriginal mountain people was honored by Japan's Department of Culture.

As the KMT period ended and its political structure changed, the *Bunun Cultural and Education Foundation* in Yen-Ping village, Taitung County, became Taiwan's first non-profit organization to be founded by aboriginals. In 1995 the foundation built Taiwan's first aboriginal kindergarten. The founder, Laipunuk descendant Bai Guan Sheng (his Bunun name is Biung Husungan Istanda), is the son of Laipunuk-born Langus Istanda (ethnographic informant for this thesis).

The Democratic Period (1996 - Present)

The lifting of Martial Law in 1987 by Lee Teng-hui and his election in 1996 mark the rise of the democratic period. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) leadership, which followed in the year 2000, marks the establishment of democracy in Taiwan. New and profound changes regarding the precarious situation of indigenous peoples began. Taiwan's indigenes, almost overnight, reacquired many long-lost rights. As indigenous movements rushed forward, often through public demonstrations, globalization played a role in the process as international attention reopened studies and exchanges with universities. There was a renaissance of Christian movements rekindling the Romanization of indigenous languages.

In 1998, the political pendulum continued to swing in the favor of the indigenous peoples. Public Television began broadcasts of an aboriginal news magazine, which was Taiwan's first TV news program to be reported and anchored by indigenous peoples. The Executive Yuan passed an eight-year Aboriginal Development Program, covering eight key areas such as political development, education and culture, social welfare, employment, medical treatment, finance and land, housing assistance, and transport and water conservation. In the same year, the Legislative Yuan passed the *Aboriginal Education Bill*, which was the first law since the constitutional reforms that specifically targeted aboriginal rights and considered the rights of indigenous peoples.

In 1999 the plight of indigenous people was given public attention when the Executive Yuan's Commission of Aboriginal Affairs released its survey of aboriginal living requirements:

aboriginal unemployment was 1.65 times higher than the national average, and that most aboriginal people work in low-skilled jobs or manual labor.

In 2000, the DPP *White Paper on Aboriginal Policy* was put forth by President Chen Shui-Bian, after publicly announcing on September 10, 1999 a legal term *natural rights* to recognize that indigenous peoples were the original owners of Taiwan (Simon 2005b)[60]. The document depicts the KMT as just one more colonial power in Taiwan, subsequent to regimes including the Dutch, Koxinga, Qing Government, and Japan. The *White Paper* Document blasts the KMT for continuing the Japanese policy of "Administering Barbarians Policy." Attending to issues of poverty among the indigenous, the *White Paper* suggests that the problem was due to the fact that indigenous lands were lost to colonial powers, including institutions originally founded by the KMT state such as the Forestry Bureau (Simon 2005b). Furthermore, the document, using aboriginal land rights and sovereignty as a platform, suggests that Taiwan is inherently independent from China. The *White Paper* is a political tool for independence and the promulgation of indigenous rights per se.

Milestone events during the democratic period include:

The 2001 *Law on Aboriginal Identity,* proposed by President Chen Shui-bian, was primarily concerned with recognizing aboriginal identity and protecting their rights. Shortly thereafter, ratification by the Executive Yuan recognized the Thao as Taiwan's tenth aboriginal group. In the same year, Taiwan's first affirmative action plan promulgated the Aboriginal Workers Rights Protection Law, which requires all levels of government, public and private businesses, to employ aboriginals in one percent of their workforce (and one-third of all employees in aboriginal areas). Furthermore, the Taiwan Council of Indigenous Peoples, in compliance to the Ministry of Education, set up the *Certification Means for Indigenous Language Competency* program for non-teachers (meaning the general public) and commissioned National Chengchi University (NCCU) to undertake the certification testing program aimed at training new indigenous language teachers (Li 2004 interview).

In January 2002, the Council of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) changed to the Council for Indigenous Peoples (CIP). Later that year the official registration of Kavalan as Taiwan's eleventh indigenous ethnic group occurred as well as the inauguration of the Ketagalan Culture

[60] Simon's paper, *Taiwan's Indigenized Constitution: What Place for Aboriginal Formosa?* (Listed in the reference list of this thesis) introduces the *White Paper* policy and is available on line at: www.soas.ac.uk/taiwanstudiesfiles/EATS2005/panel6Simonpaper.pdf (last viewed June 15, 2006). However, the paper cited here as 2005b is not currently available online.

Center by the Taipei City Government. The Ketagalan Culture Center includes a museum of aboriginal culture, as well as study rooms and workshops for aboriginal NGOs. Household registration laws were amended to allow aboriginals to register under the classification of their ethnic group, a change from previous classifications as either plains-dwelling or mountain-dwelling groups, which is considered as an improvement in aboriginal demographics.

On January 14, 2005, the Seediq were officially recognized as Taiwan's newest culture and July 1, 2005 witnessed the launch of Indigenous Television Channel. At the time of writing this thesis, this channel was airing a myriad of indigenous programming form children's shows, news programs, language education programs and more. When compared with historic events and government policies, such as those in the Japanese period and the early KMT period, the new *Indigenous TV* marks a new dawn in the revitalization of indigenous language and culture.

The years of 2005 and 2006 have been filled with change and progress for indigenous people's rights and recognitions. The CIP has become a significant force in this movement. The Democratic Period marks a time of prolific change for the social standing of Taiwan's indigenous peoples, yet the indigenous minority is facing new challenges in efforts to regain their identities and come to terms with the events of history. When matching the people with the government, there may be different sets of hopes. Whereas indigenes may have new expectations toward land rights and government support at the individual or local level, the government may have their own agenda, such as a policy to incorporate indigenous votes rather than promotion of indigenous culture (Chen 2004 lecture).

Indigenous issues have progressed into discovering new values, especially in the sphere of international relations. The government now utilizes the indigenous people as a tool for socio-political communication and identification of Taiwan with other Austronesian speaking peoples (New Zealand, Palau, Solomon Islands as examples) or with nations that may have similar indigenous rights issues (Canada is such a case). The indigenous movement is therein an integral tool for the current administration for Taiwan independence movement.

A Long Hard History

In a socio-political context, the indigenous peoples have six major foreign political systems, beginning with the Dutch. Today, for the first time in four hundred years, the indigenous peoples are salvaging and revitalizing their languages and cultures. Although they were once separate ethnicities, with mutually unintelligible languages, which practiced headhunting against each other, after centuries of outside pressures they have in many ways become united in

the quest for indigenous rights. The Japanese were the first to gather the indigenous together and wholeheartedly impose a *lingua franca*. Indigenous men fought side by side in WWII, with entire regiments made up of men from different ethnicities. The KMT brought a new *lingua franca.* A sense of indigenous solidarity in Taiwan is today stronger than ever before in history. During my field research it was common to witness individuals from four or five ethnicities talking together in Chinese and sharing ideas for the future. Currently, Taiwan is still not recognized by the United Nations and questions regarding the island's independence and future remain to be seen. According to the People's Republic of China (PRC) there is only one single indigenous group on Taiwan, which is classified as *Mountain Aboriginals* (one of the 56 ethnic minority groups of China). The fate of Taiwan's indigenous peoples is under the influence of socio-political environment in the wake of the ROC's new democracy, the relationship and influence of the PRC, and global events. With an estimated five thousand-year history in Taiwan, indigenous issues have moved from the mountains to the global stage in a single century.

Photo 4: Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation
Source: Author, 2005

CHAPTER 3—THE BUNUN PEOPLE

"According to their myth, everything in the world has relationships with human beings. They personify and humanize them. Sun and moon are mother and son. Wind, snow, water, rainbow, and stone were transformed from human beings. Even birds, animals, insects, snakes, grass, and plants were transformed by human beings. And human beings were transformed from pottery and bottle gourd"

Chi-Chien Chiu (1973: 73)

Understanding the Bunun culture is imperative to this study. This chapter serves two main functions: to provide a clear and general understanding of the Bunun culture and to prepare the reader for Chapters 4 and 5, which discuss the Laipunuk Bunun in some detail.

[*Author's Note: Regarding the overlaying sections which address the Bunun culture in this thesis, the author has employed four divisions of investigation on the Bunun people and culture: (1) Chapter 2.2 focused on social organization of Taiwan's indigenous cultures, serves to introduce and compare the Bunun with other indigenous cultures in Taiwan; (2) Chapter 3 concentrates on Bunun culture and ethnomusicology; (3) Chapter 4 presents the individual and collective knowledge of the Laipunuk Bunun people, culture, and Japanese Colonial Period; and (4) Chapter 5 is a collection and presentation of ethnographic data of two Bunun informants. Each section of study expands upon the other; and each serves its own function within this study. The author has limited the repetition of data, moving and expanding upon the aforesaid.*]

3.1. Bunun Culture

The Bunun people are divided into five ethno-linguistic groups: Takituduh, Takibakha, Takbanuaz, Takivatan, and Isbukun (Zeitoun 2006 interview). The Isbukun dialect is the largest group, widespread in (but not restricted to) Nantou, Haulien, Kaohsiung, and Taitung Counties, the latter of which encompasses the Laipunuk region. The five Bunun dialects are more than just linguistic groups; they are, "Characterized not only by distinctive dialectal and cultural features, but they [are] also [characterized] by a sort of tribal consciousness and tendency toward political cohesion" (Huang 1988)[61].

[61] Huang references Mabuchi (1951: 44).

The Bunun were known to be headhunters, fierce warriors, and a high-mountain people hostile to outsiders, including other aboriginal groups, the Chinese, and the Japanese.

Bunun Identity

As mentioned, the word *Bunun* means *human being*. Although this may imply that a *non-Bunun* is *non-human*, the discernment is ethos-driven and not centered on ethnicity. Being Bunun is not solely based on an individual's genetic or family history; anyone can become Bunun. To the Bunun, being *true Bunun* means that one observes the cultural behaviors associated with Bunun taboos, rituals, and ceremonies[62] (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

According to Bunun oral history, the Bunun people originally lived on the western plains of Taiwan and moved to the mountains (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). However, since the time of the earliest Japanese ethnographers in Taiwan, the Bunun were documented as the traditional inhabitants of the highest mountain areas. It was common for the Bunun to build their houses at elevations of one or two thousand meters above sea level. A Japanese survey done in 1929 by the Japanese scholar *Kano* indicated that approximately two-thirds (68.2 %) of all Bunun settlements were located above one thousand meters (Huang 1998: 32). Indeed many of the house foundations in Laipunuk are located over one thousand meters (Author 2006 field notes)[63]. Lee (2006 interview) offers the following insight to the potential movement of the Bunun over time:

> "During the Dutch period the Bunun likely lived near *Sha Lu* in Taichung Prefecture, a coastal-plain area of western Taiwan. The Dutch, engaged in the trade of deer hides, encouraged the Bunun to venture and move upland to increase trade yields. Therefore we can presume that their movement upland was voluntary based of economic pursuits. Resettled in the mid to high elevation areas, they separated into two groups: one group in *Di Li Chun* which further moved upland to *Zhu Shui River* (both sides of the river bank); the other group to *Ren He Chun* which moved further upland *Si Ba Chong River* (upstream). It was from these areas they moved deeper and higher into the areas of the high mountains to where the Japanese documented their villages in the early Twentieth Century: *Hai Duan Xiang* in Taitung Prefecture, *Zou Xi Xiang* in Hualien Prefecture, and *San Ming Xiang* in Kaohsiung Prefecture. It was the Japanese, who in 1932 began a five year campaign to control the high mountains (termed *wu nian li fan ji hua*) which forced the Bunun back down to the plains."

[62] This issue will be further examined in Chapter 4.1.
[63] Altitudes were taken with a handheld GPS.

Kinship

The multifaceted nature of the Bunun kinship structure is a cultural trademark. In comparison to other Taiwan aborigines, the Bunun are noted for their complex clan system (Huang 1995: 66). The Bunun have a *patri*-clan kinship structure, normally comprised of small family groups, in which several clans usually makeup the organization of the community. Chi-Chien Chiu, who compiled *Kinship Structure of the Bunun*, notes four kinds of kin groups among the Bunun: moiety, clan, lineage, and family (Chiu 1973: 134). Close family ties give Bunun communities great cohesion. The Bunun kin universe contains considerable knowledge of social descents, affinities, and may include the dead (*ibid*: 170).

The Bunun are normally named after their relatives. In the male line, for example, the eldest son is named after his grandfather, second son after his great-grandfather, third son after his paternal uncle, fourth son after his maternal uncle (*ibid*: 97). This would account for the three interviewees named 'Biung' in this thesis, all belonging to the closely related Istanda family.

As Bunun populations grew in specific areas, their social system gradually changed from the traditional clan system to that resembling a large village or community. For example, Laipunuk villages were extraordinarily large (Huang 2006 interview). Patriarchal rule is absolute regarding familial division of labor; however, as the Bunun are an egalitarian society, every member has fair access to the settlement's resources.

Incorporation of Land and Material Culture

Although the Bunun freely adopt and incorporate material culture, cultural traits, and *non-Bunun* peoples into their culture, they have managed to keep their culture and identity intact. They have particularly adopted jewelry and clothing styles from other peoples and early twentieth century Japanese photographs of the Bunun often show them wearing clothes, headwear, and adornments adopted or procured from neighboring cultures, including the Chinese[64]. This may also be due in part to marriage exchange, whereby a woman from one family is exchanged for a woman from another family. If the marriage is dissolved for any reason (including death), the other marriage that resulted from the exchange is also dissolved (Baudhuin 1960: 383). The Bunun employed marriage exchange as a means to gain passage, rights, and control over farming or hunting grounds, and this included exchange with other indigenous cultures (Huang 2006 interview; Istanda, N. 2006 interview). Remarriage

[64] See *Photo 5 and Photo 6* in Chapter 4.1.

notwithstanding, the Bunun observe strict monogamy (Huang 1995: 68)[65].

Residence

The traditional residence of a Bunun family is large. Traditional houses were made by digging into a hillside and constructing an earth and stone terrace in front to provide a level or split-level foundation. Although stone is considered the customary material for building, the Bunun quickly adapted to new areas by making use of whatever raw materials were available, including wood, bark, reeds, etc. (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). The Bunun often abandon their houses and fields to move to new areas in search of better hunting grounds and fertile soil to grow millet (*Sateria italica*)[66]. As they practice *in-house* burial, when a family member dies in a way considered unnatural, they abandon the house and move.

The Bunun are the one most successful indigenous culture in Taiwan in terms of their dispersion and distribution. Huang (1988: 33) notes "Among the Taiwan aboriginal peoples, the Bunun form the third largest in population and occupy the second largest area."[67] The Bunun are a *moving people* and elders believe that the survival of their culture depends on their movement (Istanda, T.B. 2004 interview).

Egalitarian Society

When considering how to define the boundaries of the Bunun ethos, perhaps the best image is that of an egalitarian society, for an individual's social position and respect depend on individual merit. Although being the son of a highly respected man may be of some consequence, individuals are, essentially, equal in status, until proving to be worthy of respect or leadership. However, only male members of the society can be head of the family (Baudhuin 1960: 360). As addressed in Chapter 2, anthropologists may generalize Taiwan's indigenous cultures into two wide-ranging social stratums: one is an *ascribed society*; the other is an *achieved society*. The Bunun are the latter, whereas the Paiwan and Rukai are the former. Ascribed societies inherit wealth and social position and have a class system. Land tenure is divided along aristocratic family lines and genealogies are well organized. This type of socio-political leadership has a highly formalized hierarchal social system that consists of nobles and commoners (Chiang 2000: 4). Such cultures tend to have somewhat sedentary households, as

[65] See Li, P.J. *Austronesian Studies relating to Taiwan* (pp. 59-107) for Huang Ying-kuei's paper *The "Great Men" Model among the Bunun of Taiwan.*

[66] Foxtail millet is the main staple along with wild fauna and vegetables.

[67] *Table 1*, Chapter 2, shows the Bunun are currently the fourth largest group in population.

land is associated with wealth and nobility.

As mentioned in Chapter 2.2, in stark contrast to the Rukai and Paiwan way of life, the Bunun have a social structure based an individual achievement. Huang (1995: 59) employs the *Great Man* model to describe traditional egalitarian or *achieved status* aspects of Bunun society. In the Bunun culture, social position is earned through such things as bravery, valor, and good hunting skills. The *achieved society* theory is especially useful for understanding Bunun culture; no matter what the individual's social position may be, it can be changed through personal achievement, through competitive relationship, or by invitation of outsiders into the clan. For example, a Bunun man wishing to advance his social position may work hard for the collective good of his clan or join a headhunting party and return home victorious (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). Furthermore, a Bunun man can break away from his clan and form a new clan in a new location, providing he can gain a following from others in his family or community (Huang 1988: 43). The equalitarian and competitive relationship among each member of the clan system has the potential to be achieved, individually manipulated, and centrifugal (*ibid*.). With regard to the Laipunuk Bunun, the issue of social structure is of key importance, as egalitarian society may have shifted to hierarchal society (Huang 2006 interview). Chapter 4 will address this issue.

Hunting

Hunting was only done by men and it was a key occupation, figuring importantly in the Bunun tradition. Elders describe hunts primarily for deer, wild pigs, and other local fauna. Deer is the most useful game hunted by the Bunun and they use nearly all parts of the body, including the meat, skin, and antlers.

In order to further pacify the Bunun and to prohibit their use of firearms, the Japanese government restricted their hunting practices, resulting in cultural degradation at the very foundation of their social fabric. We should consider that the income from hunting was of the utmost importance. Hunting was a livelihood, sport, and a vital source of food and material culture. Hunting grounds were identified and maintained by a clan group, which formed a type of social or hunting organization, and intrusion to such an area without permission could be the source of conflict (Baudhuin 1960: 322).

As hunters, the Bunun are known for their prowess and sure-footedness in the mountains earning them the undisputed reputation as Taiwan's *sherpas* (Sinorama II 1994: 60). The Bunun of Tungpu, a village situated at the base of *Yu Shan*, Taiwan's highest mountain peak,

has been the source of Bunun *sherpas* since the early Japanese period.

Traditional styles of hunting include the use of guns, bows and arrows, dogs, fires, and ambushes (Istanda, T.B. 2006 interview)[68]. Bad hunting omens are numerous and may include a bad dream the night before the hunt, sneezing or farting, and the singing of certain birds (Baudhuin 1960: 484), and failure to adhere to these omens can result in disasters including death (Istanda, T.B. 2006 interview).

Headhunting

The custom of hunting human heads was practiced by all *Formosan aborigines* to some extent (the Yami notwithstanding) well into the Japanese occupation of Taiwan. As the Bunun lived in the most remote mountains areas of Taiwan, they were among the last indigenes to discontinue the practice. It has been said that the Bunun were among the fiercest headhunters of all the ethnicities.

The Bunun not only hunted the heads non-Bunun ethnicities, they also hunted the heads of their inter-ethnic groups. Although various alliances between groups existed, the Isbukun head-hunted the other four inter-ethnic groups (Chiu 1973: 86). Conversely, the exchange of women (marriage exchange) promoted peace and alliance between the same inter-ethnic groups (*ibid*.)

The reasoning behind headhunting has long attracted anthropologists. It undoubtedly helped to maintain regional and ethnic boundaries. Among the Bunun we can say that rituals, ceremonies, music, social standing, and maintaining hunting grounds we deeply related to headhunting. The abovementioned hunting taboos also apply to headhunting, as do the following noted in Baudhuin (1960: 436): a man whose wife is pregnant should not participate; the occurrence of an earthquake; and encountering poisonous snakes. During headhunting all the village people should refrain from drink, travel, weaving, washing clothes, or talking cheerfully or loudly (*ibid*: 437).

Religion

The religion of the Bunun is characterized by animism, complex agricultural ritual, and rites of passage; and gods, spirits and souls are not distinguished clearly (Chiu 1973: 73). The Bunun cosmos is divided into three worlds: the sky world, the common world, and the underworld

[68] There are a number of hunting related aspects embodied in T.B. Istanda's narratives in Chapter 5.1.

(*ibid*.). The Bunun belief in the spirit world is expressed in their pre-Christian belief in *hanitu (Figure 2)*[69]. *Hanitu* means the spirit of any living creature or natural object in this world, animate or inanimate, such as animals, plants, land or rocks, etc. (Huang 1995: 69). The concept of *hanitu* is characterized by polarity; spirits are either good or evil. Bunun often use the words *masial* (good) and *makuang* (bad) when describing *hanitu*. (Istanda, T.B. 2006 interviews; Istanda, L. 2004, 2006 interviews). Illness was generally perceived as *makuang hanitu*.

Figure 2 shows the division between the collective and the individual. The Bunun psyche (as an internal spirit force) may be divided in this way: while under the dominance of the *masial hanitu* a person is driven to act collectively for the benefit of the whole group or settlement; conversely, while under the internal force of the *makuang hanitu*, the person would act only for his/her individual benefit (Huang 1988: 103). The struggle between the collective and individual, *masial* and *makuang*, is perceived to manifest or explain sickness or health, in dreams, fortune and misfortune, etc. This relationship is a complex: consider that the individual who acts for the collective good therein advances his/her individual position within the collective.

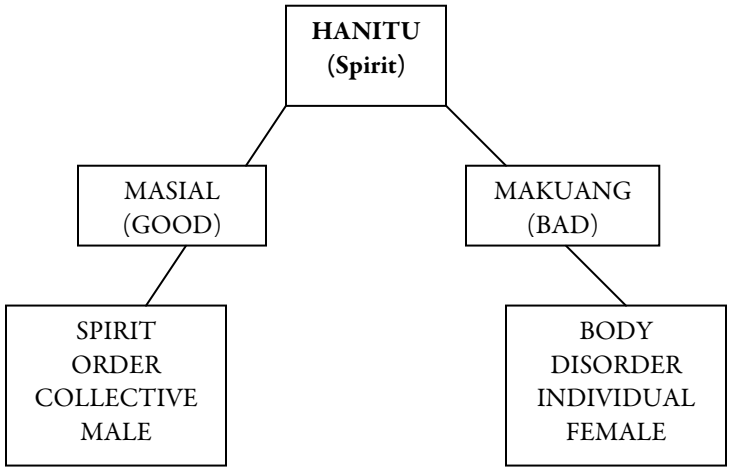


Figure 2: Duality of Hanitu Spirit
Modeled and Modified from Huang (1988: 101)

With the adoption of Christian belief into Bunun culture, the concept of *hanitu* has come to mean devil. The Bunun word for sky, *dahinan*, once synonymous with sky or heaven (Huang 1988: 174) has come to mean God (Istanda, T.B. 2006 interview; Istanda, L. 2006 interview).

[69] Modeled and modified from Huang (1988: 101) diagram of the *Bunun person*.

When asked about *hanitu*, Christianized Bunun elders who grew up in the pre-Christian era would initially deny its existence. Later, while sharing personal life experiences, they would use the word frequently, especially when discussing topics such as luck, dreams, good and bad (*ibid*.).

Chiu (1973: 73) observes that the cosmological view of the Bunun is egocentric:

> "Gods, spirits, and souls are called *hanitu* by them. Sometimes hanitu is the concrete organism. Sometimes it is without form or likeness. Sometimes they are bad and other times they are good. The feelings which Bunun people have toward them are different from time to time, place to place, and person to person. Sometimes they pray to them and beg hanitu to bless them. Sometimes they use magical methods to force hanitu to do something for them."

Shamans, Priests, and Taboos

In the Bunun cosmos, shamans and priests may have had different social positions. Traditional medicine included male or female shamans, who were equally responsible for treating illnesses and exorcising evil *hanitu* spirits from the body. Priests were almost exclusively male (Chu 1973: 73) and women were often shamans (*ibid*: 74). However, anyone can become a shaman through dreams or by learning (Huang 1988: 130), although men normally assumed the position of public shaman (Huang 1995: 66).

The difference between priest and shaman are somewhat ambiguous. Whereas priests would attend to such things as agricultural and headhunting rituals (exclusively conducted by men), shamans may attend to healing, witchcraft and consoling clan members. Chiu (1973: 97) notes that shamans may assist in changing the name of a hunter who has had misfortune (name changing is common practice among the Bunun). Shamanic beliefs and duties may include *white magic*: healing of diseases, making women pregnant, promoting love, locating thieves or lost things, expelling ghosts, calling to souls. Conversely, shamans may practice *black magic*: making people sick or insane, induce miscarriage or death, and bringing about divorce (*ibid*: 76). Istanda, N., (2004 interview), when referring to shamans, uses the word *lapasas* as verb and *amaminan* and noun.

The Bunun concept of magic is often related to taboo[70] (*samu*). Among the Bunun, the subject of taboo is taken quite seriously and aspects of taboo are far-reaching. Although this topic may warrant discussion in further detail, I will limit it to a brief and adequate introduction. Bunun

[70] *Taboo* is one of the few Austronesian words adopted into English.

taboos are followed on various religious, political, economic, magical, and military occasions (Chiu 1973: 76). Violation of taboo is thought to bring misfortune, sickness, or even death (*ibid*.). Istanda, N. (2004 interview) overviews the discussion on taboo in this way: "We should consider the environment of the Bunun, living in high mountains and deep jungles... their lives were filled with danger: hunting, headhunting, mountaineering, typhoons, snakes, and all aspects of the spirit world including animate and inanimate should be always considered and respected." In this context all things can have spirit (in a human sense) and life force – and the Bunun may venerate phenomena and noumena through experience, cognitive thought, and intuition. The connection between human and spirit (*hanitu*) is mediated through behavior and observance of the taboo. While on expeditions in the mountains with the Bunun, the author observed that taboos are synonymous with bad luck inasmuch as to break taboo is to invite disaster. For example, not acknowledging the spirits of an area might lead to falling to one's death along the trail. In this way, taboos are as much internal and individual as they are external and communal. Taboos are often respected and observed through ceremony and ritual.

Ceremony and Ritual

Bunun culture is endowed with ceremony and ritual[71]. Many actions related to the natural world have associated rituals. These include locating land to farm, opening and clearing the land, planting crops, maintaining crops, harvesting grain (especially millet), and transporting and storing the grain. Bunun rituals are deeply related to the cycles of foxtail millet cultivation employing *swidden* (slash and burn) agriculture. Millet rituals include the clearing of fallow land, sowing, weeding, expelling birds, harvesting, and storing (Chiu 1973: 168). These rites are complex, followed by luxurious festivals, and are associated with many taboos (*ibid*.). As an illustration, the best millet is blessed, stored, and treated as sacred. This *sacred* millet is incorporated into the Bunun social classificatory system, meaning that only kin members may eat that kin-group's *sacred* millet (*ibid*: 169). This sacred millet is also used in wedding ceremonies (by a priest) to represent that bride and groom's family have received new affinity (*ibid*.).

The making of wine and its use are particularly related. Bunun ceremony and ritual may function as a system or mechanism of social cohesion and unity. Chiu (1973: 77) comments that taboos and ceremonies may conjoin cooperative spiritual and work systems, serving to incorporate individuals into the community.

[71] Many of these rituals are narrated by T.B. Istanda and L. Istanda in Chapter 5 of this thesis and a list of ceremonies and rituals is offered in the Glossary.

Distribution of resources is deeply engrained into the Bunun cosmos and is an integral part of their ceremony and ritual. The sharing of foods, wine, and especially meat has cultural implications. For instance, if an individual never goes headhunting, he may not be welcome to eat meat or drink wine (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). Each member in the household should be allocated a piece of meat during a meal in which meat is being eaten. Even a baby not yet able to chew will be given a piece, if the adults are given a piece. This is because receiving a piece of meat means that one is being acknowledged as Bunun and therefore human (*ibid*.). Conversely, to not be allocated a piece of meat, whether on purpose or by accident is a sign of great misfortune. Furthermore, to dream that one is not given a piece of meat whilst others have received meat is a sign of great misfortune or *makuang hanitu* (*ibid*.). In this way, the ceremony and ritual is a symbol of the Bunun cosmos; connecting individual, collective, and spirit worlds.

Huang (1995: 70) notes that in earlier times, any person could perform a ceremony for him/herself or for others if his/her *hanitu* had enough power. Hence, religious practitioners were not a special social category, and potentially any person could serve in any ritual role. Traditional ceremonies can be classified into two categories: life-cycle rituals and calendrical rituals. Calendrical rituals are based primarily on the moon calendar and discussed in the next section. Life-rituals are briefly addressed below.

The Bunun concept of person is expressed and reproduced through their life-cycle rituals (Huang 1995: 101). Huang (1988: 104-16) explains that there are four significant life-cycle rituals[72]: *mapasila* or marriage ritual; *indohdohan* or ritual to celebrate the birth of a baby; *magalavan* or the ritual to celebrate the growth of a child; *mahabean* or the funeral ritual.

A noteworthy feature of the Bunun culture is the practice of in house burial. According to the Bunun mortuary ritual, when a family member dies from natural causes, he/she is then buried under the floor of the house. If the deceased was especially respected they were buried near the front door of the house so that their hanitu spirit would protect the surviving members of the domestic unit (Huang 1995: 71). In other circumstances, for example a death by unnatural causes, the dead may be buried in the house and then the house would be abandoned.

Importantly, although missionaries regarded many Bunun taboos as superstition and forbid their practice, Bunun society has retained a number of social rituals that have fused acceptably into the church[73]. Many life-cycle rituals continue to be practiced with an overlay of Christian

[72] Spellings are those adopted by Huang.

[73] Christianization has been particularly successful among the Bunun, and most either belong to the Catholic Church or to the Presbyterian Church.

features (Huang 1995: 70).

The Bunun people's ability to adapt to new environments is a reoccurring theme in this thesis. And although Bunun ritual and ceremony as a coherent whole has changed and adapted, there is a progression of cultural elements. Horizons include physical environment, social environment, and religious environment; epochs include the Qing, Japanese, KMT, and the conjoining Christian period. Whereas the abovementioned shift to Christianity (with regard to the continuity of Bunun spiritual belief) has been extensively documented in Huang's 1988 dissertation *Conversion and Religious Change among the Bunun* during the KMT period, Chapter 3.1 of this thesis (Bunun musicology) will look briefly at the adaptation of the Bunun's ritualistic music practices, and Chapter 4 (The Laipunuk Bunun) will look deeply at social adaptations. Throughout all three horizons, Bunun ritual and ceremony have maintained a level of continuum worthy of further study.

The Moon Calendar

In contrast to the above mentioned continuum of culture, Huang (1995: 71) notes that the traditional calendrical rituals have been abandoned with the demise of the Bunun's traditional agricultural system and have been replaced by seasonal rituals with Christian features.

Traditionally, early Bunun religious beliefs included periodic offerings to the moon. The moon was considered one of the most important spirits, and almost all activities in daily life had to be aligned with the lunar calendar (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). For example, in a specific lunar month it was forbidden for women to bathe. They followed a well-developed moon calendar, which served as an early form of writing and the Bunun are the only indigenous culture in Taiwan to have developed a primitive form of writing. *Figure 3* shows the written form of the Bunun moon calendar, which constitutes the oldest known writing system among Taiwan's indigenous, peoples (the adoption of Western and Chinese writing systems notwithstanding). The recordation of lunar cycles kept track of their relationship to important events, such as the millet harvest or the slaughter of pigs (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). Istanda (*ibid*: 2006) notes that the figure incorporates a picture of a gun and therefore shows foreign influences.

Proscriptions related to the lunar calendar are part of a larger system of proscriptions and taboos that governed all aspects of Bunun life. A Bunun legend accounts for the creations of the moon: Once there were a father and a son who endured numerous hardships during a mythical time when there were two suns and life was very difficult due to damage to crops caused by the heat. Together, a man and his son set out to shoot down one of the suns. The second sun agreed

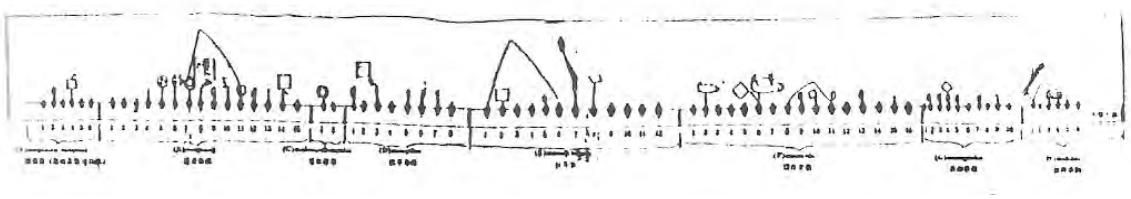


Figure 3: Bunun Moon Calendar
Source: Tian Zhe Yi (Da Xi Wu La Wan) (1992: 176)

to become the moon, but only if all Bunun obeyed three commandments: the first was that they had to constantly observe the waxing and waning of the moon and conduct all rituals and work according to its rhythm; the second stated that all Bunun had to conduct rituals throughout their lives to honor the spirits of Heaven and Earth; the third set forth a list of taboos and forbidden behaviors, forcing the Bunun to become orderly (Winkler 2003)[74].

Important ceremonies conducted in accordance with lunar cycles include the *ear-shooting festival* (*malahodagian*) and the *baby ritual* (*intuhtuhhan*). The former takes place on the *new moon* during the daylight hours, coinciding with planting foxtail millet. Men hunt for the ears of the largest deer they can find; the larger the ears, the greater the success of hunting in the coming year. Men and boys practice their archery skills by shooting arrows at a pig's ear, usually fastened to a stick. The latter ceremony takes place on the *full moon* in June. During this ceremony, a necklace may be given to the babies born that year, in hopes that the babies will be luminous like the necklace.

Tooth Extraction

The Bunun practiced tooth extraction of the front incisors as a sign of social identity, adulthood, and beauty. Chiu (1973: 80) observes that this is done at fifteen or sixteen years of age[75] to both boys and girls so that boys will be brave in battle and women become confident weavers. Only after tooth extraction can boys drink, smoke, hunt, fight; and girls learn to weave and embroider (*ibid*: 81). An interesting note on Bunun linguistics is that due to their practice of tooth extraction, their pronunciation of words would have been much different than today (Wei 2006 interview). Tooth extraction along with many cultural practices was outlawed during the Japanese era.

[74] Winkler, R.J., compiled a series of ten books on the legends of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. Author's summary is adopted from *Rendezvous with the moon: Stories from the Bunun Tribe.*

[75] T.B. Istanda (2006 interview) noted that in his case this was done at a much earlier age (see Chapter 5).

Art

The Bunun are peculiar in Taiwan in that they traditionally produced very little art. They did make pottery for functional reasons, which feature impressed geometric designs. The most common patterns in their linen cloths are long stripes with chevrons ('v' shaped patterns). They prefer the matching colors of red-yellow-purple or red-yellow-white. The Bunun usually placed skulls of animals in important positions as trophies of the hunt; they revered them in a spiritual sense. The Bunun did not carve slate like the Paiwan, nor did they adorn or decorate their houses. This behavior attests to the pragmatic nature of the Bunun (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

Identification with Place

The Bunun custom is to bury the umbilical cord, the *busuh,* directly in front of the door of the house. The *busuh* site then becomes a sacred place for the individual or family. According to Istanda, N. (2004 interview) "The *busuh* is buried in front of the door, and is symbolic of connecting life with the land. Sometimes it is buried under a tree. Longer *busuh* may be placed around a baby's neck after birth to ward off evil spirits." This heart-felt tradition was broken when the Japanese removed the Bunun from Laipunuk in 1941. Laipunuk-born elders were torn from their *busuh* site and many still feel a sense of disconnection and longing to reconnect (*ibid*.). Laipunuk Bunun descendant Tahai Binkinuaz (Tsai San Shen) demonstrated this deep feeling in a recent documentary film, *Return to the Busuh Place*, in which elders that are still able to make the perilous journey through the high mountains and jungle are shown dropping to their knees and crying uncontrollably[76]. As this moving documentary asserts, the Bunun cultural identity is deeply tied to place. These traditions, once widespread throughout the Austronesian speaking realm, have nearly vanished (Blundell 2004 interview)[77].

[76] Many elders were airlifted by helicopter in this film. See Chapter 4.1 for more details.

[77] This is likely due to strong non-Austronesian cultural and religious influences such as Islam and Hinduism. It should be noted that in much of Polynesia, outside of the influences of Islam and Hinduism, that there is a still a sense to some degree of the practice. Contemporary Hawaii is a fine example where the umbilical cord, called *piko* (also meaning *navel* or *belly button*) is either buried or placed out to sea.

3.2. Ethnomusicology of the Bunun

Music is a signature aspect of the Bunun and their strong musical traditions have gained them an international reputation. Bunun music is somewhat solemn and serious nature. As the Bunun lived in isolated areas of the high mountains, often cut off from other groups and families, their music was practiced in smaller gatherings than those of other indigenous cultures in Taiwan (such as the Amis who lived on much larger communities and practiced many joyful songs and dances) (Blundell 2004 interview). The song *pasibutbut* or 'praying for a millet harvest' or 'harvest prayer song is unparalleled for its chorus of eight chromatic alterations.

Although the Bunun are known for their skillfulness in acappella harmony, they also had the Jew's harp, flute, and a type of musical bow, which was made with bamboo and a single string of plant fiber (Chen 1988: 78). And although the stamping pestle as a musical instrument is currently only found among the Thao of Sun Moon Lake, several groups of the Bunun once had the stamping pestle (*ibid*: 82)

[*Author's Note: During 2005 author videotaped the 'Asang Dance Troop' at the Bunun Culture and Education Foundation in Taitung, Taiwan. Through translating and discussing the material gathered for the project with Nabu Istanda, the following information was generated. Four songs were chosen for this discussion.*]

Macilumah

Macilumah is the practice of calling ahead to the village when returning from the hunt, millet field, or time away. The voice should be that of a familiar member of the village, such as a hunter returning from the mountain with game or a family returning from the millet field, in order to signal reassurance that there is no reason for alarm. Also Bunun will sing when carrying a heavy weight. This song shows the individual is strong, that even with a heavy weight he/she can sing; furthermore the singing will make the weight lighter.

Pasibutbut

Pasibutbut the *Harvest Prayer Song*[78]; it expresses hope for the millet to grow and provide a bountiful harvest. It features an eight-tone harmony in a chromatic style unique in the entire world. Good harmony is important for a good harvest. The dance is conducted gathered in a circle and holding hands; the group's movement is counter-clockwise. According to Bunun oral

[78] According to T.B. Istanda, *pasibutbut* was originally a headhunting ritual (2006 interview).

history, a long time ago, a hunter went to the mountains and heard the sound of honeybees. Returning to his family, he shared this sound with them, they sang together and this sound evolved into their own peculiar music, conducted in *good harmony for good luck* (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

Pisilaiya

Pisilaiya is a traditional headhunting song[79] that had evolved to become a ceremonial hunting song, which worships the animals' spirits and calls them to gather. It features shaking of *tagnas* reeds and is usually sung before the hunt. The words used today *ji ji* are Bunun for *meat*. The contemporary song's words include: "May the meat come to our basket… pig, deer, goat…"

Malastabang

Malastabang is the Bunun announcement song or the *Report of Events*. This song is a ritual used to announce the events and achievements of headhunting[80]. It signals a proud time, a sort of forum for bragging rights. Before drinking from the gourd, three drops of millet wine are sprinkled as an offering to heaven, earth, and spirit, and then the man announces which village he has actually returned to in the past several years. The report is only done by the men. However, if the man's announcements or actions are favorable, his wife will enter the circle, positions herself directly behind her mate, and dance in his support.

Malastabang is also a traditional means of identification when clans came together. It is a way of telling others who you are, where you're from, and may serve as an indication of eligibility for marriage. As Bunun people carry the male's clan name, it is important to know the mother's lineage to avoid social taboos of same-clan marriage. Typical lyrics may include: "I came from my mother's clans' womb," she was born in "Taki-Luvun." The meaning is: "My mother's clan came from Taki-Luvun[81].

Istanda, N. (2006 interview) offers a hypothesis regarding the name *malastabang*: "To tell about the fights and headhunts against the Tsou." The word *malas* means to tell and *tabang* may refer to a Tsou village of that name. The Bunun name for the Tsou is *dapang* (*ibid*.). The Tsou have a long history of hostility and fierce rivalry with the Bunun, and the Bunun were infamous for displacing the Tsou and occupying their lands. Therein, Istanda's hypothesis is worth further investigation.

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[79] *Pisilaiya* was originally strictly for headhunting ceremonies (Istanda, T.B. 2006 interview).

[80] See T.B. Istanda, Chapter 5.1 (subheading on headhunting) for more details regarding malastabang.

[81] *Taki* means *place* and is a common prefix to many toponyms.

Continua of Musical Traditions

During the Japanese period, when headhunting was forbidden, Bunun music evolved. Different songs evolved in different ways. However, in each case there is continuum. As an example, *pasibutbut* shifted from being centered on headhunting (as proposed by T.B. Istanda) to being centered on millet cultivation (as a harvest prayer song), and today it is done to bring good luck in life, mountaineering, etc., as well as a significant component to the cultural tourism industry. Despite the changes in significance, the song's harmony, style, and promotion of collective unity among the Bunun carry a coherent whole, sequence, and progression of cultural value. Similarly, *pisilaiya* shifted from headhunting to hunting, and currently fosters a channel or system of communication, information, or entertainment.

As abovementioned, *malastabang* served as an important stage for social gathering, offering a podium to report significant events a headhunting exploits and bravery, such as how, where, when, what, and/or how many heads were taken. A man may report heroic deeds in the distant past as well as the recent past. However, the song fell into utter decline during the Japanese Colonial Period. In the early KMT period the song remained in disuse. *Malastabang* reappeared during the late KMT period when regulations on hunting eased. Participants could gather and perform according to tradition; however the events reported focused on hunting and acts of bravery in the mountains. In the case of Laipunuk descendants, a Bunun man or boy who had returned to a Laipunuk village could proudly report the experiences and events of the expedition, as well as to report the village names where his family or ancestors were originally from. *Table 5* models the continua and adaptations of *malastabang*.

CONTINUA AND ADAPTATION OF MALASTABANG

Ritual	Continua	Era	Adaptation
Malastabang	ritual behaviors; podium for important cultural events and social unity; role of women supporting husband	Qing Dynasty	headhunting exploits; assertion of bravery; and confirmation of maternal line
		Japanese	headhunting to hunting – *period of decline*
		KMT	*period of decline*
		early Democratic Period	shift from hunting to mountaineering
		contemporary	shifting back to hunting

Table 5: Continua and Adaptation of Malastabang
Source: Author's 2005 Field Notes

CHAPTER 4—LAIPUNUK PERSPECTIVES

"The Bunun, a proud people, were forced to a low place, both geographically and socially – forced into subordination below other indigenous ethnicities, the Japanese, and the Chinese. They went from living on top of the mountain to living at the bottom of society"

Nabu Husungan Istanda
Culture Director
Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation

This section of the thesis in an assessment of the history of the region, the peoples, and the elements, which shaped and changed their society. This includes identifying the unique challenges to researching Laipunuk history, as well as to explore the precarious coexistence between the Bunun, other indigenous groups, and the Taiwanese. Furthermore it will cover historical Japanese records, the forced removal of Laipunuk's people from their homes, events of the Taiwan Forestry Bureau (TFB), and the events leading descendants of Laipunuk-born elders to return to their family villages and conduct *tribal mapping*. See *Map 10* at the end of this section.

Providing historical background on the Laipunuk region and people is crucial to understanding the significance of this *full* study, especially the ethnohistorical narratives and perspectives, which form the heart of this thesis. To some extent, this section serves as a literature review.

In the wider view, and as this section of the thesis will make obvious, several thousand Bunun lived in Laipunuk prior to the Japanese arrival – and the region was in an era of growth, prosperity, social change, and served as an important trade route In a short period of time the Japanese subordinated, vanquished, and removed every living person from the region. We can say that the region went from a place of profound activity to a place of inactivity in a little over a decade (approximately from 1929 to 1942). For nearly sixty-five years, and until today, Laipunuk has remained uninhabited.

The Research

This topic poses the researcher several challenges: due to the remote nature of the region there are very few historical records; due to the late arrival and relatively short period of Japanese occupation of the region, documentation in the forms of written and photographic records a

quite limited; all residents were extradited by 1942 and never permitted to return[82]; the vast majority of possible Laipunuk-born Bunun informants are now deceased; and archeological field work and survey has yet to be conducted.

However, as briefly addressed on page 1 of this thesis, there are avenues of research available. In detail, these include the following: Japanese government field reports[83]; five Japanese public announcements from the early 1940s addressing small anti-Japanese revolt[84]; research published by Dr. Ying-kuei Huang (a Research Fellow at Academia Sinica who was among the first Taiwan scholars to address this topic)[85]; two Chinese theses (one discussing tribal movements prior to 1942 and one focused on relocations occurring in the Japanese period)[86]; and testimony by Laipunuk-born informants and their children[87].

Although the above mentioned background defines the boundaries of research for this topic, it is nonetheless possible to address a number of key points and issues that not only provide a better understanding of Laipunuk people and history, but serve as an important prelude to the ethnohistorical perspectives presented in Chapter 4.2 and Chapter 5 of this thesis.

There are several key issues when addressing Bunun culture in Laipunuk. These include the following: the issue of when and why did the Bunun come to Laipunuk and were there another ethnicities there before their arrival; the issue of the incorporation of Chinese families into the Bunun social system (Istanda, N. 2004 interview); the issue of a marked shift from traditional egalitarian society to a more hierarchical structured society (Huang 2006 interview); the issue of the role which marriage exchange played in these processes; the issue of indigenous population pressures and external population pressures, namely those of the Qing Dynasty Chinese and the Japanese Colonial Government; and the issue of linking the past with current events, including tribal mapping, research expeditions, and land rights.

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[82] KMT logging teams in the 1970s and contemporary tribal mapping projects notwithstanding (this topic will be addressed later in this section).

[83] Three Japanese reports have been located and incorporated into this thesis: 1904, 1922, and 1930-1931. See Japanese references and Section 4.2 for a detailed literature review of these documents.

[84] This revolt, called the *Laipunuk Incident*, is addressed in great detail in section 4.3 of this thesis.

[85] Some of these materials were translated to English by author and interviews with Dr. Huang were conducted.

[86] These 2 theses, written in Chinese are by: Li Min-Huei (1997) *Tribes Migration and Social Reconstruction of Taiwan Aborigines in Japan Colonial Period: the Case Study of the Bunun of Bei-nan River*; and Tsai San Shen (2006) *Laipunuk Bunun Tribal Migration Before 1942*.

[87] These Bunun seniors primarily speak Bunun and Japanese, whereas their children primarily speak Chinese.

4.1. Laipunuk Historical Background

Huang Ying-kuei, a scholar on the Bunun people and history, considers Laipunuk a mystery: "When I began to research this area, I learned that very few scholars ever researched this place… and Laipunuk is among the last places to resist the Japanese" (Huang 2006 interview). Huang, who came to Taitung in the late 1990s to interview Laipunuk-born Bunun elders, urges researchers to take a wide perspective on this topic and explore the unique changes syncretism that occurred in Laipunuk. He identifies the Laipunuk Bunun as being among the last aborigines to encounter the Japanese Colonial Empire: "Until 1929, after thirty-four years of the Japanese rule, imperial political power still wasn't enforced in the Laipunuk Beinan River Basin. According to Japanese maps of that period, Laipunuk was little more than a blank spot" (Huang 2006 interview). The following dialogue was transcribed and translated from Huang Yin-kuei's interview in the short film *Return to the Busuh (Navel) Burial Site* (Tsai, S. 2005 video manuscript):

> "In 1929, Japanese government made the first Taiwanese map that covered the whole area (map of the scale of 1:50,000) missing only one area. The one part that was missing was the area radiate from *Nei-ben-lu* (Laipunuk) as the center, along the whole Beinan River. This means that, as late as 1929, the Japanese colonial government still was not able to rule this area. And that is very interesting. This means that the ruling power of a modern country, until 1929, had not yet reached this area, which was radiate from *Nei-ben-lu* and along the Beinan River. In other words, we can say that this area is the last area to be annexed into the modern country ruling system. Well, she is the window of history. Actually, there are two layers of the meaning: one is the understanding of the past; the other one is the understanding of the current; they are both very important."

First Residents

Little is known about Laipunuk before the turn of the twentieth century. When exactly indigenous people first lived or hunted in the region cannot be said for certain. The Isbukun Bunun may have expanded across the central mountains range of Taiwan in the eighteenth and nineteenth century – from *Raku Raku Stream Valley* to *Hsin-vu-lu Valley*; and in the latter half of the nineteenth century to the *Lao-nun Valley* and the *Nei-ben-lu* region (Chiu 1973: 70). Istanda, N. (2004 interview) suggests that the area may have been a mutual hunting ground for the Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, and the Puyuma. Huang (2006 interview) suggests that originally the Rukai were dominate in Laipunuk and it may have been a hunting area. Istanda, N. (2004 interview) understands the history in this way: "Laipunuk was originally Tsou, Puyuma, and

Rukai, but when the Bunun came the Tsou left; then the Bunun marry with Rukai and a relationship develops; this can be seen in the patterns of our dress or clothing, such as the patterns and the use of black color."

This rare photo (see *Photo 5* below) of the young Laipunuk Bunun leader cloaked in Leopard skin and adorned with Paiwan style head gear is out of the ordinary:

> "Bunun don't wear Leopard skin cloaks; only Rukai, Paiwan, and Puyuma nobles may wear this; nor was it common to wear headwear decorated with wild boar teeth like those of the Rukai or Paiwan; normally the Bunun only have one knife, yet the man pictured two knives like that of the Rukai and Paiwan[88]; also the Laipunuk Bunun had brass bracelets and armbands, which likely came from Paiwan or Chinese, either from headhunting or from more likely from gifts. It may show good relations" (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

The most commonly used skin was from the Taiwan deer [*Cervus unicolor swinhoii* (Sclater)], however, among ethnicities, which practiced a class system, chiefs and nobles wore leopard-cat [*Felis bengalensis* (Keer)] skins (Chen 1988: 34). The Paiwan and Rukai nobles wore headgear fashioned with wild boar [*Susscofa taivanus* (Swinhoe)] teeth.

The Mantauran

Istanda, N. (2004 interview) and Huang (2006 interview) agree that although the region was once under the influence of the Rukai, the Bunun got a foothold through trade and marriage exchange. When a Bunun girl is married out the involved families will maintain close ties (note that the male should not leave his family home, but it could possibly occur) (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). It is important to examine the ramifications of these intricate marriage relations. More than cultural implications, there are economic, social, and political implications. For example, marriage exchange means gift giving, such as gift giving when the babies come. The relationship between clans or ethnicities would initiate through marriage exchanges, and then build through trade. Istanda, N. (2006 interview) notes that Japanese wrote that the Bunun bought Laipunuk for money but he believes this thinking was based on western logic. Istanda mentions that there is an oral story that the *Madaipulan* area was originally traded for two Dutch guns (*ibid.*).

[88] N. Istanda (2006 interview) notes the Rukai and Paiwan style of using two knives may be borrowed from the Japanese. One knife is for enemies; the other for one's self.

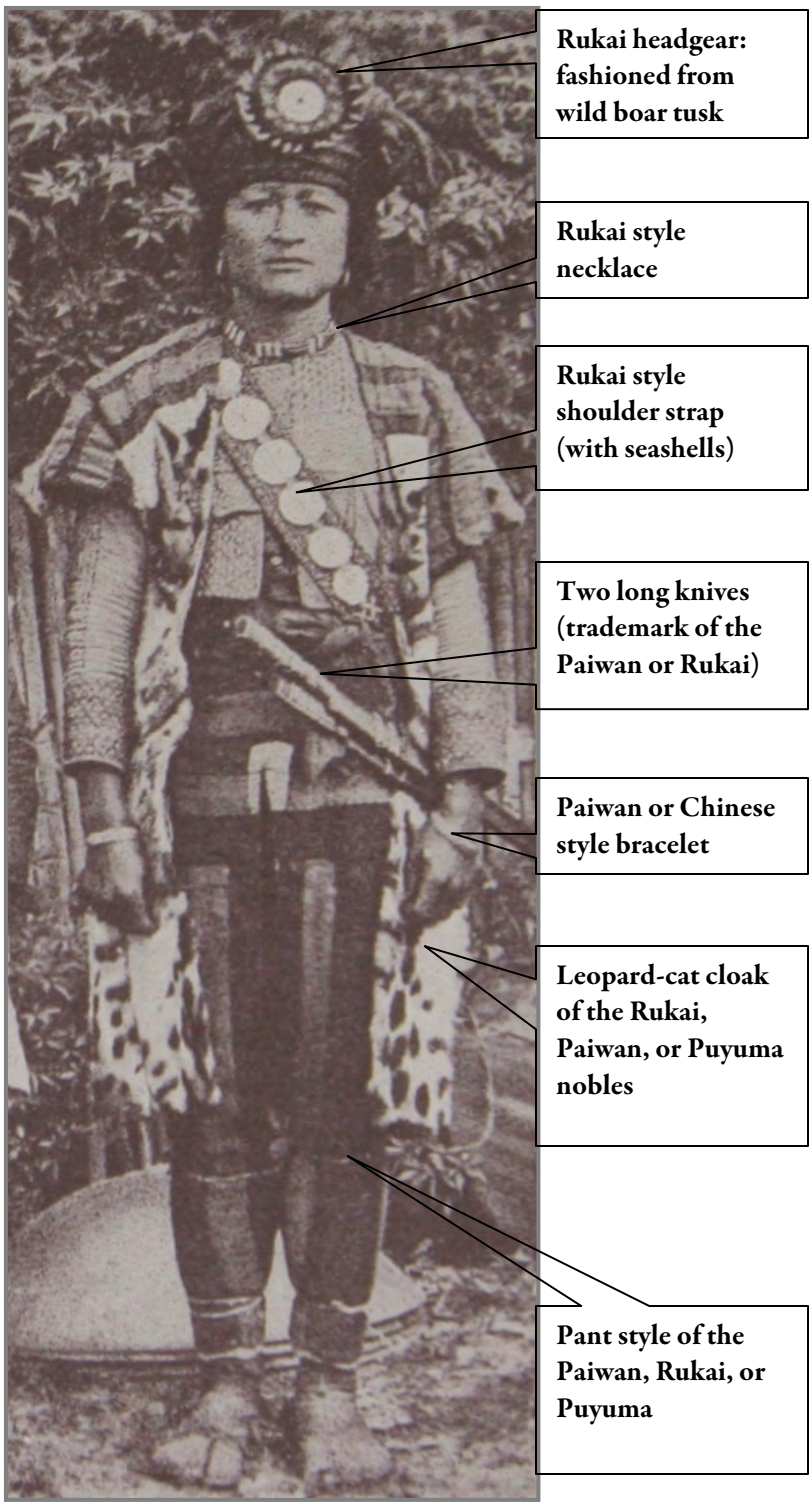

Photo 5: Laipunuk Bunun Chief
Source: Sagawa Collection[89]

[89] Photo by Sagawa. Supplied to author by SMC Publishing Inc.

The *Mantauran*, officially classified as belonging to the Rukai ethnicity, have distinct cultural and linguistic attributes. Zeitoun and Lin (2003) have documented the *Mantauran* oral history with a strong focus on language, which identifies that they once lived in the contiguous region to Laipunuk.

Istanda, N. (2004 interview) identifies the Bunun backpack used in Laipunuk, called *dava Laipunuk*, was of a Rukai style (smaller in size and dissimilar in construction than those once used by the Bunun), and that the patterns and colors of Laipunuk Bunun clothing incorporated Rukai traditional designs. Although the 2006 expedition team took over five days to reach *Wan Shan* (where the *Mantauran* once lived) from central Laipunuk (Shou police office)[90], Laipunuk elders account that it used to take just one and a half days (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). It has been documented that the Bunun living near *Madaipulan* had a close relationship with *Mantauran* people (*ibid*.) and that *Uvak* is a *Mantauran* given name that has come into the Laipunuk Bunun family names through marriage exchange (Istanda, T.B. 2006 interview).

The *Wan Shan* area is known in reference to the following names: *Wan Shan* (萬山); *Mantauran Shan* (萬頭蘭山); and *Wan Do Long She* (萬斗籠社). During the 2006 Laipunuk expedition, Nabu Istanda explained to me that this area is known for some eight areas with aboriginal stone sculptures; and at least one of these stone sculptures may be related to marriage exchange. Named *Zu Bu Di Di Yan Diao* (祖布里里岩雕)[91], it is said to reflect a story (called *Kopaca'e* by the Mantauran) about a marriage between a *Mantauran* man who married to either a Bunun or Tsou woman. Legend says that the girl was heartbroken, pushed away by her *Mantauran* husband. She waited solemnly for her husband but he never returned. In her anguish, she carved the rock sculpture in a cave of a *Mantauran* man, a Bunun woman, and a snake[92].

Marriage exchange may have come about as result to make peace. There is an oral record of Laipunuk Bunun headhunting the *Mantauran*: "There seems to be only a few stories about Laipunuk Bunun going out for headhunting, and these are stories of Bunun headhunting the *Mantauran*. As I understand, the Bunun were making a real nuisance for the *Mantauran* – and the *Mantauran* would have been glad to reach an accord in order to stop the intimidation"

[90] See *Map 10* for the location of Shou, and *Table 10* and *Table 11* in Section 4.3 for toponymical details and Appendix for expedition information.

[91] N. Istanda (2006 interview) suggests *Zu Bu Di Di*, although the Mandarin spelling is *Zu Bu Li Li*.

[92] N. Istanda mentions that although it is not certain if the carving depicts a Bunun or Tsou woman, he believes it is Bunun. He mentioned about *Baibu* in relation to a snake, but this detail is unclear.

(Istanda, N. 2006 interview). Chiang (2006 interview) notes the curious relationship hunting, headhunting, marriage, and social accord:

> "Indigenous marriage exchange may originate in the hunting grounds. The hunters may fight and/or make friends, meaning that the encounter in the hunting grounds was not always hostile; they may talk and make agreements. Marriage and headhunting were not mutually exclusive, and one may follow the other.
>
> As for the Rukai, they have a long tradition of cross-village marriage; such tradition is built into their social system. A person should marry their own class, and this may cause them to look to another Rukai village for a suitable candidate. In some cases, a member of high or noble class would marry to a wealthy Taiwanese; in other cases they may have sought an elite family of another ethnicity for marriage, such as the Bunun. And the Bunun could have sought marriage with the elite Rukai.
>
> With regard to Laipunuk, we need to examine the overall cultural concepts of ownership."

Although the origin of the name *Laipunuk* is unclear, many Bunun elders believe it is a Rukai toponym (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). These elders indicate that the southeastern portion of the region was also called *Upunuku* or *Oponoho* and this name may be attributed to the *Mantauran* (a Rukai group) who live in the adjacent *Wan Shan* area bordering Laipunuk (*ibid*.). Zeitoun (2006 interview), a linguist and author who studies the *Mantauran*, provides an empirical indication: "The self-reference of the *Mantauran* is, indeed: 'oponoho (whereby ' stands for a glottal stop)." With regard to linguistics, Zeitoun and Cauquelin (2006: 653) note that 'oponoho is a toponym: " 'oponoho comes from Proto-Rukai **swa-ponogo* (Lit. from-*Ponogo*) where *ponogo* must be a toponym (does not reduplicate, just like other 'true' toponyms)."

Social Change

Huang's particular knowledge of the traditional Bunun culture has helped him develop a new perspective regarding the Bunun society in Laipunuk, "Bunun in Laipunuk were shifting from egalitarian society to hierarchal society, this is theoretically very important" (Huang 2006 interview). The current democratic era notwithstanding, Laipunuk may have been the last place where many indigenous cultures came together to form a new culture. "With the Bunun serving as a catalyst, the Tsou, Paiwan, and Rukai influenced a shift in indigenous society in Laipunuk" (*ibid*.).

Huang (2001: 45) believes the Bunun were searching for hunting and/or agriculture places because of social divisions (Bunun men sometimes leave their village and found a new area if they can generate a following among their clan or village). These families or clans were looking for a new place to live because their original locations were overcrowded or simply too close to other tribes. T.B. Istanda (2004 interview) detailed their families accounts of searching for an uncrowned area to live, moving from place to place across the central mountains[93]. Huang (2001: 45) labels early Laipunuk as the development of new area system, a process of connecting culture and new area system from both sides, a system that contained more activity, and was appealing for others to join in.

Huang bases his theory on a number of observations. Firstly, the early Bunun arrived in Laipunuk may have had to organize their social structure into large groups in order to fight or defend themselves from the Tsou (*ibid.*). As the Bunun normally had a family clan structure, large scale social organization could have influenced them to gradually adopt a hierarchical social structure. Secondly, Laipunuk was big and open, and the Bunun faced new and large area. There were at least ten very large Bunun settlements in Laipunuk (*ibid.*). Huang (2006 interview) suggests "Look at music and art to see the syncretism. In one village near Liu-kuei, I interviewed a Bunun artist who acknowledged, 'my grandfather learned from the Tsou'. The early Bunun not so artistic, they were more practical."

As aforesaid, Bunun life as very solemn, serious, and times were hard. This may demonstrate that the new Laipunuk system would have been attractive. There was less chances of being attacked by headhunting parties from other tribes: "There are no stories of headhunting within Laipunuk. I perceive that with Bunun's fierce reputation and with so many Bunun in one area, other tribes would not dare. Certainly, any tribe who dared would face certain retaliation" (*ibid.*). As traditional Bunun society was tenuous, finding meat to eat and weaving cloth for warmth were a constant struggle, and living in clans scattered in the high mountains influenced their behavior and society: "Survival in the mountains was difficult, life was step by step, Bunun don't dare to disobey taboos as life was too dangerous. Our lives were filled with danger" (*ibid.*). N. Istanda (*ibid.*) describes the feeling of traditional Bunun life as compared to the Amis of the lowlands: "We don't make noise in the forest don't sing alone. We should always be nervous (because, for example, of headhunting). Only at a gathering with family and some wine might you feel comfortable and safe. Comparatively, the Amis way of life was easier; they had good vegetables and fish, their relationship with Chinese came earlier (from the Qing period), and their headhunting was not as prolific. The Amis have a good social organization."

[93] See T.B. Istanda's self introduction in Chapter 5.

When discussing the shift in Bunun social structure, the influences from the Taiwanese should be carefully examined. Japanese documentation and Bunun oral history indicate that there were a number of Taiwanese males who married Bunun females and took up residence in Laipunuk. The Chinese position in Laipunuk may be peculiar in all of Taiwan and scholars haven't looked at this closely, and Laipunuk may still offer us insight to this topic (Huang 2006 interview). "The Chinese were living in this network; they were part of this network, meaning that they were not on the peripheral or edge of the society as a border translator or trader; they were part of the society. The Chinese were a key point in this situation. The Japanese point to twelve Chinese families (with nine houses) living in Laipunuk and they very suspicious of why the Chinese in Laipunuk" (*ibid*.)[94]. The Chinese served as traders, as a communication network (especially as a link with the outside world), and as intermediaries or peacekeepers in Laipunuk. According to Japanese documents they found a Chinese gun shop in Laipunuk (*ibid*.). Istanda, L. (2006 interview) recalls *Anu Manglav*, a large stature and hard working man who "was a Taiwanese/Bunun gun maker who lived in Takivahlas. They called him *Anu Mangla*v because *Manglav* means strong." She also remembers another Taiwanese man: "Suntuk was a Taiwanese man who lived at Shou. He married a Bunun woman named Danivu (her Japanese name is Teluku). He died five or six years ago" (*ibid*.).

To understand the Taiwanese position in Laipunuk we must look the evidence of trade networks. Liu-kuei (called *Lakuli* in Bunun), Bao Shan village, and other villages (all of which are east of Laipunuk) were trade centers. Liu-kuei evolved to an important Japanese government trade center. Furthermore, Huang (2006 interview) notes that many Rukai have married with Bunun in that area. Early in the twentieth century, the Laipunuk people used to walk to Liu-kuei in one day to trade with the Taiwanese, and Istanda, N. (2006 interview) recalls a story which indicates the Laipunuk Bunun relationship with the Taiwanese was not always good: "There was a Bunun man from Laipunuk who went to Liu-kuei for trading and felt that a Taiwanese cheated or tried to take advantage of him. There was a fight and the Taiwanese man was killed. The Bunun man was injured. There are two stories about his fate, one story says he died on the trail on the way back to Laipunuk, the other story tells that he made it home where he died of his injuries."

Nonetheless, the relations among the Taiwanese and the Bunun were generally close within Laipunuk and are contributing factor to social change in the region. The influence of Rukai, Paiwan, and the Tsou notwithstanding, I have outlined four social systems in Laipunuk relative to intermarriage with the Taiwanese, which occur at a family level and to varying degrees.

[94] See Chapter 4.2 for the detailed records of the Japanese *field reports*.

Although such social behavior is a grey area, there were potentially greater and lesser degrees of Taiwanese language, religion, and extended family among the Laipunuk Bunun.

There are three different social systems of Taiwanese found in Laipunuk: (1) Hakka (called *ngai ngai* by the Bunun)[95]; (2) Holo or Hokkien (called *put* by the Bunun); and (3) pingpu (sinicized plains indigenes called *Jivulan* by the Bunun). Istanda, N. (2006 interview) argues that the sinicized pingpu were so deeply sinicized that they followed a uniquely Taiwanese social system and were not considered an aboriginal tribe. Furthermore, the above mentioned ethnicities (Hakka, Holo, and pingpu) were mixed with Bunun to various degrees depending on the extent of intermarriage. For instance, a Hakka man could already have been half-Bunun at the time of marriage to a Bunun woman.

Table 6 partitions the potential influence of marriage on traditional the Bunun social system. In accordance with Bunun philosophy, *true Bunun* refers to anyone who wholeheartedly follows all Bunun traditions and customs. The Bunun/Chinese/Jivulan husband or wife represents the potential combinations of ethnicity and cultural behavior at the time of marriage, whereas the (+ or -) symbol indicate the potential for varying degrees of social system.

LAIPUNUK SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Marriage Structure		**Social System**
Husband	**Wife**	**Varying Degrees of *True Bunun***
Bunun	Bunun	True Bunun System
Holo Chinese	Bunun	(+ or -) Holo / Bunun Systems
Hakka Chinese	Bunun	(+ or -) Hakka / Bunun Systems
Jivulan	Bunun	(+ or -) Holo / Hakka / Bunun Systems
Bunun / Chinese / Jivulan	Bunun / Chinese / Jivulan	(+ or -) Bunun / Holo / Hakka Systems

Table 6: Laipunuk Social Stratification
Source: Author's Field Notes

Lin Zhu Mei, a Laipunuk-born elder attests to this complex mixture of social structure[96]:

> "My *put*[97] (Taiwanese) is from my father. My grandpa was pure *put* from Lakuli (Liu-kuei) and he married with a Bunun woman named Dua. He came in and

[95] The Bunun gave name *ngai ngai* to the Hakka because their language has tones that sound like *ngai ngai* to the Bunun (Lin, Z. 2006 interview).
[96] Translation by N. Istanda and author.
[97] *Put* is the Bunun term for Taiwanese and *maiput* means literally *original* or *true* Taiwanese.

> out of Laipunuk, then he married my Bunun grandmother in Halipusun and then they lived in Takivahlas.
>
> My papa also married with a Bunun who was named Maita. She was his first wife and she died. His second wife was a Bunun woman from Laipunuk's Halipusun village. Her name was Ali and she was my mama. So my father's family was from Lakuli (Liu-kuei), then they came to Takivahlas Village. Takivahlas had many *put*, but we lived under different systems, such as Hakka and Holo. My family's *put* was *ngai ngai* (Hakka). Other Bunun called us *maiput* (*original* Taiwanese). My father never went headhunting so he never participated in *malastabang* (the aforementioned report of heroic deeds)."

Istanda, N. (2006 interview) notes that a Bunun woman would feel shame if her Taiwanese husband does not follow Bunun way. He must go headhunting in order to *malastabang* and be a *true Bunun*. During *malastabang*, a man performs *dengaisa* wherein he acknowledges his maternal family lineage, such as maternal family name and village. Istanda (*ibid*.) recalls a *maiput* two sisters, *Ibu Maiput* and *Miwa Maiput*[98], who currently live in the Taitung area, whose Laipunuk-born family were Holo Chinese. Istanda notes their family was said to be very brave (*mangan*)[99] and he believes they likely participated in *malastabang*.

When wine, which is sacred to the Bunun, is brewed by someone who is not *true Bunun* is not *true wine*. Specifically, the name for true wine, *davaduda*, was changed to *dava jivulan* when it was brewed by *jivulan* (pingpu-related), peoples who were not considered as *true Bunun*.

How did the Bunun really see the Taiwanese? How did the Taiwanese see the Bunun? This issue is not well understood. However, in the case of Laipunuk, perhaps the early Western concept that ethnicity is a biological classification can be challenged, and we can consider ethnicity as a concept and human group which can culturally defined. Ethnicity in Laipunuk was plausible, penetrable, and a process. Although birth played a role, it was not the absolute variable, and the Bunun demonstrate a mechanism of social behavior that reinforces Bunun ethnicity. However, the importance of being *true Bunun* among the Laipunuk Bunun does not apparently carry the same level of importance as elsewhere in the Bunun world. This topic needs further research.

[98] *Maiput* has been taken as a family name.

[99] Bravery is called *mangan*, and a brave man is called *mamangan* (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

The Japanese Period

The Japanese arrival in Laipunuk identifies the beginning of profound and rapid change for the Bunun. Within a short period of time the Japanese built a network of trails and police offices which cut through the mountains and river valleys across Laipunuk connecting Taitung (eastern Taiwan) with Liu-kuei (western Taiwan).

The Japanese would try to befriend and establish a leader or chief in each village area, then use that leader to persuade the other Bunun to accept Japanese: "If their designated leader wasn't to their satisfaction they would find another influential man and sort of buy him over to their side and cleverly install him into authoritative positions. The Japanese gave gifts as incentive to pacify the Bunun" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). At the beginning, the Laipunuk Bunun were allowed to speak Bunun, but then Japanese is taught at school, but they were still allowed to speak Bunun at home (*ibid*.).

The Japanese would initiate pacification with Laipunuk villages by offering simple gifts for simple compliances. This was a step-by-step process that often began with evasive strategies. As an illustration, as Bunun were adamant about keeping very long hair, a small gift might be extended, providing an individual would comply with an undemanding request. "A piece of cloth might be offered as an incentive to cut one's hair and these people would intern serve as models of conformity" (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). *Photo 6* below, shows a young Laipunuk Bunun married couple who have conformed to Japanese rule by cutting their hair. The male's cap, although of Bunun style, it is likely adorned with silver grass (*mang tza*)[100]. The male's white vest is traditional Bunun style and color. As previously seen in *Photo 5*, his necklace is distinctly of Rukai style. The female's headwear may indicate Rukai influences or that of the Bunun from the Nantou County area (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). Her dress is of Chinese style.

When comparing the Chinese government to the Japanese government approach toward the indigenes, the Chinese approach was external, whereas the Japanese approach was internal: "Chinese control was indirect, non-interactive, and staged from the lowlands; while the Japanese approach was very direct, with policemen venturing deep into the mountains to interact and to pacify the people. The Japanese paid attention to the indigenes" (Blundell 2006 interview).

[100] The Mantauran have a story about wearing silver grass, wherein monkeys joke whether one who wears it is well dressed or looks foolish.

As the Japanese colonial power swept across Taiwan, from north to south, they encountered various levels of resistance from Taiwanese and indigenes alike. As they gained control in both the plains and mountains, pockets of indigenous resistance remained. These resistance groups included the Bunun living in areas contiguous to Laipunuk. In particular, one resistance leader named *Lamataxinxin* was especially troublesome for the Japanese until his capture (along with his two children) in 1932 referred to as the *Da Guan Shan Event*. (Huang 2001: 51) clarifies that before the *Da Guan Shan Event*, hunter's rifles and gunpowder came from Laipunuk, and that *Lamataxinxin* bought his gunpowder there. For these reasons, the Japanese use the *Da Guan Shan Event* to converge on Laipunuk and do mapping in order to gain control of the area.

Lamataxinxin is profoundly connected to this thesis topic for three reasons: (1) as the Japanese were increasingly agitated at indigenes resistance efforts, *Lamataxinxin* became a key issue; (2) Laipunuk was becoming known as a place of safe haven for gunsmiths, gun trading, and the manufacture of gunpowder; and because *Lamataxinxin* was a known gun trader and there was evidence of Laipunuk-made guns being sold to Bunun hunters (Huang 2006 interview); and (3) *Lamataxinxin* belonged to the Istanda family, many of which had moved to Laipunuk (Tama Biung Istanda, a key informant for this thesis, remembers when *Lamataxinxin* came to visit his father in Laipunuk)[101]. These are the key points of Japanese suspicions and concerns in Laipunuk prompting the construction of the Japanese cordon trail.

Photo 6: Laipunuk Models
Source: Bi South Studio (1932)

[101] Refer to Chapter 5.1 for T.B. Istanda's memories of Lamataxinxin.

The Laipunuk Police Cordon

Although this topic is presented in some detail in Chapter 4.3[102], I will briefly address this subject as a literature review. According to the *East Taiwan View* (Mao 2003), a Chinese publication based on the Japanese *East Taiwan Section Book* (1933), a publication which is more descriptive than it is informative save for it offers some of the only photographs of early Laipunuk ever taken: "The excavation of *Laipunuk Police Cordon* was agreed in the *South Tribe's People Meeting* in the fifth and sixth year of King Taishou of Japan (1916-17 A.D.) This publication sites the need for a cordon trail in Laipunuk was a peacekeeping mission: "Hostility had long existed between the Bunun and the Paiwan. Bunun often went eastward to Pingtung Prefecture to headhunt the Paiwan people or down along Pasikau River (Luye River) executing endless bloodshed events at Chulu part of Taitung Plain" (Mao 2003: 321).

Made in 1933, *Map 9* below is the first map of Laipunuk showing the police cordon trail. Laipunuk comprises the lower portion of the map, which is somewhat blank with the cordon trail marked by a dotted line and the names and locations of the police offices. The upper portion of the map is the region where *Lamataxinxin* was living and the *Da Guan Shan Events* occurred.

The Forestry Period

For nearly thirty years after the Japanese left Taiwan, the Laipunuk region remained untouched. However, in order for the military to gain access to Taiwan's remote regions, combined with the valuable resource of cypress wood, the Taiwan Forest Bureau (TFB) launched a campaign into Laipunuk.

The TFB first opened a road into the upper elevations of Laipunuk in the early 1970s. The primary reason was to cut and log timber resources, primarily cypress trees. Author explored this region during fieldwork conducted in January 2006. The forestry road has eroded and passage on foot was extremely dangerous. Landslides resulting from the deforestation were frequent.

[102] See Chapter 4.3 (the *Laipunuk Incident*) for the detailed history of the Laipunuk cordon trail and the events which led to its abandonment. Furthermore, see the testimony of T.B. Istanda personal memories of the trail in Chapter 5.1.

Map 9: The 1933 Japanese Laipunuk Map
Source: Li (1997: 65)

N. Istanda (2006 interview) observes the TFB era constructively, inasmuch as it was an opportunity for the Bunun to return to Laipunuk:

> "Although the few elders and descendants who returned to Laipunuk under the watchful eyes of the TFB witnessed deforestation, the resulting environmental degradation of landslides, dumping of discarded equipment and garbage, and a significant change in the landscape from the planting of common pine trees for tree farming, it nonetheless reconnected them to Laipunuk. From this was born the first wave of Bunun to return to Laipunuk, the rediscovery of villages and houses, and opened the door for the new generation of descendants to explore their family and cultural history."

This section of the thesis employs a brief narrative recorded from Biung Istanda (nephew of T.B. Istanda) and was recorded on May 25, 2006[103]. It lends insight to the events of that era:

> "During the Forestry days, most of the loggers were Truku and Atayal, and some Bunun who had prior experience from Hualien. Most of the drivers were Puyuma but some were Paiwan. Many of these drivers married Bunun girls from this area. The *sherpas*, however, were exclusively Bunun. From my father's house, we could go all the way to Laipunuk. In the old days there was a traditional way through Laipunuk. When I was just out of elementary school, at about twelve or thirteen years old, I went with my father (Nabu) and my uncle (Tama Biung) on a hunting trip. From here it took us about eight hours to reach Laipunuk then we would go hunting for another sixteen hours. When I was twenty years and returned from my military training, I worked for the TFB for five years. At that time we went hunting as far as *Beinan Zu* Mountain[104]. I remember a type of hunting house there. At that time there was no place for us to earn money so when the TFB came we all went. We had to work for TFB in order to pay for a place to live. I remember the grass cutters who cleared the land for planting pine trees made 200 NT dollars for a day's work. A Bunun *sherpa*, if he worked hard, could earn as much as 400 NT dollars a day. Bunun *sherpa* got paid by the kilogram. We took great pride in carrying heavy loads. My record was 108 kilograms. Dahu's (Tama Biung's Istanda's son) record was 118 kilograms. In the morning we got up when it was still dark and walked by the light of our flashlights, reaching the work area by 8:00 a.m." (Istanda, B. 2006 interview).

[103] Translated by N. Istanda and the author.

[104] *Beinan Zu* Mountain (3,295 meters) is the highest peak in the Laipunuk region. See *Map 3* and *Map 10* for location.

Logging operations ceased in approximately1985 and the logging roads fell into disrepair. "As the stumps and roots of the giant cypress trees and rotted, their hold on the soil gave way, triggering massive landslides, as well as the destruction of the TFB roads and trails – The TFB is part of the Laipunuk legacy" (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

The Laipunuk Homecoming

In 1995 Pastor Bai Guan Sheng founded the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation and simultaneously began construction on *Bunun Buluo* or Bunun village. His goal is to foster economic independence for the indigenous peoples. The establishment of this center has been compared with the establishment of a new Bunun village, as if a new Laipunuk village (Istanda, N, 2006 interview). Bai Guan Sheng's approach, although he lives imbedded in a modern world, suggests Bunun philosophical perspectives: "The Bunun were traditionally equalitarian and it was therefore natural for them to become democratic and Presbyterian. However, democratic position can be bought and I am against this. I feel a leader should achieve his standing… your ability should lead your position" (Istanda, B. H. 2006 interview).

Beginning in 1999, Prof Chiung-His Liu from National Taitung University, who was involved with an ecology association and served as the Austronesian Community College Executive Director in Taitung, encouraged Nabu Istanda to return to Laipunuk when he introduced the concept of *tribal mapping* (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). Istanda, N. (2004 interview) recalls,

> "In the year 2000, with the coming of the new democratic government, I knew it was time to go there for myself. In 2001 we had a forum at Bunun Culture and Education Foundation and we invited Laipunuk elders. There were about twelve that came. The year 2001 marked the first trip back to Laipunuk. They went from Liu-kuei but got lost."

On December 10, 2002 (Human Rights Day), with the permission and support of Taiwan Government Minister of Culture, a helicopter was hired to fly Laipunuk-born elders and descendants to the village of Shou[105], a Japanese police office and school, where they once attended Japanese language education. From Shou, elders and descendants hiked to three places: Kaidaptan, Madaipulan, and Takivahlas. This event was significant for several reasons: it was the first time for the elders to return to their birth areas in sixty-five years; the journey would have been impossible by any other means for these elders; and it acknowledged the government

[105] See *Map 10* and *Table 10 & Table 11* for locations and alternative names. This event was recorded in *Return to the Busuh (Navel) Burial Site* (Tsai, S. 2005 Video Manuscript).

recognition of the Laipunuk Bunun. The helicopter took only ten minutes to reach Shou, and Istanda, L. (2004 interview) expresses, "I waited sixty-five years for that ten minutes."

In 2005, N. Istanda requested the contemporary Bunun pop singer *Biung* (Wang Hong-en), who is known for his modern compilations of traditional Bunun music, to compose a song about Laipunuk. Biung, a Laipunuk descendant, produced a song in tribute for the men and women who have made the journey home (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). This song, entitled *Nei Ben Lu* (*Laipunuk*) appears on the 2006 CD entitled *Zou Feng De Ren* (走風的人).

In 2006 the Istanda family organized the first ever trans-Laipunuk expedition which followed the traditional marriage and trade route over the central mountains. Starting in Hong Ye Village in eastern Taiwan, the expedition crossed Laipunuk in nineteen days, arriving in the *Wan Shan* area, west of the Central Mountain Range, where the *Mantauran* lived until the Japanese era[106]. At the time of writing this thesis, there have been nineteen expeditions to Laipunuk initiated by the Istanda family and supported by friends of the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation.

Social Discontinuity

B.H. Istanda (2006 interview) shares his personal heart-felt observations regarding the Laipunuk-born elders:

> "There is a very sad aspect of isolation and loneliness felt by our Laipunuk elders. Most of them speak Bunun and Japanese, yet the new generations speak Chinese. Their own children and grandchildren do not communicate with them well. Therefore the elders feel isolated and lonely. People today don't understand them – how they think and how they see the world. for example, when they need to stay in the hospital they have a hard time communicating their symptoms and needs, and even the television shows are in Chinese so they can't understand them, and since most of them never learned to read Chinese, they cannot read the newspapers and have no way to follow current events. I feel this is a tragic social injustice. This is why we invite them to visit and have free lunches at *Bunun Buluo*, so that they have other elders to talk with and share their memories of Bunun culture and Laipunuk."

[106] See Appendix for the author's description.

4.2. The Japanese Field Reports

The Research

The Japanese *field reports*, or field surveys, may also be appropriately identified as Japanese *police reports*. As during this period the police were employed in attending to a myriad of indigenous affairs: from conducting detailed surveys of villages; to substitute school teachers. There were three varieties of reports generated during the *Japanese Colonial Period* pertaining to Laipunuk. In order of their significance to this thesis study they are as follows: (1) *Taiwan Government Civilian Administration Department Affairs Section Report*; (2) Local administrative branch *Savage Investigation Report*; and (3) *Taiwan Government Police Affairs Report*.

This thesis will summarize the 1904 and 1922 *Taiwan Government Civilian Administration Department Affairs Section Report*(s), and briefly overview a series of 1930-1931 local administrative branch *Savage Investigation Report*(s). These reports, generated in 1904, 1922, and early 1930(s) serve as the main body of empirical record to population, social and economic structure, and agricultural practices of the *Japanese Colonial Period* in Laipunuk. Although primarily recorded by small groups of Japanese police/scouts who used Bunun guides to enter remote areas of their time, and are most basic in nature, they are nonetheless an important documentation of that period. "The information in these Japanese documents was translated by Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, approximately twenty to thirty years ago and were generally simple descriptions of the villages" (Huang 2006 interview). Huang (*ibid*.) proposes that "There may be some police documents yet to be discovered." This thesis' overview of the Japanese *field reports* of 1904 and 1922 is based on Huang's Chinese translations and interpretations of the Japanese reports (published in *Taitung County History - Bunun Zu* in 2001). Translation was supported by Mr. Yan Zhao from the National Chengchi University Language Center and all transcription was done by the author. The material presented here has been reduced, simplified, reorganized, and written in the past tense. The author assumes responsibility for any inconsistencies from Huang's work[107]. This thesis section will then move to briefly address the 1930 – 1932 above mentioned report series reviewed by author with the support of Professor Chong Lin Lee, a Taiwanese scholar familiar with this topic and proficient in the Japanese language[108].

[107] This section of the thesis (Japanese *field reports* of 1904 and 1922) were drawn entirely from Huang (2001: 45-54). However, although care was taken to maintain authenticity, author's translation and summarization of Huang's work was reduced and varies from the original content.

[108] Translation conducted by Professor Chong Lin Lee and the author. All transcriptions done by the author.

Worthy of mention is the work done by the Taiwanese geographer Li Min-Huei (1997) *Tribes Migration and Social Reconstruction of Taiwan Aborigines in Japan Colonial Period: the Case Study of the Bunun of Bei-nan River*. This Master's thesis, relying principally on primary Japanese sources, used the abovementioned Japanese *field reports* to explore Laipunuk's traditional social structure and how the Japanese relocated the Bunun.

Definition of Terms

Terms used by the Japanese and Chinese may be peculiar to this subject, region and era. Therefore, I will briefly define them as follows in *Table 7*.

DEFINITIONAL TERMS OF THE LAIPUNUK SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

Shi Wu	施武	Chinese term referring to a large group of indigenous peoples.
She	社	Small village or community.
Tou Mu	頭目	Village leader or chief.
Tong Shi	通事	A Qing Dynasty system whereby a Taiwanese representative of Qing government, who has integrated with the indigenes, serves as a go-between or conduit between indigenous and the non-indigenous world.
Fan Ding	蕃丁	Common people of indigenous society hunter, farmer, gatherer, conscript.

Table 7: Definitional Terms of the Laipunuk Sociopolitical Structure
Source: Author

1904 Field Report

Due to the remoteness of this area, it was too far for Japanese to administrate. Using a *tong shi* as a guide, the Japanese made their first contact with the Laipunuk Bunun. They expressed their intentions to the Bunun and gave them gifts. The Japanese noted that there were many *tong shi* living there. There was sufficient merchandise, trade products, and products of daily use.

In the 1904 report the Japanese documented their investigation of an area just over the central mountains from Liu-kuei in the upper region of Laipunuk belonging to a group of *shi wu* (施武) which was made up of eighty-two families with 751 people. These families were small independent tribes with emerging leaders of the *shi wu* peoples. There were nine Taiwanese people living in this area; each one had their own trade area; each was married to indigenous; each one had worked for the authority of Qing government as a *tong shi* (通事); and each family had at least one child. These Taiwanese families inherited patrilineally the position of authority, their social standing or position acquired through gaining land, and their children wore Chinese clothes but spoke Bunun and knew little about Chinese culture.

Although the Japanese did not check house by house, they were suspicious that these *tong shi* provided guns and bullets to the indigenous peoples. The *tong shi* and indigenous had intermarried frequently and their relationship was close. Although they are not the same race, their customs were the same, especially those with geographic proximity. Trade occurred between groups without *tong shi*. The Japanese noted that the area was fertile, agriculture was abundant, and very large quantities of high grade tobacco were produced. The government (Qing government?) bought this tobacco grown by indigenes. Also there were bellows to work iron and to fix hunting knifes and tools.

Based on the 1904 report, Huang (2001: 46) makes the following observations:

> (1) The average size of a Bunun area in Taiwan was about 111 people, and whereas this Laipunuk Bunun area was composed of many small groups (*she* 社), totaling about 751 people, it had an unusually lot of people, and they were powerful and considered to be the leaders of the entire region; (2) nine of the trading Taiwanese families (who were from Taitung, Do Liu, and Nantou) traded with Liu-kuei and Dan Nei, and each *tong shi* was responsible for specific area, including inside the *she* and outside the village; (3) the merchandise traded was not only the goods for daily use, but also bullets and gun powder, and this is what the Japanese especially want to know; (4) tobacco was the most important agricultural product of the area; (5) the Chinese *tong shi* are all married with Bunun, have a very close relationship to the indigenous, and this type of situation is closely related to the Bunun's custom that the relationship between Bunun and their marriage partner's family is very important; (6) Laipunuk is a place whose peoples frequently interacted with others, such as the Paiwan, and this interaction with different race at the edge or periphery of this kind of area created a cultural mix or a new culture; (7) There were not just chiefs, there were *chiefs of chiefs* who had great authority, and this marks the shift from traditional egalitarian society to a society with different levels and different standards[109].

In 1911 the Japanese police organized a Laipunuk investigation team but the team couldn't cross into Taitung area. In 1914, Liu-kuei's political powers punished some disobedient traders, causing a break in the trade links with Liu-kuei and the plains areas, and forcing the Bunun to trade directly with the Japanese if they wanted new things from the plains. In the Liu-kuei area, there were eighty-six Taiwanese and Bunun who farmed together, and lived and stored millet in the same houses.

[109] Translation and summarization by Zhao and the author.

The 1922 Field Report

In 1922 November, the Japanese government made a second investigation, which was more detailed and penetrated deeper into the Laipunuk region. They recorded seventeen villages in Laipunuk comprised of a group who had moved from an area near Hualien forty-eight years earlier. Their leader often came to hunt in Laipunuk, knew that the land was fertile, and had a lot of prey. These Bunun discussed with *Mantauran* people about obtaining the right to move there. There were other independent groups of Bunun as well. Their houses were very similar to Paiwan[110] (sides made of slate), had roofs made of cypress bark, and their houses were very clean. They had goats and pigs. The land was fertile and the people are hard working, providing them very well for many years.

The social structure was comprised of small groups made up of three or four families, and larger groups made up of about ten families. Although these families were separate, the relationship was very close. There were some Taiwanese families living with them; they were unusually progressive; and their customs were very close to both Bunun and Paiwan. The Bunun families were very unified and their relationships were very close. *Mantauran* and *Bali San* had blood relationships (marriage relations). However, three groups of Bunun did not have good relations with the plains indigenes.

There was a total of 128 families comprised of 1,112 people (528 men and 584 woman), and there were also some Chinese families living with them (twelve families with eighty-four people). Among those twelve families, four families were still living a Chinese lifestyle; two families had been influenced by indigenous people; and the other six families had been totally assimilated. The *tong shi* of this area survived by trading with indigenous people (including the use of gunpowder for trade exchange). If the government had some conflict with their trade or trade profits, then the *tong shi* may have instigated the tension among the indigenes and the government. This may be problematic because there was a profit-based motivation for the *tong shi* to remain lining there. And although the government was not very involved in Laipunuk, the people were still very civilized, more so than other Bunun areas. This may have been because of the effect of the Taiwanese people. These assimilated Taiwanese had not yet been required to relocate to the plains. However, there were four families (forty-three people) who were considered dangerous were recommended for relocation to the plains.

[110] The Japanese classified the Rukai people as belonging to Paiwan culture, therefore, it is not always clear which groups they were referring to.

The Taiwanese had entered Laipunuk to live with the indigenes before the Japanese arrival. They lived in *Liu-kuei* and *Wan Shan* area and conducted trade exchange. The Laipunuk people went to *Mantauran* to trade belongings. They traveled back and forth. Furthermore, many Chinese *tong shi* went to Laipunuk and married with Bunun. The Bunun were trading their hunting exploits to the *tong shi*, who then would take the trade items to the plains to sell. The *tong shi* made and saved considerable profits.

Whereas the first report was primarily conducted in the high mountain area, the second report was wider in its geographic scope and much more focused on socio-economic behavior of the people. Furthermore, the Japanese learned that Laipunuk was much bigger than they thought, and much bigger than previously documented. Huang (2001: 46) provides a detailed comparison between new 1922 report and the earlier 1904 report by examining how the 1922 report was more succinct:

> (1) there were more than seventeen village areas (*she*) and their population was actually 1,112; (2) there were twelve *tong shi* (not nine as previously documented), and the significance of gunpowder and trade with Liu-kuei were more complex than previously thought; (3) the marriage relations between the *tong shi* and local people was not only used to develop close relationships, but to gain personal trade power, control, and profit, and this indicates that marriage relations were very important; (4) Laipunuk culture had many influences, especially Paiwan and Han Chinese, and not just the family structure, but the house and family area, as well as other things, such as food and clothing; and most significantly, the Bunun were developing the *Paiwan noble system* with regard to land in coordination with the development of prolific trade exchange across the Taitung and Kaohsiung county lines (meaning an east/west trade exchange across the central mountains), indicating that the new social system was based on the new trade system; (5) with regard to the Bunun's lifestyle throughout the *Beinan River area*, the high mountain lifestyle had a high quality, and this may have been attributed to the Chinese[111].

Huang (2001: 49) indicates that Laipunuk had five very large indigenous groups (*shi wu*) involving eighty-one families with a total population over 1,900. There were twelve *tong shi*, and each *tong shi* controlled three to sixteen families. These *tong shi* had gained the people's trust, served as trade barons, and assumed the responsibility for weddings, ceremonies, and peace keeping among the common people (*fan ding* 蕃丁)[112]. These *tong shi* provided a

[111] Translation and summarization by Zhao and the author.
[112] Reference Huang (2001: 49) and Li (1997: 48) for the mention of *fan ding* (蕃丁).

connection to the outside world for the *fan ding* and this is a symbol Laipunuk's unique cultural mix and creation (*ibid*: 50). Above each *tong shi*, there was a leader or chief (*tou mu*) who served as the land lords. Therefore, one *tou mu* had a power-relation with one *tong shi* (ratio was 1:1). With the population of 1,900 the Laipunuk society was almost same as Paiwan. In this way, the Paiwan land lord and the Laipunuk *tou mu* are similar (*ibid*: 49). Each *she* had a *tou mu*, and groups of *she* had a higher *tou mu* (*ibid*: 50).

Therefore, as Huang has identified, in Laipunuk we can see the development of a class system, with not only a chief (*tou mu*) governing an area, but with a *chief of chiefs* (a high *tou mu*) governing multiple areas. We can speculate that this was an emergence of a noble class, and distinguish the aforementioned shift in the Laipunuk Bunun society from a purely egalitarian Bunun system (achieved society) to a hierarchical or noble system (ascribed society). *Table 8* outlines the Laipunuk Bunun social structure:

LAIPUNUK BUNUN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

classification	level of authority	social function
higher tou mu	*chief of chiefs*	influence over a group of villages
tou mu	high *chief*	land lord, influence over the village
tong shi	medium	Control of trade, ceremonies, weddings, peace keeping, relation to the outside world
fan ding	low	hunter, farmer, gatherer, conscript

Table 8: Laipunuk Bunun Social Structure
Source: Adopted and modified from Huang (2001)

When the Japanese arrived, no matter what the level of the *tou mu*, they re-ordered the social structure to be sure the people and the villages are under their administrative power. Huang (2001: 50) notes that Laipunuk trade was not only centered on Kaohsiung; the Beinan River area of Taitung was also an important trade area. As this trade system developed, it became more and more attractive to others. Before the Japanese era, the Bunun of Yen Ping area (of Taitung) already knew that Laipunuk area had a *tou mu* system (*ibid*: 50), and before Japanese took over, Laipunuk was developing into a new system of hunting and farming (*ibid*: 51). The Japanese believed that the Paiwan, Tsou, and Bunun were a mixed system – and that the social culture was Paiwan, social organization from Tsou (art, carving, etc.), and wood/stone culture and music are Bunun (*ibid*: 50). In an economic context, the Bunun could purchase things and their culture moved away from a revenge system and toward an economic way of compensation. Therefore, Laipunuk was not only a trade system, but a political center, a trade system, and a

powerful society – and this was of great concern to the Japanese (*ibid*: 51). *Table 9* shows the indigenous cultural syncretism of Laipunuk which was observed by the Japanese:

SOCIAL CULTURAL SYNCRETISM

ethnicity	social-cultural influences
Bunun	music, ceremony, use of wood and stone
Paiwan	socio-political structure
Rukai	social-political structure
Tsou	social organization, art, carving, etc.

Table 9: Social-Cultural Syncretism
Source: Adopted and modified from Huang (2001)

1930-1931 Field Report(s)

Apart from the above analyzed 1904 and 1922 *Taiwan Government Civilian Administration Department Affairs Section Report(s)*, the early 1930s local administrative branch *Savage Investigation Report(s)* are orientated toward individual household records. To demonstrate, they include information regarding the number of individuals in each house, the amount of pigs raised, plants grown for food and for medicine and general observations about living conditions, such as if the residents are clean, and the residences are well kept. Lee (2006 interview) notes that these documents, "Provide insight to living the conditions, population, and habits of that era, as well as information on hunting areas, tribal boundaries and disputes."

Entitled *Taitung Ting Lilong Branch, Inside Nei Ben Lu Village*, the author has located eight of the original *field reports* (1930 - 1932). Although the author was not able to translate and analyze this material for this thesis, a section on the Laipunuk village of *Madaipulan* was chosen for review in some detail. *Madaipulan* is located contiguous to the *Wan Shan* region of the *Mantauran*[113].

Regarding household diversification, the report notes the following: *Madaipulan* had a total forested area of 316 *jia*[114] made up of 275 people in twenty-seven households. The largest household had forty-eight people, and the smallest household had only two. Average persons per household were 5.5 to 6.15. The largest family's farming area was 19.2 *jia*. Of the twenty-seven households, eighteen were made by wood with grass roofs and nine had slate roofs.

[113] See *Map 10* for the location of *Madaipulan* Village.
[114] *Jia* is the old Japanese measurement for acreage.

The grass roofs weathered twenty years, whereas slate roofs averaged forty years. The roofs were low and inside the households were dark. The air circulation was not good and the smoke was damaging the resident's eyes. Their sanitation was poor. Outside of the houses there were a total of twenty-two storage huts: five for personal items, seventeen for farming implements.

The *Madaipulan* report is very detailed concerning material culture. For example, the following items were tallied for each household: buckets, pottery, baskets, cooking pots, rice bowls, tea pots and cups, tables, soap, hair oil, matches, etc.

Commentaries include the following observations: The feeling was that the government officials were generally welcome. The government had provided facilities as well as medicine. However, these people were not used to be controlled – and they were afraid. They were afraid that the officials might come to look for their weapons. When the police came and mentioned about guns they were worried. They showed more trust toward the Chinese than they did toward the Japanese. They had more daily contact with Taiwanese tradition, culture, and customs. They generally married with the same tribe to consolidate their tribal power but they did marry to other tribes. Many had the same last names, and this created difficulties for their marriage.

This report takes account of local and regional social disharmony. On a local level, of the twenty-seven household in *Madaipulan*, six of them were separated. This resulted from farming and land disputes, and/or because a grandson's (or son-in-law?) marriage brought about social disagreement. On a regional level the report noted that the Paiwan were enemies of the Bunun, and mentioned a Paiwan group named *Laipuan*. Unclear to author and translator, it mentioned of a Laipunuk group named *Subuku* noted to be blood-related and united together against other groups when need arose.

This report mentions two important details regarding Laipunuk's *Madaipulan* village Bunun social behavior: one is that village elders did not retire their powers of leadership as they became elderly; the other is that they had terminated their headhunting traditions.

Lee (2006 interview) comments that these reports offer significant empirical evidence for the study and terms the 1930 – 1931 *Japanese Field Reports*, "A rare treasure for the study of Laipunuk."

Searching for Explanations

A key point to the above *Table 9* is that the Bunun cultural influence holds predominant. We can surmise that if Bunun music, ritual, and ceremony were still in practice (as they are inextricably linked as a *cultural package*), and that if following this *cultural package* makes one a *true Bunun*, then despite the dynamics of external cultural influence on the Bunun, and despite the shift in social structure from achieved to ascribed society, the people of Laipunuk were culturally Bunun. Was it the original egalitarian society or the hybrid society (a mix of egalitarian and hierarchical) which caused other ethnicities to join? Was it because this social system became attractive due to the integration of Chinese and the region's position as a trade route, inasmuch as this allowed the Bunun to have the benefits of the outside world without actually having to leave their familiar world, which attracted other Bunun groups to join? Perhaps we must consider the question of external pressures. Toward the end of the Qing period the demand for forest products, especially camphor, was intensifying, and the presence of the Qing government's *tong shi* system was spreading. Laipunuk offered three key spatial aspects: prime area for tobacco agriculture; animal products; and a remote location for the manufacture of guns and gunpowder (away from government scrutiny). With the arrival of the Japanese period, the external pressure of the global power was pushing toward Laipunuk from all directions until, in fact, Laipunuk was among the last frontiers on the island, and potentially it became the final frontier in all Taiwan. All of the abovementioned factors would have pushed indigenes together, all the abovementioned factors should be considered when searching for alternative explanations on the development of the Laipunuk Bunun cosmos that was discovered and surveyed by the Japanese.

To further illustrate the Laipunuk history and perspectives, this thesis will now adopt an ethnohistorical approach, focus deeply on the Japanese era, and target the events that led to the Bunun's mass exodus out of the Laipunuk region.

4.3. The Laipunuk Incident: An Ethnohistorical Research

Method and methodology

Methodologically, the oral history data presented here was drawn together and based on collective memory rather than personal memory. Thematically, the rationale for this section is three fold. Firstly, it pinpoints the abrupt end of Bunun culture in Laipunuk and sets the stage for Chapter 5, which focuses on ethnohistorical narrative, and verifies why thesis informants

(T.B. Istanda and L. Istanda) never returned to their house, home village, or the cultural practices described in this thesis. Secondly, and it offers a window to the Japanese governing system and behavior, not only through the collective memories of the Bunun narrated through informant N. Istanda, but through the perspectives of several scholars. Thirdly, to provide empirical evidence based on Japanese documents published during that time. Overall, this section identifies the decisive loss of the Laipunuk Bunun's mountain homeland to the Japanese colonial rulers. Although background on the Japanese in Laipunuk was previously discussed, this section will offer additional insight relevant to the discussion at hand.

By definition, ethnohistorical research is a synthesis of historical data and oral history (Webster's 2004: 273). An ethnohistorical research method has been employed for the following section of this thesis. The methodology included data collection from N. Istanda, by way of interview and the translation of three related Japanese police announcements appearing in the *Friend of Savage Report* published as a public announcement in 1941. The source (N. Istanda) was chosen for three reasons: I have field data from him; he is a polyglot (in Bunun, Japanese, Chinese, English) and is able to report his long-term findings to me in English; he previously interviewed a significant number of Laipunuk-born elders (including T.B. Istanda, and L. Istanda), regarding this event[115] and he conducted field research in Halipusun where *Laipunuk Incident* perpetrator lived. The latter source (*Friend of Savage Report*) was chosen because I was able to locate the data and arrange translation[116] of the three police announcements that are the only known authentic data available on this topic from this period.

Purpose and significance of this topic

In this chapter I am providing the first English language documentation of the *Laipunuk Incident* that resulted in the extradition of every man, woman, and child from Laipunuk in 1941. When approaching the study of Laipunuk the Japanese period is the most significant time of change. The *Laipunuk Incident* marks the pivotal moment in the loss of the Bunun's indigenous homeland. I will begin this section with appropriate background material that lends perspective to the events leading to this incident.

[115] N. Istanda recounts the collective memory of Laipunuk elders, including interviews conducted by Tsai San Shen (Binkinuaz, T.). See Chinese language sources in this thesis for Tsai San Shen (2005) *Laipunuk Bunun Tribal Migration Before 1942*.

[116] Translation was a methodical process supported by Professor Chong Lin Lee who is fluent in the writing of that period and familiar with the subject matter. Lee carefully researched the rank and post of each Japanese official in these documents to insure accuracy. All transcription was done by the author.

Background of the Laipunuk Event: Conflicting Ideologies

Bunun people had no cultural concept of nationalism as they lived somewhat isolated in the high mountains. The Japanese takeover was beyond their field of perception. When Taiwan became a Japanese colony, the Laipunuk Bunun were likely not aware of what was going on politically. In the case of the Laipunuk region, the Japanese showed up suddenly and began to take control of their lives.

The ideology of the Japanese toward the Bunun was clear-cut: "The Japanese official policy was to organize the Bunun, confiscate their guns and ammunition, and to change them into communal farmers (as in rice cultivators). The Japanese government considered the Bunun to be living on government lands, and disagreed with their culture and values." (Fujii 2004 interview) [117].

The Bunun's ideology toward the Japanese was not as broad in scope: "The Bunun people don't have the concept of *country*, therefore they saw Japanese as just another tribe; the Bunun's fight with them was the same as practiced toward other tribes, meaning they would just headhunt a few individuals in order to maintain their territorial balance and harmony according to tradition" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). "Bunun culture and thinking is to attack, defend, unite their leaders, perceptions/opinions of land, and their relations/leaders" (Fujii 2004 interview).

In order to demonstrate the power of the Japanese military to the indigenous peoples of Laipunuk, two very important events occurred prior to the advance of Japanese ground forces into the region:

> 10 May 1923: Japanese Air Force flies 3 days over Laipunuk to show force.
> 10 May 1924: Japanese Air Force flies 2 days over Laipunuk to show force.
>
> (Fujii 2004 interview)

Eventually the Japanese conquered the Laipunuk Bunun with powerful armed forces and a strong political system. Although the Japanese ruled Taiwan for fifty years, the Laipunuk Bunun were only ruled for the final sixteen years.

When the Japanese decided to advance into the Laipunuk region, they had already faced decades of resistance in other regions. As aforementioned (section 4.1. of this thesis), prior to the Japanese occupation of Laipunuk, there was an armed struggle led by the Bunun hero

[117] Professor Shizu Fujii, originally from Japan, and currently at National Chengchi University, is a leading figure on the Japanese period in Taiwan.

named *Lamataxinxin*[118]. In the years leading up to the capture of *Lamataxinxin* there was growing suspicion among the Japanese that Laipunuk was a potential source of support for his resistance, especially guns or gunpowder (Huang 2006 interview). Informant T.B. Istanda remembers when *Lamataxinxin* and his men visited his father's house in Sunjik and the families had a long and serious discussion. However, Istanda, T.B. (2006 interview) was too young to understand the content of their discussion. It is very interesting that after this meeting the Istanda family relocated to Takivahlas (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

The Japanese Cordon Trail

The Japanese cordon trail, although briefly address in the preceding section, will be addressed in detail in this section. As mentioned plans to construct a cordon police trail system into Laipunuk to control the Bunun began with in 1916[119] (Mao 2003: 321)[120]. This section of the trail was part of a larger scheme to connect Taitung and Kaohsiung Counties and was 126 kilometers in total (Yuan Liu 2006: 116)[121]. By 1925 the Japanese had completed the trail (Mao 2003: 321), which cut its way through the steep canyons along the Lu Ye River dividing the Laipunuk region into two parts[122] and was very narrow and treacherous (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). The Laipunuk cordon trail began at the Pasikau police outpost (near present day Hong Ye Village, Taitung County), and terminated at the Liu-kuei (Lakuli) trading outpost in Kaohsiung County. This constitutes the main section of the Laipunuk cordon trail and included twelve police outposts. This stretch of the cordon was approximately sixty kilometers in length. *Photo 7* shows the cordon trail near Mamahav.

The below listed twelve police offices were strategically positioned along the main trail that served as law enforcement, communication, and education centers. Shou (Hisashi) outpost area had a trade office, indigenous children's education office, indigenous people medical office, and a public doctor's office (Mao 2003: 323). Both Shou and Chang Pan (Tokiwa) became small villages, each with a *Shinto* shrine[123]. *Table 10* serves as a cross reference for the police office names on the Japanese cordon trail. Bunun names have been added where possible.

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[118] As aforementioned, Lamataxinxin is of the Istanda family and distantly related to my thesis informants. With his capture (Da Guan Shan Event) the government accelerated their strategic plan to move the Laipunuk Bunun.

[119] Japanese source dates are the *5th and 6th year of King Taishou*. Author has added 11 years to provide the western calendar date shown here.

[120] See Chinese language source list.

[121] See Chinese language source list.

[122] Refer to *Map 10* showing the Japanese cordon trail and other features related to this section.

[123] Japanese *Shinto* shrines (the imperial state religion of the era) in Laipunuk faced south (author, Laipunuk expedition 2006) symbolizing the Japanese *Southern Conquest* (Lee 2006 interview).

Photo 7: Laipunuk Cordon Trail
Source: Author, March 2005 Expedition

TOPONYMY OF THE LAIPUNUK POLICE CORDON TRAIL OFFICES

Police Offices	Japanese (Kana)	Japanese	Chinese	English	Aboriginal
1	紅葉	Mumizu	Hong Ye	Hot Springs	Dah Dah
2	清水	Shimizu	Qing Shui	Clear Water	Siusui
3	楓	Kaede	Feng	Maple	Kaili
4	松山	Matsuyama	Song Shan	Pine Mountain	Halipusun
5	嘉嘉代	Kokayo	Jaijiadai		Kakaiyu
6	桃林	To Lin	Tao Lin	Peach Trees	Tavilin
7	橘	Tsubaki	Ju	Tangerine	Takibana
8	壽	Hisashi	Shou	Long Life	Pisbadan
9	常盤	Tokiwa	Chang Pan	Often Stay	Takibadan
10	朝日	Asahi	Zhao Ri	Face the Sun	
11	出雲	Izumo	Chu Yun	Cloud Exit	Sakaivan
12	六龜	Lakuli (?)	Liu Kuei	Six Turtle	Sakusaku

Table 10: Toponymy of the Laipunuk Police Cordon Trail Offices[124]
Source: Author

[124] Constructed from Japanese records and Bunun oral history. The numbering system provided here (offices labeled 1 to 12) was created by the author. *Authors note:* the Japanese names reflect *Shinto* Philosophy. Shimizu is also known as Komizu; Hisashi is also called Kutubuki.

Table 11 provides the distances between offices from Hong Ye to Liu-kuei based on a 1933 Japanese source[125]. Distances shown below are based on the original 1933 Japanese chart which was given in *li* (里). The WWII Japanese measurement for one *li* was 3.924 kilometers (Li 1997: 27); whereas the nineteenth century *li* was approximately 1.8 kilometers (note that the current Chinese *li* or *gong li* is one kilometer). Therefore, the distances provided in *Table 11* were generated by multiplying the original data by four and rounded down to the nearest tenth.

紅葉										
4.8	清水									
16.3	**8.9**	楓								
24.0	**16.6**	**5.2**	嘉嘉代							
32.0	**24.6**	**13.2**	**8.0**	桃林						
36.6	**29.2**	**20.2**	**12.5**	**4.5**	橘					
41.1	**36.3**	**24.8**	**17.0**	**9.0**	**4.5**	壽				
45.3	**40.4**	**29.0**	**21.2**	**13.2**	**8.7**	**4.1**	常盤			
52.2	**44.8**	**33.3**	**28.9**	**20.2**	**13.0**	**8.5**	**4.3**	朝日		
57.3	**52.4**	**41.0**	**33.2**	**25.2**	**20.7**	**16.1**	**12.0**	**5.0**	出雲	
60.0	**52.6**	**41.2**	**36.0**	**28.0**	**20.9**	**16.3**	**12.2**	**5.2**	**.2**	境界

Table 11: Distances by Kilometer between Laipunuk Police Offices in 1933
Source: Adopted and Modified from East Taiwan Section Book (1933)

The Japanese gathered Bunun families and relocated them to new village sites where children were expected to attend elementary school to learn Japanese. Bunun families living in the lower elevations (nearest to Taitung), such as villages of Mamahav and Halipusun near Qing-shui and Feng offices, were among the earliest to be relocated. Similarly they were among the first to work as rice farmers near Luan-shan or Shang-li.

[125] Constructed from Japanese historical data. Source: *East Taiwan Section Book*, published in Taitung, printed in Osaka 1933. Authors note: Matsuyama (Song Shan) Office was constructed after 1933 (Istanda, N. 2006 interview) and is not reflected in the source data. The original source did not incorporate page numbers.

As aforesaid, throughout the 1930s, the Laipunuk Bunun were encouraged to relocate to the lowlands. The Japanese identified respected Bunun leaders in each village area and offered them incentives to relocate. This was often the first step to gain their obedience. During this period there were as many as two thousand Bunun in the Laipunuk region (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). By 1940 approximately half of the Bunun had been officially relocated to the lowlands. The remaining half would be extradited in a mass exodus in the wake of the *Laipunuk Incident*.

The Laipunuk Incident: An Overview

The following is the ethnohistorical account of the Laipunuk incident, surrounding events, and the life of the person responsible: Haisul Takisvilainan (referred to as Haisul from here on out). Haisul was the Takisvilainan family's leader of the Laipunuk's Halipusun tribe. His life is representative of the destruction of Laipunuk Bunun culture and language. Haisul rebelled against the Japanese and their policy to move the Laipunuk Bunun people from the mountains to the lowland plains near Taitung. He fought, killed, and decapitated many Japanese during a one month period beginning March 9th, 1941. The Japanese documented this event as *The Laipunuk Incident* (內本鹿事件) or *The Dou-Luan Mountain Incident*, and used it to fuel their extradition of the remaining Bunun from the Laipunuk geographic area. In the wake of the Laipunuk incident, Bunun families were torn from their villages overnight, their houses burned, and their lives dramatically changed forever (Istanda N. 2006 interview).

In the mid to late 1930s, Haisul left Halipusun with ten people of the Takisvilainan family to move to Luan-shan and Shang-li. It wasn't long before the lowland's infectious diseases like malaria killed several of Haisul's children[126] (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

In the face of this disaster Haisul planned his return to Laipunuk. The Japanese had strict policies and guidelines for Bunun who wished to visit their old village sites[127]. And although he had gotten permission, he returned late and was punished (Istanda N., 2004 interview).

Haisul formed an armed resistance. With a group of Bunun men they attacked Japanese police offices from Shimizu (Qing Shui) to Kokayo (Jia Jia Dai)[128] and fled, hiding in the Beinan mountain area (Friend of Savage Report # 113, 1941).

[126] Accounts of this vary and there are no written records (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).
[127] An application had to be filed in advance at the local police office and a specific date of return had to be agreed upon (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).
[128] Japanese police office names are followed by Chinese names to provide clarity throughout this section.

The Japanese mobilized as many as three hundred people to catch Haisul and his company. They searched everywhere, including the Bunun houses of the people who had moved to the foot of the mountain (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). After a month of searching, Haisul and a few men were located in the high mountains. Eventually Haisul was convinced to accept surrender by Vilian, the leader of Pasikau tribe, under the pretext that he and his men would not be harmed (Friend of Savage Report # 13, 1941).

The exact fate of Haisul is not clear; it is only known that as time passed the Colonial power decided that because Haisul had killed so many Japanese he would be severely punished (Friend of Savage Report # 13, 1941). Some people said that Haisul and his family died in the Guan-shan police office after half a year (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

It was at this time, after the Haisul incident, that the Japanese forcefully moved all the Bunun people who still lived in Laipunuk to the foothills of the mountain and burned their houses. They were relocated into two areas consisting of three villages each (*ibid*.).

There were different explanations and meanings of whether or not Haisul was a hero or an offender[129] (*ibid*.).

Detailed Account of the Laipunuk Incident

[*Author's Note: Due to the range of sources recounting the following crucial incident in Bunun history, I am adopting a narrative approach in the telling of the story, much like that of my primary interview sources*.]

As above mentioned, Haisul was the Takisvilainan family's leader of the Laipunuk Halipusun tribe. Halipusun tribe was located at 1,100 meters elevation in the high mountains Laipunuk, perched on the mid-slope, and therefore there was very little level ground. "Haisul's house was located above the of Halipusun tribe area where his extended family had five houses. Haisul's house was the second one from right side. There was a small gully in their neighborhood with geological limestone formations. The Bunun name for limestone is *Halipusun* so their tribe was named Halipusun" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

"The gully at Halipusun was their source of water; it took twenty minutes round trip to walk there. Haisul's millet farming area was far from his house. Because of the bad living condition, Haisul had a strong and hardened personality. His family followed the traditional Bunun life

[129] Japanese reports and oral history reports do not always match clearly. Variances among individual accounts have been footnoted.

style. At first, when the Japanese built the Kaili (Feng) police office near their tribe, it didn't affect life much as was about a two or three-hour walk from Halipusun to Kaili at that time. Today there is no trail, so it is considerably longer" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

One day, people of another family told Haisul, "The Japanese built houses in the foot of the mountain for us and arranged some people there can help us to grow paddy rice. If we go there, we don't have to worry about food or a house. If we don't go, the Japanese will be very angry" (*ibid*.). "Haisul was ultimately was compelled to leave with the other families of Halipusun. He moved to the Shang-li area, leaving behind the place that his umbilical cord (called *Busuh*) was buried"[130] (*ibid*.).

In Shang-li, Haisul and his family lived in the wooden house that the Japanese built for him (*ibid*.). In about 1941 they were sent to Taminik[131] where they built a new house with the help of Japanese, "But the new house wasn't finished yet when Haisul went to fight" (Istanda, T.B., 2006 interview). In the daytime, he grew paddy rice for the Japanese with a fellow worker who was an *Ai-yong* (believed to be from an Amis or Puyuma tribe) (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

Although Haisul had a new life, he didn't feel happy[132]. At that time, the place Shang-li had epidemics of malaria and other low land infectious diseases. As many as ten people died in a single day. Before long, Haisul's two children succumbed to sickness and died[133]. Thus, Haisul thought Shang-li was not a healthy place to live because the air was bad. With each day he grew more determined to return to Laipunuk. At that time, when people went back to Laipunuk, they had to report to the police office their reason for travel, how many people were going, and how many days they would be absent. They were also required to keep a register. Haisul reported he needed several days and requested to take some tools and supplies (*ibid*.).

He stayed in Laipunuk for several days, but failed to return on time. The Japanese punished him: some people said that he was tied and hit, others said he was slapped. Regardless of what punishment had actually happened, Haisul was angry enough to swear revenge. He made a plan to return to Laipunuk forever and he prepared to kill the Japanese (*ibid*.).

Haisul's plan was to launch a surprise attack on the police offices along the Japanese trail, beginning with Shimizu (Qing Shui) from the east. Another family would initiate attack from

[130] The location of the umbilical cord burial is considered to be a sacred place according to Bunun tradition (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).
[131] Taminik is another name for Shang-li.
[132] General statement based on many informants accounts.
[133] When and how the children died are unconfirmed (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

Asahi (Zhao Ri) Office to the west. Haisul prepared guns, gunpowder, hunting knifes, and lunch boxes. In 1941, on March 9, Haisul and a group of followers began to carry out his plan (*ibid*.)[134].

In 1941, March 9, Haisul left his house near Dou-Luan Mountain. Once in position near the Shimizu (Qing Shui) police office, Haisul and his men waited in ambush. At approximately 11:00 pm, they clandestinely entered the Shimizu (Qing Shui) police office. In the dark, Haisul killed several Japanese police officers as they slept. In the disorder, they woke up everyone in the office. Haisul and his men left the office rapidly. The Japanese were too startled to respond or fight (*ibid*.).

Although oral reports to Istanda, N., mention that there were several deaths that night Shimizu Police Office, the official Japanese police report reflects only one death that night. The report, headlined *Damage Situation, March 9, 1941 11:00 pm, Taitung Prefecture, Guan Shan county, Shimizu Police Office,* read "Sugawara Takeji, a 45 year old police patrolman at Shimizu police office at Guan Shan Taitung, was sleeping at the office when he heard someone calling his name. He went outside to investigate, encountered a surprise attack, was shot, and died instantly. The other policemen's family, a total of seventeen people, received no harm" (Friend of Savage Administration Report, Issue #112, 1941).

Haisul and his people walked along the Laipunuk trail. They passed through the old Mamahav tribal area, arriving at Masuvanu tribal area near a suspension bridge. After they crossed the bridge, Haisul and his compatriot named Mahundiv (who was from Asahi) cut the cable between the pier and the support with their axes to slow or stop Japanese from catching up. Before long, the steel cable was broken, but before the bridge collapsed, Haisul took his men up the trail toward Kaili (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

They walked in the night on the familiar trail above the Pasikau (Lu Ye) River. When they spotted Kaili just beyond the suspension bridge, it was dark and the people were sleeping (*ibid*.). Haisul's men attacked, gunning down many Japanese. In the confusion they also hurt a Japanese child. The Japanese were quick to return fire. In the chaos, people were screaming and the sound of gunshots sent Haisul's men running into the mountains. Most of the Japanese's bullets hit the trees; however one of Haisul's men was hit in the leg (*ibid*.).

The Japanese police reported that a police sergeant and one boy were killed, with another boy injured. There was no mention of the damage to the bridge in the public announcement, but

[134] See T.B. Istanda narrative in Chapter 5 (our Laipunuk hero).

other details are very specific: "March 10, approximately 6:40 in the morning at Guan Shan County Kaede (Feng) Police Office, Police Sergeant Shimogawa Youjiro, 36 years old, was on duty at Kaede (Feng) Police Office, which is two and a half kilometers further inside the mountain from Shimizu (Qing Shui) Police Office, and got shot through the chest and was seriously injured. His eight-year old elder son Sumio was cut to the bone in the left ankle. Another Kaede (Feng) police office duty officer named Patrolman Kato's eight year old elder son was shot directly through the back of the head and died instantly. The other officers, totaling twenty people, were unharmed" (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #112, 1941).

The police officers of Shimizu (Qing Shui) police office had already notified the Main Office (at the Hong-ye Police Office) of Haisul's assault. The Japanese mobilized a group to arrest Haisul while Haisul and his company kept going up the trail. They were preparing for another attack at the Kokayo (Jia Jia Dai) police office. They didn't have time to stop or think clearly. Although they had been successful in cutting the suspension bridge, they didn't cut the police office's telecommunication lines and the Japanese had received word of the attacks (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

When Haisul and his company arrived in the area of Kokayo (Jia Jia Dai), they attacked quickly, killing several Japanese. Haisul was also wounded. Haisul realized that their people in Asahi hadn't attacked at the same time from the west as planned, so he and his men went deep into the mountains to escape (*ibid*.).

The official press release verifies the stories collected by Istanda, N., and indicates one confirmed death and one injury on the Japanese, however there is no record that Haisul was injured: "On the same day at the same time the on duty officer, Patrolman Ikeda was working at Kokayo (Jia Jia Dia) Police Office, which is one and a half kilometer further from Kaede Police Office, when his thirty-seven year old wife Mitoko got shot through the left ankle. Furthermore, twenty-five year old Amis tribe police assistant Baban, who had just come from Asahi (Zhao Ri) Police Office to help, got shot through the chest and died instantly. The other four resident officers received no harm. All those injured were recovering at Kaede (Feng) Police Office with police doctors. All injured persons received at Kaede (Feng) Police Office and were being cared for by police doctors as well as by public doctors, which had been dispatched. The dispatched doctors arrived and are making good progress" (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #112, 1941).

Istanda, N. (2004 interview) retells the story that circulated in the following days, pointing out that Laipunuk area was not quiet, "People were impassioned; some were too scared to be silent. Also, the Bunun villagers living in Shang-li at foot of the mountain were said to have described the accounts vividly, as if they had been there too. Everyone was talking about Haisul and how he had killed many Japanese, and that he had fled to the mountains to hide and that nobody knew where they were."

The Japanese paid serious attention to this incident. The people that worked in the Taitung City Hall were discussing how to capture Haisul. They put together Japanese police, people from the Amis and Peinan tribes, as well as Bunun family leaders to form a search group. Everyone carried a gun and food and went to Laipunuk the same night. They divided into several small teams to find Haisul (*ibid*.). The search expanded to include people in the low lands, police offices, search crews and miscellaneous others until as many as three hundred people were involved (*ibid*.).

As mentioned by Istanda, N., the Japanese had mobilized a large group of people to attend to this incident. The Taitung Prefecture[135] set up a special task force to search the mountains. They set up headquarters at Hong Ye Police office at the base of the Laipunuk trail and established communications with Kaohsiung Prefecture, bringing in the region's section chiefs to take reassignments in field positions (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

The chain of command was under *Taitung Prefecture Section Chief Takahashi,* who assumed the position of Laipunuk Event Chief Commander at Hong Ye Police Office. Under Takahashi's command, *Guan Shan County Savage Administrator Section Chief Iite* assumed position as the Laipunuk Event Commander. As event commander, *Chief Iite* was in charge of three officers who would oversee the field operations: *Police Officer Kobayashi* who assumed position as Laipunuk Event First Regiment Chief and was stationed at Hisashi (Shou) Police Office, *Police Officer Tomizawa* who assumed position as Laipunuk Event Second Section Commander and was stationed at Kaede (Feng) Police Office, and *Police Officer Ozawa* who assumed position as Laipunuk Event Third Section Commander and was stationed at Asahi (Zhao Ri) Police Office (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

Under these section chiefs and police officers, the man who took the front line and traveled with the local aboriginal guides into the jungle in search of Haisul and his men was *Savage*

[135] Japanese organized their regions as prefectures. Currently, this is Kaohsiung County.

Administration Section Chief Hirohite, Laipunuk Event Commander of the Logistical Support and Transportation Team" (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941). Lee (2006 interview) theorizes that the Section Chiefs (*Takahashi and Iite*) chose *Section Chief Hirohite* to assume this position based on his experience or relationship with the local aboriginal peoples, and the possibility that he could speak the Bunun language. *Hirohite* was in charge of logistics and transportation of men and materials up the trail, and went into the field with a group of five Bunun negotiators (*ibid*.). Working directly under *Hirohite*, five aboriginal men assumed positions as Laipunuk Event Negotiators: Anonena, Rasitalumanan, Obaku, Tahai, and Vilian. This chain command is clarified on the following page in *Figure 4: Laipunuk Incident Chain of Command*[136].

On April 1, the search team started from Asahi Police Office. The leader was Pasikau River tribal leader Vilian, together with Anonena from the lowlands near Dou Lan Mountain and four other men. They found footprints and located Haisul's family at an upper river named *Xin Wu Lu Xi*, which originates east of *Beinan Zu* Mountain in an area the Bunun called *Conbailulunowan*. They had built temporary houses and were hiding, but they had little food, only a half a gallon of millet. They had gone to a hunter's trap to loot. They were suffering from the cold temperature and hunger, and they were very tired. These events were reported on April 4 around 2:00 pm at Asahi police office (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

After one month's search, the Japanese found Haisul in the Beinan Zhu Mountain region. The Japanese police officers and their followers, including the various aboriginal people, grouped together to discuss the next move, fearing that Haisul would continue the struggle. The decided on a plan to send Vilian, leader of Bunun Pasikau and a member of Haisul's Takisvilainan family, to ask for surrender (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

[136] Constructed from Japanese Historical Data Source: Friend of Savage Administration publication, Taiwan Governor Office Police Department Announcement, *Laipunuk Incident, Second Announcement*, Showa 16, May 19, 1941, 113th Issue.

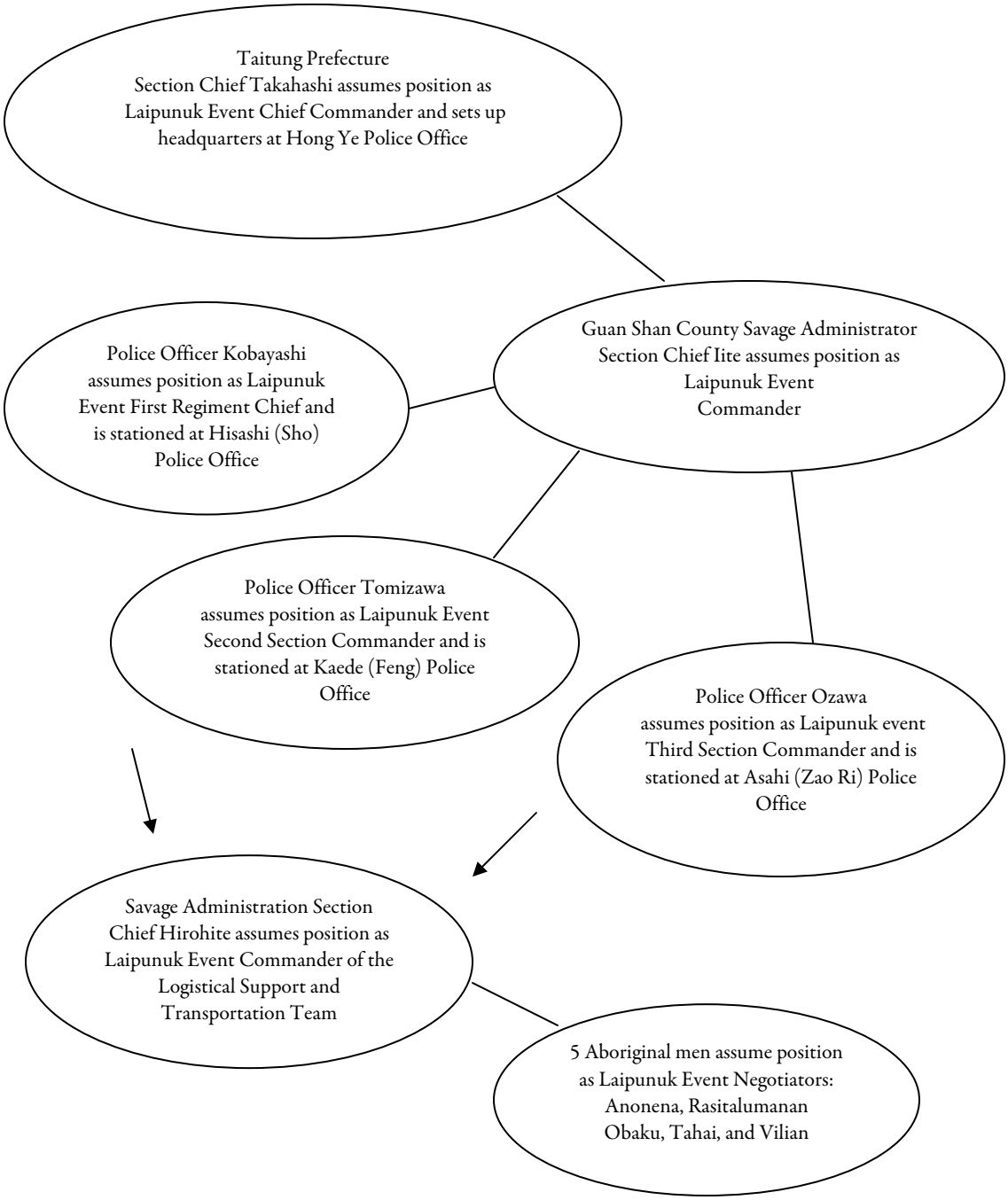


Figure 4: Laipunuk Incident Chain Of Command
Source: Constructed by the Author from Japanese Historical Data
(See Footnote 118)

The Taitung prefecture police squad, in cooperation with a neighboring mountain aboriginal tribe, discovered Haisul and his family inside the boundary line between Taitung and Takao (Kaohsiung) Prefecture's *Beinan Zu* Mountain (10,906 feet). They were hiding at the north-east side of the mountain by the left bank of the small river in a temporary house (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

Haisul's compatriot Mahundiv knew things were getting serious. In the early morning, Mahundiv found a huge rock and hid behind it, preparing to commit suicide. Mahundiv held his girlfriend, aimed the gun at her back, and shot her in the heart. She died instantly. He reloaded the gun and committed suicide (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

Vilian spent from morning until afternoon convincing Haisul and his group to surrender. The Japanese promised that they would not kill them if they would come peacefully. Haisul accepted the terms and his men handed over the Japanese's heads they had collected. Japanese police officers confiscated their guns (*ibid*.).

On April 5, in the early morning, the Nakano area chief named Obaku, the Shimono area leader Rasitalumanan, and three more influential aborigine men convinced the "violent savage Haisul" to come down from the mountain and apologize to the police officers (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

On April 7 at 3:00 pm, together with the persuaders (Obaku and Rasitalumanan) and fifteen people from Haisul's family came down to Asahi police office to apologize. Present also were Hirohite, Kobayashi, and 'influential high mountain aboriginals' Obaku, Tahai, Vilian and others as witnesses. The Japanese gave them a very serious lecture. Haisul apologized for what he did and then swore not to do it again. They gave up their 4 guns as proof (*ibid*.). Haisul, his family, the scout team, Japanese police officers, and Bunun leaders all came down the trail to the Hong-ye Police Office at the base of the Laipunuk Mountains. The Laipunuk incident was over (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

On the same day, April 7, at 8:00 pm, the 'violent savage family' arrived at the Hong Ye search team headquarters under very severe guard, together with *Hirohite* and his fellow officers and the aboriginal tribe people (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941). The entire incident lasted more than eighty days (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #115, 1941).

Haisul was allowed to go back to Luan-shan / Shang-li, where the Japanese built a small house for him. He returned to the same life he had lived before the Laipunuk Incident as if the entire

thing had never occurred. He grew paddy rice and plowed his fields; life was again laborious. Very few people ever visited Haisul and his family and he felt disheartened (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). Haisul and his wife and children had no millet, so the Japanese wanted him to work all year. At harvest time, once the family had enough millet, the Japanese took him to court. Taitung City Hall gave verdict and the Japanese government announced an order: Haisul should be put to death and all Bunun people would be extradited from the Laipunuk area (*ibid*.). "They killed him: the Japanese were very clever" (Istanda, T.B. 2006 interview).

On October 31, 1942, Haisul and his family took the last one photo in front of the Guan-shan police office (see *Photo 8* below). Then they were sentenced to death. Their action of refusing the *moving policy* was over. "The whole family was killed; only Hu Jin-mu's mother and Yu Jin-gu's mother were alive" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

Photo 8: The Takisvilainan Family Warriors of the Laipunuk Halipusun Tribe[137]

When the order to evacuate was announced, the people of Laipunuk didn't have any time to prepare. They left with nothing. Many thought that they would be allowed to come back. The millet, tools, and hunting guns…everything was left behind (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). As a group, the Bunun people walked down the Laipunuk trail. The line of people was long and magnificent. Everyone was silent all the way. Two pregnant women gave birth on the way and their babies' umbilical cords (*busuh*) were buried on the trail (*ibid*.). As soon as the Bunun left, the Japanese burned all the houses to prevent any hope for their return or another incident like Haisul's from happening again.

The Laipunuk incident and Haisul's story was gradually forgotten. The young people today only know that long time ago there was a man, whose name was Haisul, had killed many

[137] Haisul is pictured front and center.

Japanese. There are those who remember him as a hero, and those who remember what he did as wrong and destructive (*ibid*.)[138].

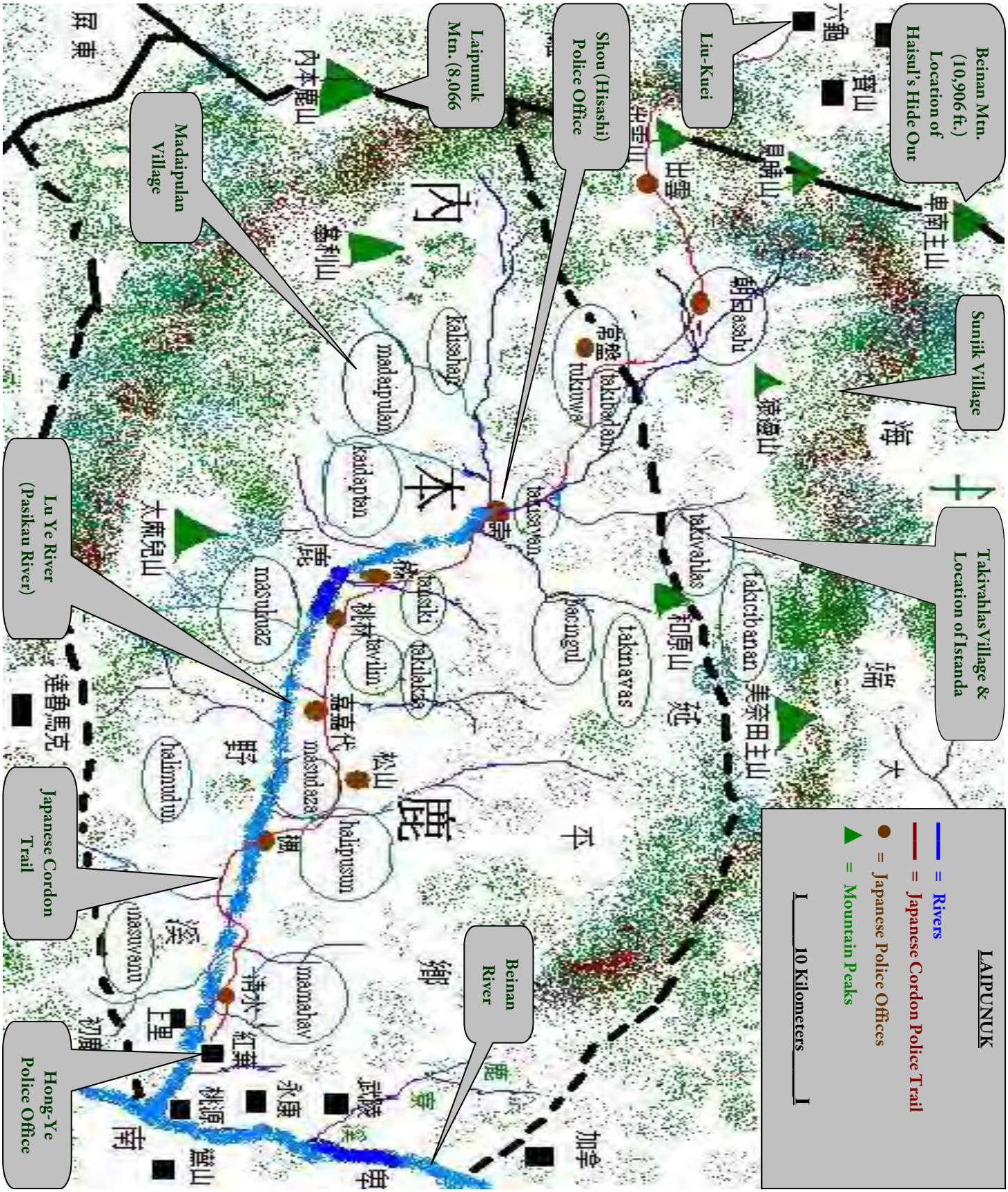
Conclusion

The *Laipunuk Incident* pinpoints the end of human habitation in Laipunuk in the twenty-first century. It provides an empirical focal point defining the ultimate stage for traditional indigenous culture in a traditional natural environment on Taiwan before the advent of global power. Sections 4.1 and 4.2 explored Laipunuk's Bunun culture, the precarious cultural mixing between the Bunun and the Holo and Hakka Chinese, and the Rukai, Paiwan, and Tsou ethnicities. This chapter indicates that the development of social structure was based on trade, economy, and power, and that the Bunun were able to live outside of direct Chinese and Japanese authority well into the *Japanese Colonial Period*, yet they had access to materials and trade benefits from the globalizing world outside of Laipunuk.

Section 4.3, the *Laipunuk Incident*, marked the end of human habitation in Laipunuk. The region went from a flourishing mountain culture and trade network to an empty place almost overnight. With regard to the issue of land rights, *Laipunuk Incident* provides the Bunun with a clear-cut event beyond their control, thus, defining the loss of their culture and land.

This thesis will now move to the ethnographic narratives of two Laipunuk-born thesis informants. *Map 10* on the following page serves as a reference for Chapters 4 and 5.

[138] Opinions and willingness to discuss the issue of whether or not Haisul was a hero or the man responsible for the demise of the Laipunuk people varies widely among the elders as this can be a "very sensitive issue" (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).



Map 10: Laipunuk Reference
Source: Base Map Designed by Tsai, San Shen 蔡善神 (Binkinuaz, Tahai) (2005); modified the author

CHAPTER 5—ETHNOHISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

"I do my best to answer what you ask. All my grandkids now speak only Chinese. How can they be Bunun when they don't even know the language? Now, my own family doesn't use Bunun, and the grandkids don't try to learn Bunun. I asked them, they know it is important to me, but they don't try. I hope I am not the last of our family to have been mangan. If today we are shishivin, then that is our own ishuka"

TamaBiung Istanda

Ethnographic Narratives

Ethnographic narrative was employed as a component to this thesis for four reasons: (1) the limited availability of literature; (2) the absence of ethnographic material regarding this topic; (3) the availability of ethnographic data was discovered during fieldwork; (4) the author identified the potential need for *rescue ethnography*.

Two participants, brother and sister, were chosen for four reasons. Firstly, I had access to field data for them. Secondly, they were of age (over eighty years old), having lived in Laipunuk before the arrival of the Japanese and are able to recollect the culture of that period as well as the socio-political periods that followed. Thirdly, their family initiated a cultural revival movement including an NGO, which was able to provide four key components to this study: access to essential materials for Laipunuk history; location for interviewing; participation in expeditions to the Laipunuk region (see Appendix); and translation assistance. Fourthly, they are highly respected in the Bunun community and have acquired important collective knowledge from other Laipunuk-born individuals.

The abovementioned NGO, the *Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation*, was founded by informant Langus Istanda's eldest son, Pastor Bai Guang Sheng (Biung Husungan Istanda). Nabu Istanda, Langus Istanda's youngest son, serves as Culture Director for the NGO. Relevant to the gathering of ethnographic data, Nabu Istanda and the author jointly supplied the video and sound recording equipment, and all translation was co-produced by Nabu Istanda and the author.

Nabu Istanda is a polyglot able to speak Bunun, Chinese, Japanese, and English. He learned Bunun primarily from his mother, Langus Istanda and his Uncle, Tama Biung Istanda[139]. N. Istanda shares their dialect of Isbukun and has led nineteen expeditions to Laipunuk since 2000 to conduct tribal mapping[140]. According to elders at the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation, Tama Biung Istanda has a deep and unique knowledge of Laipunuk due to his age, memory, and the events of his childhood and relationship to his father.

Data Collection and Presentation

All questions presented to the informants were generated by the author and written in English. All questions were presented by N. Istanda (referred to as 'interviewer' from here forward) to the informants in the Isbukun dialect of the Bunun language. Often these questions initiated short exchanges of dialogue between the interviewer and the informants. All answers and dialogue between interviewer and informants were in Bunun language, which the exception of some words or short exchanges of dialogues in Japanese. All information was recorded and translated. Unclear information was presented to informants for clarification.

Translation was conducted solely by the interviewer and author by viewing and reviewing videotapes. All transcription was done by author. Two methods of translation were employed: word-by-word and short summaries of dialogue. The former averaged two hours per minute of videotape; the latter averaged two hours per ten minutes of videotape to translate. However, inclusive of translation, transcription, presentation of findings and questions regarding the findings, and the generation of categories, amounted to approximately four hour per minute of video tape.

The text presented in this section of the thesis is as accurate as possible. Care was given in choosing the most appropriate English words and explanations[141]. Bunun vocabulary was incorporated into this document wherever the interviewer and author felt it was significant or relevant. As Bunun language varies significantly from English, and to preserve authenticity of the narrative material presented, the English sentence structure in these narratives may not always follow correct English grammar. All Bunun text is in italics throughout this section of the thesis.

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[139] *Tama* means father, uncle, and is also a sign of elder respect when placed before the first name. It is appropriate to address him as 'Tama Biung Istanda'. His reference throughout this thesis is: (Istanda, T.B.).

[140] Refer to *Map 10: Laipunuk Reference* (opposite page).

[141] Currently there is no Bunun – English or English – Bunun dictionary. However there are Bunun – Mandarin dictionaries.

Questions prepared for informants were often identical; however, as many Bunun cultural behaviors are gender specific, some questions were also gender specific. For example, Tama Biung Istanda was asked more questions about hunting and guns, whereas Langus Istanda was asked more questions about childbirth and cooking.

Although some categories of data were intended, informant data naturally generated new categories as informants were moved to share experiences or stories important to them. In the early stages of data collection, it became apparent that informants were highly knowledgeable with respect to certain topics and that the data collected was valuable. *Figure 5* outlines the author's procedure of ethnographic data collection:

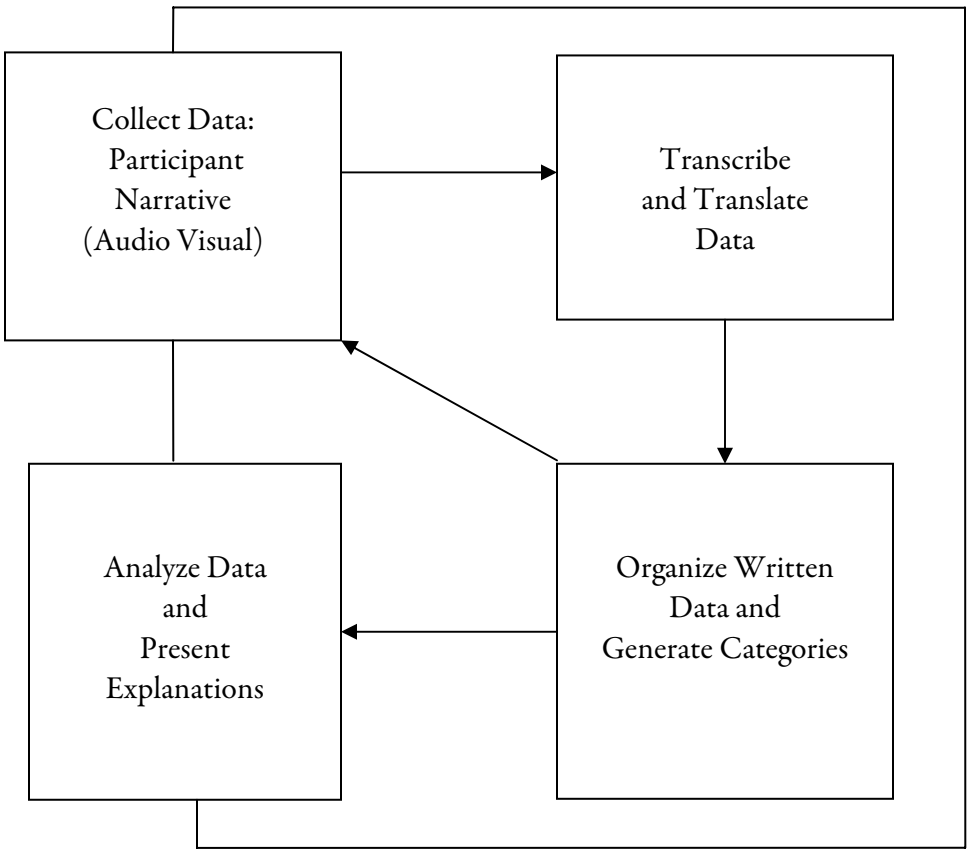

Figure 5: Ethnohistorical Narrative Research Method Flow Chart

Data Collection Procedure Sample

The following samples are from informant Langus Istanda. Data collection sheets reflect four aspects of data collected and generated. Firstly, the Bunun language was transcribed into a Romanized alphabetization system adopted from the *Bible system*[142]. The *Bible system* is appropriate for this study for three reasons: the interviewer and informants are familiar with the *Bible system*; they are unfamiliar with the new government system; and out of respect for the translator and informants. Secondly, the translation into English was placed under the Bunun words to insure content accuracy. Thirdly, when vocabulary was unclear, it was presented to the informants for clarification; this data is referenced as footnotes. Fourthly, an English text translation was generated.

Informant Interview Sample 1[143]

12:17:18 p.m. (*time code*)

Question:

Can you tell us what your age is?

Answer:

ni tu hayiap pun sayia i au pa ka i bav au pa sia libus tus wu vazus chi na
via tu na hayiap tu tau na isa a hamisan
tus ka mah zan lau pa kau tu si lib a tu ka masial a liban na vai pikun patal i suh
ka mal bu ha yia pauntia ka bu chi hun mas tu baun tu kuling taigaz mai u ni liv
ha bas hai wu gan nga liv van ka ku u nian mas a pa sa pa ma su bu su bu vai yia ni
ai na ha yiapav tu pia hamisan mas tus wu va zan ni wuka sian
ma viais nai na dama as cina, mi lis kin na yia tu tas u va dun hai ka pin tu buan
mais tas u vadun hai tal bia ka wu nia kabalivan,
kabalivan ka nah du in hai na intuhtuhan min na vai yian wu ngat
tu dip pin ha yiapun tu mais kabalivananin hai ha yiapun tu ah
tail mas amn tail pitu inn na sian mais intuhtuhan nin hai
a du das tu buan nin a du ka imin tu buan
au pa na da tu paun tu intuhtuhan na wu vadan hai
ma lan san mas kamatuh dan tu andadaz a du
ma dian pus hai tu di wu va dan hai

12:18:48 p.m. (*time code*)

[142] There are currently two systems for Romanized script of the Bunun language. One is the *Bible system* developed by Christian missionaries and the other is a much newer government system (made official on Dec. 15, 2005). Romanization systems for all indigenous languages were banned in 1951 by the KMT under the National Language Policy (*guo-yu zheng-ce*), as discussed in Chapter 2.3.

[143] Syllables, as recorded here, are not accurate to linguistic standards.

English translation placed under Romanized Bunun:

Ni tu hayiap pun sayia i au pa ka i bav au pa sia libus tus wu vazus chi na
Do not know that because above at forest born mama

Via tu na hayiap tu tau na is a *hamisan*
Why can I know when millet harvest ceremony

Ni sian ama ama tu na ha yiap pun
Not this possible to know

Tus ka mah zan lau pa kau tu si lib a tu ka masial a liban na vai pikun patal i suh
It's not like modern/now baby good cradle the baby how to clean/bathe

ka mal bu ha yia pauntia ka bu chi hun mas tu baun tu *kuling taigaz* mai u ni *liv*
Just naked like that cover by named/called bag big made by fiber

ha bas hai wu gan nga liv van ka ku u nian mas a pa sa pa ma su bu su bu vai yia ni
Before do not have fiber just made by leather cover cover baby

ai na ha yiapav tu pia hamisan mas tus wu va zan ni wuka sian
how know how many years born nothing happened/don't know

Ma viais nai na dama as cina, mi lis kin na yia tu tas u va dun hai ka pin tu *buan*
how should be Papa and Mama, they'll think that have been born count months

mais tas u vadun hai tal bia ka wu nia *kabalivan*
if born how many thing doing ceremony

kabalivan ka nah du in hai na *intuhtuhan* min na vai yian wu ngat
ceremony When it was done baby ceremony the kids and

tu dip pin ha yiapun tu mais *kabalivananin* hai ha yiapun tu ah
at that time know if ceremony we will know

tail mas amn tail pitu inn na sian mais *intuhtuhan* nin hai
it is ten or seven already he/she if baby ceremony already/past

a du das tu buan nin a du ka imin tu buan
maybe once month already or maybe five times of month

au pa na da tu paun tu intuhtuhan na wu vadan hai
because that been called ceremony is kids was

ma lan san mas *kamatuh* dan tu *andadaz* a du
following as millet harvest road/line of millet harvest ceremony

ma dian pus hai tu di wu va dan hai
put in place was at that time kids was

Direct Translation:

12:17:18 p.m. (*time code*)

do not know that because above at forest born mama
why can I know when millet harvest festival
not this possible to know
it's not like modern/now baby good cradle the baby how to clean/bathe
just naked like that cover by named/called bag big made by fiber
before do not have fiber just made by leather cover, cover baby
how know how many years born nothing happened/don't know
how should be papa and mama, they'll think that have been born count moons
if born how many thing doing baby blessing ceremony
baby blessing ceremony when it was done baby name announcing ceremony the kids and
at that time know if baby blessing ritual we will know
it is ten or seven already he/she if name announcing ceremony already/past
maybe once month already or maybe five times of month
because that been called name ceremony is kids was
following as millet harvest road/line of millet harvest ceremony
put in place was at that time kids was

12:18:48 p.m. (*time code*)

Photo 9: Interview Setup
Source: Author, 2004

This page serves as an example of the method used in the translation and generation of categories, as well as the footnoting procedure adopted and incorporated into sections 5.1 and 5.2.

My Age

Actually, I don't know exactly when I was born because we lived in the high forest and I didn't count the *hamisan*[144]. It's not like now, when a baby is born and bathed and well cared for. Before, the naked baby was just covered with a *kuling taigaz*[145]. We even used not to have *liv*[146] so we just used animal skin. We just cared for our babies; we didn't think to count the years.

Our Babies

Our parents know our ages because they count the times they held the *kabalivan*[147]. Once the *intuhtuhan*[148] is done, then after *kabalivananin*[149] time comes, then we will know if the children are for example ten or seven already, because their *intuhtuhan* has past. Maybe once a month or maybe five times a month because *intuhtuhan* follows the *kamatuh*[150] and *andadaz*[151], so it was at that time we might think about the age of our children.

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[144] *Hamisan*: The Bunun New Year ceremony of the millet harvest festival. Bunun may use this concept for the concept of year.

[145] *Kuling Taigaz*: literally *bag big*, referring to the large Bunun waste bag worn by a strap around the neck or shoulders. Originally made from animal skin, but cloth may be preferred when available.

[146] *Liv*: a word meaning fiber; can refer to cloth. More specifically it refers to ramie fiber or ramie cloth, the native plant used in cloth making.

[147] *Kabalivan*: Ceremony to bless the newborn involving millet wine and gift giving.

[148] *Intuhtuhan*: Annual name announcing ceremony (follows millet harvest calendar).

[149] *Kabalivananin*: Kabalivan as a verb or action.

[150] *Kamatuh*: While in the field and aligned in a row, Kamatuh is the tradition of Istanda family passing the harvested tops of millet flowers bunched together in their hands, from person to person and from right to left down the row the person at the end.

[151] *Andadaz*: A stage of the millet ceremony whereby it is left in the field to dry.

Review of sample data:

From the above data sample, seven important points are worthy of consideration:

1. The literal translation to English is problematic to understand and needs to be organized.

2. Very few individuals can comprehend Bunun language in a Romanized form, and this posed significant challenges to the research process.

3. Cultural terms need to be defined through further inquiry and added as footnotes.

4. Bunun language mirrors the culture and environment where it was used. For example, moon is month, the millet harvest ceremony is the closest thing they have to the western concept of 'year', babies mature and their aging recognized in accordance with the appropriate ceremonies, and the Bunun didn't necessarily keep track of their ages after childhood[152].

5. Bunun culture is filled with ceremony and ritual, and these cultural behaviors are deeply related to millet agriculture.

6. The answer received from the informant may generate an unexpected category for the thesis. For example, the answer to the question "Can you tell us what your age is?" generated a category on how babies were cared for and how names were given. And we learned that age is not given the same significance or context that a non-Bunun might have.

7. Discussion is need with interviewer and author in the final stages of translation.

8. One minute and thirty seconds of videotape generated a wealth of information regarding Bunun culture.

[152] Author's note: very few Laipunuk-born Bunun elders interviewed knew their true age.

5.1. Memories of Tama Biung Istanda: Ethnohistorical Narratives

Introduction to Informant Tama Biung Istanda

Age at time of interviewing: 88
Chinese name: *Hu Yun-Lin*
Japanese name: *Nishimura Yasu*
Current residence: Tao-Yuan Village
Birthplace: Sunjik
Family tree: Takisusugan (Father's side); Istanda (Mother's side)
Sister: Langus Istanda
Nephew: Nabu Husungan Istanda
Participated in Japanese military *Takasago Volunteer Service*[153]

Photo 10: Tama Biung Istanda
Source: Author, 2004

Self-Introduction

I was born in Laipunuk area to *Takivahlas* tribe in approximately 1918. In the beginning, my ancestors lived in the earliest tribe. Then more and more people came to live with them in the Isbukun group. My ancestors decided to move to *Mundavan* (near present day Hualien). Then more and more people came so our tribe moved again. We moved to the mountain in *Bulbul* (today called *Wulu*) and lived there.

My grandfather heard that his clan had moved again. So my grandfather moved to Laipunuk with his clan. He chose to live in *Takivahlas* tribe area because there are many good places there and it was close to the river. Then more and more people came there to live and it became a big tribe. Our tribe's power was big. Other aboriginal people and Japanese were all afraid of us. My grandfather and his people fought with other aboriginal people and Japanese often.

I still remember that there were many human heads on the shelf. I remember when my grandfather and his people sang *malastabang* to show off their achievement, they always sang loudly and described proudly that how many heads were killed.

When I was young, I heard that some Japanese will go to Laipunuk and open up a road there. Maybe it was far from my tribe because I never saw them. Then one day they really came. My

[153] The Takasago Volunteers are called *Gao-Sha* in Chinese.

father said Japanese were really wordy and they have too many rules, so we don't have to listen to them. My father said we can kill them all.

When I was around ten years old, the Japanese went to my home. A Japanese man said all of the kids have to study in the mission. My father hid me because I was the first son in my family. In Bunun culture, the first son should always stay with and serve his family, and importantly, go hunting with his father. I remember my father used to say to me, "We are a hunting tribe and don't need to waste time on studying."

That was when my younger brother (Nabu) and my younger sister (Langus) went to the Japanese elementary school at *Shou*. Because I stayed with my father, I never learned to write Japanese like my brother and sister, but I did eventually learn to speak it.

Then the Japanese asked us to move from Takivahlas to the lowlands near *Tulandan* (Nuan-Shan), so my family moved to *Tulandan*. The year my family left Laipunuk I was about twenty years old. My sister, Langus was fourteen. Except Takivahlas tribe, nearly all the other tribes had already moved down to *Tulandan*. I didn't feel there was much decision about their governance. They were powerful and we knew that we must obey.

In simple terms, when the Japanese came, Bunun people were scattered in the mountains. The Japanese brought them together to Takivahlas. I think in many ways that our lives got better. I don't harbor bad feelings about it: the Japanese brought better cloth and nice clothing, and they brought a sense of unity and peace. The Japanese taught Bunun not to steal and not to kill or headhunt. I respected the power of the Japanese weapons.

During the Japanese time, they never pushed any religion on us; they let Bunun follow their own beliefs except for headhunting and some cultural practices. When the war came, we had already been living near *Tulandan*. I was very proud to join and serve in the military. In Bunun culture the man should be brave. Traditionally we fought with other tribes and were headhunters. At that time in my life it seemed the same: be brave and fight with other tribes. Joining with the Japanese was like joining a strong tribe.

I felt I should be honest to the Japanese king and not be afraid to fight. I presented myself to the powerful Japanese. My decision was spontaneous. In Bunun culture, when we are needed, we go to fight. Bravery is rewarded in your social standing in the tribe. I was not afraid of getting hurt or to die. That's why we show this ancient custom on the stage at the Bunun Culture and Education Foundation's stage: we drink alcohol from the gourd and encourage each other to be brave toward life.

I was around twenty-one or twenty-two years old when I joined the Japanese *Takasago Volunteers*. Our military group left from Kaohsiung for the island of Palau to train for two months. Then I was transferred to Papua New Guinea for a period of three years. I served as a guard in the commanding division. My job was to protect my Japanese commander (March 1942 – 1945). We fought with the Americans in New Guinea. It was my duty. I decapitated two Americans and felt it was the proudest event of my life. But now I am a Christian. The Christian God may punish me for what I did. When then Japanese lost the war we were suddenly sent home to Taiwan by the Americans.

When I got off the American ship in Taiwan, I went back to Nuan Shan (*Tulandan*) to find my father. But he had moved. The town's people told me that all my family moved to Lu Ming (also called *Pasikau*, now called Tao-Yuan Village). So I went to *Pasikau* to find my father. I will always remember that my father gave me a big hug, held me tightly, and he said, Biung, you finally came home. He couldn't believe I was still alive. I was so happy that I sang a song for him. People said I was the only Laipunuk Bunun who came back alive from the volunteer service in New Guinea.

Today, I hope our younger generations can learn from my experiences and not forget about the history of Bunun tribe. For example, I would never abuse alcohol, because alcohol is something sacred to Bunun culture. Young people today use it as an entertainment outlet.

I have agreed to do these on-camera interviews to have the history for the next generation, have the kids to know, the next generation may want to dig for our story, to know the living style and experience. So the next generation can know our words. The words we tell, our story, will not be forgotten by the next generation.

Our Spirit Beliefs

Hanitu has many meanings, such as spirit or ghost. When my memory goes back, the *hanitu* goes back with me: "All the places I've been my *hanitu* doesn't fall asleep."

In my dream *hanitu* I never saw a ghost. Our people were afraid of that; we got the unlucky things from *hanitu*, like falling down while in the mountain.

I don't know about that, about *hanitu*, about *masial* and *makuang,* maybe that's a dream, maybe that's a ghost. But the elder, a leader, may know how to answer this question.

I remember that *hanitu* was clever. Before *makavas* (headhunting), early in the morning, the leader will wake everyone, maybe ten people, and ask what your dream was. The elder will interpret or translate the dream. He may decide that some men cannot go based on this. Once a man dreamed that when meat was distributed everyone got a piece, but the dreamer didn't get anything. Then a stranger came and gave him just a small piece of meat. *Lavaian* (meaning the headhunting team leader) thought about the meaning of this dream. He knew it was a bad sign that the man dreamed about not getting meat but he figured it was okay because he did get a small piece form the stranger. He reasoned that as long as you get something, that's okay, and he let the man come with them to headhunt. In the battle the man who had the dream got shot in the back. Then he realized that the small piece of meat was a small bullet. The *hanitu* had fooled *lavaian*. So the *hanitu* can cheat you.

Now there are no more Bunun taboos because I have been a Christian for about forty or fifty years. I can't translate dreams, God[154] can't even do that.

When you kill an animal you should cut off different meats from the animal and put it on a flat stone or rock as a sacrifice to the spirits. We called this action *mapatahu*[155]. This is for *hanitu*. When we don't do this the *hanitu* will bring bad luck, and our people really believe that. Before hunting, that night we send the kids out because their sneezing would bring *mashahun* (bad luck).

Birds flying in certain directions were unlucky. And sneezing is bad luck too. I remember a story, "There was a man, a hunter, he heard a sneeze, but he went hunting anyways, and he got lots of meat. And when returning to the village he sang *machiluma* so everyone would know he was back and had gotten lots of meat. Not long after he fell down and died." So before you leave for hunting never hear a sneeze. You should believe that this is real. He got a lot of meat but died when almost home.

Headhunting

You should not kill as if their possessions will belong to you; it's for the Bunun man to participate and to be proud for Bunun social standing. If someone says you never *makavas* (headhunt), you will try to join a group so that you can go. When you come back, you can be

[154] God in a Christian context; today the meaning of *hanitu* is reinterpreted by the Christian church and associated with the devil. The Bunun concept of sky (*dehanin*) is now associated with God (Haung, 1988 unpublished dissertation). Currently the Bunun word for the Christian God is *Tama Dehanin*.

[155] T.B. Istanda clearly stated that meat from both inside and outside of the carcass are required for *mapatahu*.

proud. If you don't go (never go) no one will respect you, they won't share meat and wine with you.

I've seen the skulls hanging, but you should never go near them, or you will get sick. This is *samu* (taboo), you'll have bad luck. *Maputus* is the name for eating a piece of meat and then giving a piece to the skulls. Only men do this. This place was not near the house. We only did this during the *malahodagian* (*ear-shooting festival*).

Mangan is to have power: "People who are not afraid," even in a fight they are not afraid. But if they don't do anything then they are not *mangan*, like people who eat too much or just always stay home with the women.

When we arrived in Takivahlas, we still did some headhunting but not much. When my brother and sisters were at home, we remember waiting and worrying about our father when he went headhunting.

There is a ceremony before headhunting, called *gahatham*. Headhunting depends on your dream and *gahatham*. *Gahatham* is when we cut a short piece of *tagnas* reed, but not the flower, only the stem, and put it on the trail. This is called *kus* (stick). The *kus* is going to carry or bring the *hanitu*, so the spirit will go from that *kus* to everyone, so when they go, they will carry the *kus*. If that night they don't have a good dream they won't bring the *kus*.

Everyone can have their own *kus* to put in the trail. Mix it with the dream. And the birds at the *makuang* (left side). If the bird sings on the right side that's good, then you will get a head and not get hurt. Bird's name is *thedu*. We wait for bird's singing. Dream, bird's sing, the *kus*, it takes time.

Only the leader has the stick. If everything is good then you take the stick with you. If everything is not good then you throw the stick away. Everyone who wants to go can come. Even if the dream is not good, the Bunun can cheat the *lavaian* because he wants to go. We have stories about the *hanitu* cheating *lavaian.*

When we go headhunting depends on the male leaders dream and the feeling. If he feels he should go – then he should go. And he may just go, and plan to be alone. But the others in the family will know he's going. They may want to increase their social position and request to go along. It may start in this way.

You don't invite anyone to go with you. We are individual in that way. But you won't refuse someone who is determined to come with you. The person will just come to you and ask if they can come with you. The leader will answer, "That's up to you."

When a man has the feeling to *makavas*, he cannot stop the feeling. It's an individual event, just how you feel. The wife should not try to stop the husband, but she can, and should, feel worried. The wife's action in the house should be fast and serious. If she is slow and lazy the husband will be made slow and weak. Before you go headhunting you should hide the kids. Only the wife stays to help, and the woman should work very fast – make your man fast, and then he may be the first to have a head. We never knew where our father was going to headhunt.

Enemies are called *bingbingan*[156] (a strong enemy) or we may say *vaival* (means different). If we go to headhunt *put*[157] (Taiwanese) we would not *malastabang* this. It's not so proud.

Killing *put* is not proud; it should be *bingbingan*. When we show up to kill *put* they always go "*iu iu*" (oh no oh no) and they try to run away. We should fight powerful people. When you *malastabang,* you cannot count *put*.

Our father went headhunting four times so he *malastabang* four times. *Malastabang* has its own counting system[158]: one time is *makatasa;* two times is *makapusan;* three times is *makajune;* four times is *makapat;* five times is *makaima.*

The most times I ever heard of someone headhunting was *Anu Shikish* from *Palalavi* family. He went 13 times. But his headhunting group had a member, a man from Asahi village named Biung *tangus* (ahead). He was always ahead of the others; he was always the first to cut. And I remember Biung Ikit also from *Palalavi*; he went fourteen times.

For our Husungan family, I think the most *mamangan*[159] person was my father Anu. He was *mamangan*. But his oldest brother Biung had gone three times, Dahu went five times, and my father went four times.

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[156] *Bingbingan* means enemy of the Bunun and referrers only to indigenous tribes. Chinese and Japanese are not *bingbingan*.

[157] *Put* refers to all Chinese. There is no distinction between Hakka and Holo Chinese. As the Bunun have a strict taboo against farting, which was not observed by Chinese when in Bunun company, the Bunun call them *put* or literally *fart* (Istanda, N., 2006).

[158] This follows the Bunun numbers but with some variance. According to N. Istanda, from one to five in Bunun are: *tasa, dusa, tao, pat, ima.*

[159] *Mamangan* is a verb (similar to adding *ing* in English), whereas *mamang* is a noun.

I remember a story about *Lapus Ang*, the woman whose husband went head hunting. The group came back with victory but the husband didn't return. No one knew what happened to him. Every evening she went outside to wait for him. She called *mapuaisang*[160]. There is a bird in the high mountains that makes this song. My sister always says she is so sad when we hear that bird in the evening.

When you're headhunting, if someone in the group gets hurt, we leave them behind. Someone will tell his wife why he didn't come back. The leader of the group won't feel sorry or guilty, that's not his responsibility. No one can blame him. Each person goes on his own will. It's an individual decision/event. It's a gamble to go. You may win, you may lose.

The wife can marry another, but I never heard of it. I never heard of a widow from headhunting to remarry, but maybe it did happen. But today people divorce and remarry like it doesn't mean anything.

We stopped headhunting *bingbingan*. Because we stopped headhunting our people became foolish idiots. Other tribes also became like idiots. So now we can get along, there is no more revenge.

Hunting

The first time was with my father. I just thought, "Get the meat." In the old times every family had their own hunting place to get meat. You can go to other peoples hunting area but you should ask first.

We have many types of hunting. *Hulmu* is when you wait or hide for hunting. *Mapuasu* is using a dog for hunting. *Hulmu* and *mapuasu* can be done at the same time. *Matahavan* is when you use a bow and arrow or gun, and you go looking for the animal. *Ishnudan* is hunting by fire. That's good in a razor grass area. You burn, and the area not burning you *hulmu* for them. I've hunted that way. Yes we have burned the mountain. We don't use that burned area for growing millet because it would be too far.

Our Hunting Taboos

Women cannot touch the hunter's knife, sword, or gun. *Unhusbungan* means if a woman touches it, you can't use it. But she can prepare or touch the hunter's backpack.

[160] *Mapuaisang* meaning is *Mapua* (sad) *Isang* (heart).

When we get the first animal in an area, we must make a sacrifice, only the first animal, and then if we go to another place and don't get any game, we should still offer something from the first place's kill. The meaning is to invite and mention to the ancestors that we are here, to ask them to protect us and to give us meat.

The meats we call *ji ji* are *vanish* (pig), *shidi* (goat), *sakut* (bark deer), *hangvan* (deer), and *utung* (monkey). Bear, deer, bark deer, goat, and pig, these are the biggest animals. But my favorite meat is bark deer, also wild pig because it's so delicious. But, wild pigs in the mountains are so skinny. There are not too many bears, but if you meet one, you just kill it. But we don't go hunting for bear, it is just *tamuli*[161], "I don't want to meet you, but I must kill you." Bear is too dangerous and has too many taboos, so we don't consider bear to be Ji Ji. We never used to shoot flying squirrel like people do today, we had plenty of meat, we didn't need that.

Our Old Guns

In Laipunuk we had four kinds of guns: *jimbabatus* was a single shot muzzle loader; *tuabak* was also a sing shot muzzle loader but with a very large barrel and large shot; *jintatasa* was a single shot but it used a shell with a casing; and *jinnum* was a six shot rifle and good for hunting (*num* means six). These guns all came from Taiwanese people. These guns didn't come from Anu *Magavan* the gun maker in Laipunuk. I never saw the Old Dutch guns.

The amount of guns you have depends on how many men in your family. In *Takivahlas* we had two guns in our house. My father had a six-shooter, but mine was a single shot. My brother Nabu was too young to have a gun. A young man should be fifteen or sixteen years old to have a gun. Our guns all came from Taiwanese, we bought them from Taiwanese.

Gunpowder

In Laipunuk we used to make gunpowder *karanak*[162] (by ourselves). You first must have the *batuklukan* (chicken house). Then we collected the mud under the layer of chicken manure. Then we cooked this mud with water. Next we added *dainalu* (saltpeter[163]), which is a liquid we get from *put* people. When we add a little *dianalu* the water turns white that's good, it will be success. Then we just take the water and get rid of the mud. The water is boiled until dry (reduced) and becomes a powder. Then take the pot, make it cold, wait until the next day. Then

[161] *Tamuli* means that you have no choice.
[162] *Karanak* means *by yourself*.
[163] *Dainalu* is most likely saltpeter.

there is powder that's white like snow, like crystals. Next we collect *madiav*[164] (sulfur) from Laipunuk's hot springs. If we can't get sulfur from hot springs then sometimes we got it from the Japanese telephone line connecters. If we can't get sulfur from telephone insulators or hot springs, then it comes from the *put* people in *Lakuli*. Lastly we make charcoal from the *hulas* (*yen fu mu*) tree. Then we must cook it together, which is very dangerous. We need all three colors: white powder from the cooked chicken poop (cooked with *dainalu*); yellow sulfur (*madiav*) from hot springs or line connectors; and black charcoal made from *hulas* wood. Then you have gunpowder. All the elders know how to make gunpowder.

Our Father

I learned from our father where the river goes and how the mountains are; he wanted me to know every area of the mountains: "You should know everywhere." He taught me that there are many types of hunting style, such as *hulmu* (wait for prey), or hunt with a dog, or go looking for the game. Father taught me that I must "know each area and know the winds, then you know how to hunt in that area."

I remember my mother and father, how they walked to their fields. Mama worked at the house. Papa went hunting maybe four days a week, and when he came home he would work with mama. I never saw my grandparents. My father was from *Mudan*, his family name *Husungan*. My mama was from a *Takibanuan* family.

My father hid me from the Japanese but he was foolish – the Japanese already knew about me – they had a name list paper. But each time the Japanese came my father said, "No, no one named Biung." He would push them out. But the Japanese can never find me, I was in the forest. I was six or seven then and my brother Nabu was not born yet.

My Papa always hid me. Papa always said to our family, "Don't talk about that, I will hide him." Papa was worried about *halavan* (robbing). Papa said, "Biung is my only son, he is our family treasure." But the Japanese ended up taking me to fight. It was to be my obligation.

My Papa trained me from a little boy. I started hunting much earlier than other boys my age. Papa was *mamangan* (powerful); he took me when he was so young. I already had a short gun, a bow and arrow, a dog, and a backpack. Papa's way to train me was different and earlier than other's ways. If papa hadn't trained me so young, I would have died already. I never would have survived the Pacific war.

[164] *Madia*v is the Bunun word for both 'yellow' and 'sulfur'.

Our Old Village of Sunjik

There was a *Jivahlan* (watchtower) at *Sunjik*[165]. There was a gun there. *Sunjik* had a stone wall to protect the village. The entire area was called *Sunjik*.

I think our old house at Sunjik was made of *banil*[166]: the sides were made of *banil* bark; the posts and front of *banil* wood; but the 3 sides were stone. Rich people, families with many boys who can hunt and get meat would build with *banil* boards, the poor just use stones. When we were in Sunjik we didn't use money.

My sister was three when we left, so her memory really begins with Takivahlas. But she has some memory of Sunjik, and our father used to talk about that time. She remembers that *kalabatun* bark was the house material, but I know that place better than my sister because I went back there with my father to go hunting. From Takivahlas to Sunjik took about one hour to hike. Sunjik was a cold place. I remember that when it was cold, our family all sat around the stoves.

There were five main families living in *Sunjik*, I can remember *Takiludun*, *Balavi*, *Tashimusan*, and *Husungan*, which is our family village. The area was big and the families lived at different mountains, they were very spread out.

In *Sunjik* we had forty people in our family, all living in the same house. When we moved to *Takivahlas* we separated and each group built their own house. I remember when we moved to *Takivahlas* that our family had to decide to stay together or separate, there were five which made the decision for the family of forty[167]: *Dahu*, *Husung*, *Tulian*, *Tamuniikid* and *Anu* (our father). *Tamuniikid* and his family stayed in *Sunjik*.

Our father had six brothers and four sisters, the oldest brother was *Lamata*: *Lamata*, *Dahu*, *Biung*, *Anu* (my father), *Atul*, *Tahai*, and *Nabu*. My father's sisters were named *Langus* and *Abus*, but I forget the others names. *Abus* married to Kaohsiung's Bunun *Ismahasan* Family. *Langus* married to a *Takiludun* family, a man named *Bisado Atul*. *Langus* had come down with us to *Takivahlas* but she was already married in *Sunjik*, but I didn't meet her again until many years later. *Abus* went to where her new husband's house in Kaohsiung County. We were

[165] See *Map 10* of Laipunuk with toponyms relevant to this section.
[166] Taiwan Yellow Cypress.
[167] This point concerning who and how they planned their relocation is currently under review.

Mavalan [168] of *Abus* so we went to visit her family in Kaohsiung County. There was no trail. We just followed the mountains, we never got lost. But the way to there is very dangerous.

We didn't raise pigs in Sunjik, nor did we *mankaun*[169] with pigs and wine. Maybe this behavior is from another tribe. We are real Bunun; we didn't *mankuan* before.

Our Clothes in Sunjik

Our clothes in *Sunjik* were just *tabish* (a traditional skirt), *habong* (vest with open front made of two pieces of cloth sewn together, and *pituh* (jacket/shirt which were white).

Many things are from fiber. We already had cloth from Han people, we had cloth and leather. But we were not naked like the natives on TV. We had cloth to wear as a loincloth, it was small and just covered our genitals, but our back sides were open. When we lived in *Sunjik* had things from Taiwanese people but not actually from trade. And we didn't take things from headhunting; we only take the head. After we came down to *Takivahlas* we had lots of cloth

Our Move to Laipunuk

Palalavi and *Istanda* families moved because of the marriage relationship. When you have marriage exchange you have information exchange and families may move together. Also for animal meat, when Bunun go out to hunt, the hunter finds and learns about a new place. The hunter knows – these are the reasons we move.

Our New House at Takivahlas

Our *tainidalan* (first to open the land) at *Takivahlas* was a man called *Tahai Binad* from *Mundavan* of *Istanda* family. And when Japanese came into *Takivahlas*, he was the first to move down to *Gainusungan* village near Hong Ye.

We carried the *banil* bark to *Takivahlas* from *Sunjik*, so our fist house was made of *banil* but later we used *tagnas* reeds[170] for the walls and roof in *Takivahlas*, then later we built a rock house[171]. We have seen this type of rock house before, so we learned from other people, maybe from Rukai or Paiwan people. I think when the men went hunting or headhunting we saw the

[168] *Mavalan* refers to *affine*. In this thesis, affine may imply the wives' family as the Bunun are patrilocal.
[169] *Mankuan* is the practice of thanking the affine family for the wife having given birth.
[170] *Tagnas* is Bunun for *gao shan wujiemang* 高山五節芒 .
[171] See section 5.3 regarding the *Takivahlas* House and its construction.

Rukai or Paiwan rock house. In Laipunuk everyone was making the stone house. If Bunun have rock, we use it.

I was too young to help build our house in *Takivahlas*, maybe just five or six years old.

Our house had windows, but not a shooting window like our house in *Sunjik*. Our house was rock on three sides but had wooden boards in the front.

The beds were around the sides and against the walls. Our beds in *Takivahlas* were made of *tagnas* reeds and with leather, fiber, and cloth to put on top, and it was warm because we also had the stoves. And we had blankets made of goat skin called *gulung*. My sister remembers that we used *kuling taigaz* (large bags) made of *liv* (ramie fiber) to cover us too.

There were five of us kids, we all slept together, ate together, and everyone should have equal meat from the soup. Everyone got a piece of meat, even the baby. Even though the baby can't eat it, a baby is a person too. We always ate with the piece of meat in one hand and a spoon in the other. The spoon was used to eat rice, millet, or soup.

The front wall of the house was wood, and when you opened the door and saw straight ahead was the *bachilasan* (granary). And besides the granary was a small place to keep the things used for ceremonies. Our ceremony items could be placed on either side of the granary, it didn't matter. The granary was supported by four *banil* posts so it was about a meter off the floor.

As soon as we built the house, there were two stoves inside. My father *Anu* was always kind and good, and wanted to share his wisdom. Everyone always wanted to come to his *banin* (stove). There were two stoves; I don't know why we had two stoves maybe because of separate responsibilities, but not because of *samu* (taboo), maybe because there were two brothers so we had two stoves.

I remember the *luluman*[172] (pig pen) didn't have a door and was to the left side of the house. We fed the pigs inside but didn't let them walk around. We also had a chicken (*tuluk*) house.

There was a special place for our ceremonies but it wasn't near the house. We were only allowed to go to that place if there was a ceremony, otherwise we shouldn't go there. There was a building where we kept animal jawbones from hunting. We call that *lulusanan* because *lusan* is an animal ceremony place.

[172] *Luluman* also means 'jail', a house without a door.

Many years later I went back and saw the house foundation and area. That was during the KMT forestry time in the 1970s.

Our Family Witch Doctor

Bunun prefer *palabas* (marriage by exchange). *Langus* married to *Ala-ala's* brother from *Takiludun*, and *Dahu* married *Ala-ala*. *Dahu* was a *tasiun* (witch) so we were very afraid of him. He could use *matatashi*, which is a witch's way to kill people. He used hair, blood, bones. He could take the spirit out of your liver and heart. Medicine people could do this, they can talk to the evil spirits of the sick person's body and make them go out, and then you will get better.

Dahu, who was an *amaminan* (witch doctor), always led the ceremonies in our new village. People were afraid of him or to go freely to his house. People always came to my father's *habu*[173]. They liked to come inside the house to be close to him. No one went to *Tama Dahu's* stove. He didn't have papa's kind of knowledge; no one wanted to be close to him. My sister said he could kill people with his power. When our mother used to cook things for the pigs, *Dahu's* wife (*Ala-ala*) would always come to take the best part to their pigs, but their pigs were always skinny and my mama's were fat. I believe, "that is *dahinan's*[174] will."

Our Beauty Concepts

What is most beautiful and handsome for Bunun men and women is long hair, pierced ears, and *umanun* (pulling) of their *vanish*[175] (front incisors). My father pulled all four of my incisors when I was only five years old. This is because when they are kids so they don't feel the pain. Ears should be pierced at one or two years old. We do this because we believe that a pierced ear is beautiful and pulled teeth are handsome. The mouth looks smaller when the teeth are pulled. Small jaw looks beautiful. I remember a story of a girl who pulled her top teeth and felt she was more beautiful, so she wanted to do the bottoms too, but then she died. If you don't pull the teeth you will look *masampav* (ugly). After pulling them you will look *manimnin* (attractive). Seediq tribe also does this. I don't really know why, it just looks good. My brother *Nabu* and sister *Langus* never pulled their teeth. My brother *Nabu's* mouth didn't look good.

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[173] *Habu* means *ashes* and may also mean *gunpowder*. Here T.B. Istanda uses *ashes* to refer to the stove, but the meaning is of a closer relationship. Coming to someone's *ashes* is closer to that person's *spirit* comparative to visiting their *stove*.

[174] Here Tama Biung used the word *dahinan,* which is translated to *heaven* in the post-Christianization era.

[175] *Vanish* means wild pig and refers to the incisor teeth. The upper incisor and the tooth behind it are pulled on each side of the jaw.

Bunun say that *masampav* is a person who doesn't take out their teeth. *Baintusan* means *pull the teeth* – that is the action. *Manimnin* is after you pull the teeth. *Put* people don't do that, only *true* Bunun do it. It is a *samu* (taboo) not to do that.

Our Bathing

We used to bathe with cold water and we had no soap. We bathed at the river or at the house. How often depends on if it's was hot outside, then we took bath – if it was cold, maybe not. We never had a bathroom or soap, but we used plant seeds named *dahu dahu*[176]. Today many organic people use it; they put it in the net bag and wash with it. This plant used to grow at *Takivahlas*.

My Red Scarf

I always wear my red scarf tied on my head this way because it looks good. It should be red. When we gather you should wear it. Before we wore very long hair so the hair should be twisted into a ponytail and wrapped with the cloth so that the hair is not outside the cloth.

If you kill the animal, put the blood on your knife, gun, or scarf. I don't know, we just do it. People will know you killed many animals. Red means fine, a good symbol, power, have something to cook. Red color is meaningful.

Our Taiwanese (*put*) Culture

I don't think *put* are called *put* from fart, maybe that's a joke[177], it's from our ancestors, and it's just a name of a tribe.

The *put* in *Takivahlas* were mostly Holo *put* people. I don't know if the *put* in our village really followed *put* or *ngai ngai* (Hakka), we didn't go to their houses, we just played outside, and they were same as Bunun. Tokiwa (village) had all true Bunun children.

There were four or five *put* houses were in *Takivahlas*, maybe *Anu Manglav*, *Ja Nu*, *Xing* (Lin Zu Mei's papa), and *Xingniu*. *Anu Manglav's* people once lived in *Sunjik*.

[176] *Dahu dahu* is called *wu huan zi* in Chinese.

[177] N. Istanda believes that informant (T.B. Istanda) may have given this answer out of respect, due to the presence of a *maiput* woman (Lin Zu Mei) who was on set at the time of the on camera interview.

Put people were being pushed – pushed toward *Lakuli*. Then they stay there. *Lakuli* had many *put* mixed with Bunun. Many *put* who were with Bunun were pushed by Japanese toward *Lakuli*.

There was a marriage relation between *Tamabukun*, a Bunun elder from Laipunuk, and the *put* people. The elders learn from the *put*.

Our Neighbors the Mantauran

I don't know the names of the people from *Upunuku* (Mantauran[178]), but I know they came to *Madaipulan*[179], maybe for *mavalan* (affine). People from *Kutubuki*[180] would go to meet them at *Madaipulan*. Because of the marriage exchange they came to visit. I remember the name of a man called *Uvak* who married a *Mantauran* girl. And *Uvak* is a *Mantauran* name, so I'm not sure about that, maybe *Uvak*'s father had already married a *Mantauran* woman.

Marriage

Before there was money, if the wedding was not by exchange we would trade a gun for a woman, "you can have my daughter but give me your gun."

My sister says if the boy's papa knows the other family has a young girl, they will go to visit and check to see the family line. If it's okay, they will just take the little girl home. But it's not so easy, it should have *mapashingav*. It should be very formal. They need to make an agreement, even if it's just a little girl. If the girl's family refuses, that's fine. You should prepare wine and pig (even if they are just kids). You should feed the pig for one year.

Our Jobs at Home

We work at the field and when it's the time to hunt, we just go. Women stay at home to tend to the millet and take care of the house. When we come home we all make leather things like shoes. The millet field was not so big, not so much work. Women have jobs at home, like mending the cloth. We get the needle and thread from trade with *put*. When we were young in Laipunuk there wasn't so much work, just take care of millet and have ceremonies.

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[178] As aforementioned in Chapter 4, the *Mantauran* self identify as *Oponoho* and the Laipunuk Bunun refer to them as *Upunuku*. See reference list for the works of E. Zeitoun.

[179] *Madaipulan* is an old Bunun village believed to have strong ties with the *Mantauran* villages in Pingtung County. The author explored this location during the 2006 Expedition.

[180] *Kutubuki* was an important Japanese police station in Laipunuk. Refer to Chapter 4.3 for alternative Japanese, Chinese, and Bunun names.

Our Farming

When we lived in Sunjik we only grew *maduh* (millet) and sugar cane, but when we moved to *Takivhlas* we grew *salath, mukun, batal,* and *katchpulun* (corn), but we did not eat *katchpulun*. I heard from other people that it can be used to make wine. We only made wine for ceremonies, mainly weddings and when affine come. We normally just visit other's houses when there were decisions to make.

Our village at *Takivahlas* was big, so the *huma* (millet field) was across the river. Anyone can grow millet, if we want a place we just make it, we just do as we can, everyone can have a field, you can make it[181].

Tobacco

We used to have tobacco, and we planted a lot of it. We could trade it in *Lakuli*; also *Mantauran* people came to Laipunuk to trade for tobacco. I didn't smoke but my father did. My father had a small bag he carried with tobacco and a pipe. Our family planted the tobacco plant on their own. My father showed me how to make it dry. We dried it by hanging it inside the house. It can't get wet. After the leaves were dry we tied it in a bundle, like a roll, and then you can just cut some off the end when you want to smoke. The roll of tobacco can be carried in a piece of bamboo, so you can take it everywhere. My father used to plant tobacco for trade and for use, but actually, my father just used it and shared it, but others used it for trade.

Our Music

We only have songs during ceremony times. You should not sing alone, only when gathering. No drink, no song.

We sing *machiluma* when we carry heavy things, even meat or millet because it makes things feel lighter. Not just when nearby the house, but anytime you carry things. We *machiluma* on the way and you can sing this song when you're alone because *machiluma* is not for ceremony. Even walk together, carry things together, *machiluma* is for your own feeling. I learned *machiluma* from Tama Dahu, and it's very simple. I remember there was one Bunun man who always went off-tune. It was very funny. Sometime I imitate him because it was so funny.

[181] N. Intanda explains: "you must have a dream to open the land, you need to ask heaven." Even today, T.B. Istanda wanted a place for his cow, so he opened a place for it on nearby land without government involvement by asking the people who used it before; then when he became too old to feed and care for the cow, he just let the land be free.

Pasibutbut is only done once a year and it must have a good harmony. If not done correctly then the year will not be good. *Pasibutbut* is only a ceremony for headhunting. It's only done by men. Circle from left to right. You put the head in the middle and circle around. But I remember our Papa just hung the head on the side at the ceremony. When we gather and learn to make the song good, we try to match the sound and volume. Each person has their own sound. *Mashling* means many voices, like harmony. You can't have *mashling* alone.

Malastabang is when we tell how many times you have gone headhunting. Before the Japanese time, we only tell about headhunting (*makavas* or *haingut* meaning 'cut head'). But after the Japanese came we just tell about hunting, especially big animals. Now our kids say anything on stage because the Chinese can't understand our language, they say, "I got one mouse, or I killed three frogs," and make jokes. It's funny but also sad.

Pisilaiya is for our ritual music for headhunting only. But that was in that time, and now it's different. Today it's just for hunting, we just say, "All of the meat just come in front of my gun." The meaning is *jislai*: even if the knife just cuts the skin, may they die. "Let the knife have magic." So *pisilaiya* is to pray to God[182], let our weapons have magic. That's like an electric shock to your body or like poison – even just a few drops and you die.

These things (*pisilaiya* and *malastabang*) were just for headhunting. *Pisilaiya* is done before you headhunt; *malastabang* is done after you headhunt.

There's another song used when we walk around the heads in a circle and sing to call the heads brother's heads to come to you. You lead their spirits and you respect their spirits. At this time we feed the skulls meat.

Our Play

We went to each other's houses to play. When we were young, ten or eleven, we played bow and arrow to shoot birds and small animals. We used to throw a kind of round vegetable up on the hill and try to shoot it as it rolled down.

Our Trade

Bunun have brass or silver bracelets. Those things came from trade with *put* people. There was a *maiput* gun maker in Laipunuk named *Anu Mangan*, he had a lot of adornments, maybe he

[182] God is replacing the term *Dahinan.*

made them himself, maybe it was from *put* people. We have a history of *mapuvive* (trade exchange) with *put* in Laipunuk.

Our Trading Posts

When I was maybe sixteen years old, I first had money to buy something at Laipunuk. My family had money but not much. Japanese brought money. Before Japanese we had trade exchange. One big deer antler can trade for one metal pot. I remember my father and I went alone to *Lakuli* with a deer antler[183] and skin to the trade place and Japanese gave us money.

After the Japanese came, there were two types of stores in Laipunuk: Koikisho and Shihu[184]. Koikisho was a Japanese trading post that sells cloth, knifes, machetes, but no gunpowder; Shihu was a Taiwanese trading post, and even Japanese would buy things there, they sold rice, noodles, things for daily life. Bunun can buy things at either type of store as long as they have money, they didn't allow trade exchange

Bingbingan in Laipunuk

We could not live with *bingbingan*. They were road makers. They were from the lowlands. They were friends with the Japanese. They were servants and road makers. When they worked on the roads, there were Japanese in front and back, with *bingbingan* in the middle. The Japanese used to beat the lazy workers. There was a man named Xingxing from another tribe. We called those tribes *Jivulan* (plains indigenes). He could speak Bunun. He knew our elder sister *Kiwa*. His kind of people were used by Japanese to discipline other aboriginal workers, servants, also Bunun. He worked at *Bulubulu* before as a road worker.

The Aiyong (workers) Jobs

Aiyong jobs were sweeping, cooking, cutting the trees for the fire, and making charcoal. The Japanese liked to use coals in their rooms. Aiyong were used to carry the supplies from the lowlands. Some carried documents, like a mail man, from one office to another. Each office must send to the next. Kutubuki office had four Aiyong, but other office maybe only had two.

[183] Deer antler blood is used as Chinese medicine.
[184] Koikisho and Shihu are Japanese names.

Our Japanese Mail: Kutzu

I used to carry supplies from Kokayo to Kutubuki. Kutzu is the Japanese name for a mail man. I was so young for this work, but I was not afraid. We took turns. One day I was Kutzu, the next day-off. Mail was taken from office to office, some offices were bypassed. It took two days and one night (two days one way). Japanese were my boss but not *put*. If your strong (can carry a lot), maybe you make three cents. The Aiyong made fifteen dollars (yen) a month. The Kibusan (police office chief) made fifty yen per month. When I went to be a Takasago Volunteer I made eight yen per month.

Our Laipunuk Hero: Lamataxinxin

Lamataxinxin was from *Mundavan*, my grandpa was from there too. I've seen him. He was a big man. His knees were big. Like a giant. His hair was long. He came for *tangtungun*. *Mapa-tangtungun* means a regular visit. *Mapa-dulap* means rare and special visiting. He came to see my father at *Takivahlas*, but not at the village, rather at nearby areas. We moved from *Sunjik* to *Takivahlas* area (the highland area) for a period of time. The *put* were in the lower place. *Lamataxinxin* was a relative of our family so he would come if he was passing by. From hunting and headhunting, a strong man should move through the mountains: Hualien, Kaohsiung, Laidong.

Lamataxinxin was *Husungan* (family name). He was *mamangan* (brave). If you kill Japanese you are *mamangan*, because Japanese were a strong people who killed our people. The Bunun who resisted were always caught by Japanese. The Japanese caught *Lamataxinxin* but they didn't kill him. They made him/them promise not to kill Japanese.

But *Lamataxinxin* still made gunpowder and went secretly to headhunt. He killed a chief of a police office. *Lamataxinxin* came to *Linkav* village of *Istanda* family, but the village told the Japanese (*Hyduan* area). After they caught him, they killed his family, or maybe just caught them.

Tekansui was the *put* man who helped catch *Lamataxinxin*. Tekansui's family then opened/had a store in Laipunuk. Tekanshui was *maiput* Aiyong. The Japanese gave him a high position because he can speak Japanese, Bunun, and he is a businessman. He is the one who always caught our people so Japanese liked him. His Japanese was good (clear). He then came to live at Shou. His family name was *Kimlan*, which was *put* name. Kimlan family married to Bunun. Tekanshui also married to Bunun.

Husung was a man who made gunpowder. My uncle *Adul's* kids. My cousin. He made the very good gun. Single shot. Good for long distance. It uses one single bullet (a shell). He can make the shell and the iron barrel with a hole. He must have had a machine to make that. We had the machine to make iron.

I know that *Lamataxinxin* got his gunpowder from Laipunuk.

Our Laipunuk Rebel

I remember about *Haisul*, I was twenty years old. *Haisul* was forty-seven years old. He was from *Halipusun*. In 1941, they were relocated to *Taminik*, where they just built a new house with the help of Japanese, but the new house wasn't finished yet when *Haisul* went to fight.

He (they) had a deal with another family in Asahi to fight Japanese. *Palalavi* family from *Halipusun* and *Biung Anika* from *Takiludun* family from Asahi. They had a plan for the date to fight the Japanese in Laipunuk. *Haisul* was to attack from the east toward the west, and *Takiludun* family to attack from the west toward the east. They planned to meet at Shou. They thought that there were only a few Japanese at each office so they thought it would be easy. *Haisul* really went on time, but *Biung Anika* was late. *Haisul* was too hasty. *Haisul* was *malavann* (powerful). *Haisul* is so upset about moving down. *Haisul* didn't have a good plan, he just sees Japanese as another tribe. After the Japanese find him, they left him in the village. Life was almost normal for him. *Haisul* was working hard in his fields. *Haisul* and his wife and kids had no millet so the Japanese wanted him to work all year. At harvest time, once the family had enough millet, Japanese took him to court and killed him. The Japanese were very clever.

We Follow the Japanese

Japanese purpose is to push us down. First they educate and brainwash us, then Bunun will obey. They pushed us together to the Schools and the committee conferences at Shou. These are the two purpose of Shou. They have us go *bansha kaigi* (savage village meeting) as a group so we must follow Japanese. *Bansha* meeting always at the police office, each office had this. The *tou mu* established by Japanese organized this.

Our Life Yesterday and Today

My sister says the life at the mountain was better, there was nothing to worry about, but before Japanese came we are always anxious, there were enemies all around. You must always be on guard. My father's brother *Dahu* was always readying the guns. Every day you must prepare

your gun. If you see an enemy come and you prepare your gun then, that is too late. The gun must be loaded and ready. *Duhu*'s wife *Ala-ala* was carrying *mukun*[185] home one day to use for making wine and she accidentally knocked a gun over and it fired. Their son *Husung* was hit by the shot. He died. This happened in *Sunjik*. But I think life in the mountains was better than today's way of life, men were always hunting, women always at the millet field. It was natural to headhunt and feel on-duty. That was our life.

My sister says that today young people, well, how can we encourage them, push them to learn, to think, to care? Those who want to return, go back, try that way, they can make that choice, this way is the traditional way – if you have that power (that feeling) – you just follow that way.

We never thought about having the land taken away from us and being forced to leave forever. We didn't know that behavior. We just live in the forest, follow our ancestors, make a village. We never made a decision to leave that place. We naturally grew up there – it would be natural to go back.

To recognize our history, first we must *pasahal* (know each other). Our family system was destroyed by the Japanese, and again by the Chinese. The way to go back is to rebuild the family circle. Today the family doesn't communicate, religions and voting have separated us: Christian, Buddhist, Taoist, different beliefs, this broke our social structure.

I agree with what my nephew Nabu's says: "*palihadasan*[186]*,* discuss and talk about the history; *palihansa,* show and share your own opinion and what you know; *palimantuk*, make agreement (being sure); *palishnulu,* review the promise. For old Bunun this is natural; for young Bunun this needs to be learned.

Bunun culture and society was like a circle, we keep moving and end up back again.

This is like the headhunt, it's your individual event, your own life business, and it's up to yourself. It's, "Up to you." *Uninang* (fortunately) at least I have the opportunity to show what Bunun is. My body can still show the ceremony – the body movements and words.

For me it's difficult to have this happen. But I do my best to answer what you ask. All my grandkids now speak only Chinese. How can they be Bunun when they don't even know the

[185] *Mukun* is a root plant required for wine-making by Bunun tradition. See Section 5.2 Narratives of L. Istanda for further mention.
[186] *Pali* means talk or discuss

language? Now, my own family doesn't use Bunun, and the grandkids don't try to learn Bunun. I asked them, they know it is important to me, but they don't try. I hope I am not the last of our family to have been *mangan* (powerful/strong). If today we are *shishivin*[187] then that is our own *ishuka*[188].

If later, I'm still alive, we can talk again.

Analysis of Tama Biung Istanda Narrative

In the widest sense, the author and translator perceive that the informant's memory of the time and place in question is extensive, including his knowledge of Bunun culture and Japanese system in Laipunuk. His early childhood memory is vivid and his childhood knowledge of Bunun culture is extensive.

Based on several observations, author and translator infer that the informant's relationship with his father was very close and that his father was resolute to convey Bunun culture to his son. We base this inference on the following: informant began hunting and his teeth were pulled at a younger than usual age; his father was aware that there was a threat to their culture and way of life because he had met with *Lamataxinxin* and knew that the Japanese influence and dominance were likely to spread to Laipunuk; certainly gunpowder and the manufacture and availability firearms was prolific in Laipunuk before the Japanese arrived and that guns were primarily manufactured by the Taiwanese (*put*/*maiput*) who had intermarried with Bunun; indeed *Lamataxinxin* was in Laipunuk and obtained gunpowder there. Additionally, informant commented that there were many kinds of guns used by the Bunun in Laipunuk: single-shot (both long- and short-range); and those using shells (both single- and multiple-shot).

The informant and his family were unique and dynamic: many people came to visit his father's *habu* (stove and ash); informant's father hid him from the Japanese, educating and training him in numerous cultural traits and skills. The informant's narratives support the hypotheses that Laipunuk was moving toward a *new scheme* of social systems, trade, and intermarriage. Bunun children were very independent and adult behavior, such as headhunting, is an individual event, inasmuch as decisions to headhunt were based on the individual's feeling. Especially worthy of research is that Bunun music appears to be more deeply connected to headhunting than available literature suggests.

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[187] *Shishivu* means *just stay* or *be still*.

[188] *Ishuka* means *someone/yourself* and is the cause of the emptiness of *not having*.

5.2. Memories of Langus Istanda: Ethnohistorical Narratives

Introduction of Informant Langus Istanda

Age at time of interview: 84

Chinese name: *Hu Chun Lan* 胡春蘭

Japanese name: *Nishimura Yiko*

Bunun name: Langus Husungan Istanda

Family tree: Takisusugan (Father's side); Istanda (Mother's side)

Brother: *Tama* Biung Istanda

Son: Nabu Husungan Istanda

Birthplace: Sunjik Village

Current Residence: Yen-Ping Village, Taitung County

Photo 11: Langus Istanda
Source: Author, 2004

Self-Introduction

During the Bunun time living in the village as a young girl was easy and simple. Then all the laws and rules came from Japanese. Whether they were good or bad I didn't know. In my childhood, first my parents guided us, and then the Japanese guided us. I felt confused and frustrated about whom to obey, my parents or the Japanese? It seemed complicated to me. At that age I just obeyed the wishes of my parents. I remember my parents were always waiting for Japanese decisions regarding our fate.

The Japanese came to our village and took me to a Japanese school in another village in Laipunuk. I stayed there nine years. In 1940 they moved us down to the lowland a few miles from present-day Yen-ping village to a place called *Tubabalu*. That was sixty-five years ago. I fell in love and married a man from the Paiwan tribe. We met in *Pasikau*. At first, our families didn't want us to marry outside of our tribes.

Why We Moved to Takivahlas

We used to be divided by the mountains, but the hunters would meet when they went hunting and they would communicate. They had information exchange. Everyone was sharing information. We knew about Japanese before we came and everyone decided to leave and come to *Takivahlas*. We all came together.

My Age

Actually, I don't know exactly when I was born because we lived in the high forest and I didn't count the *hamisan*[189]. It's not possible to know. It's not like now, when a baby is born, bathed, and well cared for. Before, the naked baby was just covered with a *kuling taigaz*[190]. We even used not to have *liv*[191] so we just used animal skin. That was how we cared for our babies; we didn't think to count the years.

Our Babies

Our parents know our ages because they count the times they held the *kabalivan*[192]. Once the *intuhtuhan*[193] is done, then after *kabalivananin*[194] time comes, then we will know if the children are, for example, ten or seven already, because their *intuhtuhan* has passed. Maybe once a month or maybe five times a month because *intuhtuhan* follows the *kamatuh*[195]and *andadaz*[196], so it was at that time we remember the age of our children. Directly after the birth we apply *ngan*[197] plant to the head. At the moment of birth they're named.

Our Baby Ceremonies

For every newborn there are three rituals to do before we announce their name to our village and they can be counted as one year old. They should be done in the correct order: *puangan, kabalivan, and iswulumah*. First we do *puangan* by applying *nang* on the head to keep away *makuang*[198]. We make a necklace from the root of the plant. *Kabalivan* is a ceremony held at home and wine is prepared. The soft and soggy millet kernels left in the jar after brewing are put in the baby's mouth to introduce them to the taste. This ceremony includes giving a boy a knife

[189] *Hamisan*: The Bunun New Year ceremony of the millet harvest festival. Bunun may use this concept to for the concept of year.
[190] *Kuling Taigaz*: literally 'bag big' referring to the large Bunun waste bag worn by a strap around the neck or shoulders. Originally made from animal skin, but cloth may be preferred when available
[191] *Liv*: a word meaning fiber; can refer to cloth. More specifically it refers to ramie fiber or ramie cloth, the native plant used in cloth making.
[192] *Kabalivan*: Ceremony to bless the newborn involving millet wine and gift giving.
[193] *Intuhtuhan*: Annual name announcing ceremony (follows millet harvest calendar).
[194] *Kabalivananin*: *Kabalivan* as a verb or action.
[195] *Kamatuh*: the tradition of Istanda family passing the harvested tops of millet flowers bunched together in their hands, from person to person and from right to left while in the field and aligned in a row, down the row the person at the end.
[196] *Andadaz*: A stage of the millet ceremony when it is left in the field to dry.
[197] *Ngan* plant: Sweet flag root, *Acorus calamus* L. (Chiang Pu)
[198] *Makuang*: As aforementioned, this is the part of *hanitu* that represents evil, individual desire, and female. Post Christianization this word is synonymous with the devil.

and a girl a necklace or a pot. Only after this ritual can the mother take the baby outside without worrying about natural disasters like bad weather or a typhoon that could make the baby sick. *Iswu-lumah* is our ritual of taking the baby to show respect to the mother's side of the family. The husband's side of the family should prepare a pig to give to the wife's side of the family (an action called *mankaun*). If the husband cannot afford to *mankaun*, they may wait until two or three children are born and then have one *mankaun* (this is called *ispan law du*). Only after these three rituals have been completed can we have *intuhtuhan* and announce the name of the baby. And at that moment the baby is one year old.

Our Names

As soon as the baby is born, the mother chews *ngan* and places it on the crown of the baby's head and prays to have a good life, to be powerful, and not to have bad luck forever: "Let the *hanitu* be afraid of you by the *ngan*." You should do this just as soon as possible. And after the baby comes out, wrap the baby in cloth and discuss what name will be used. We should choose the father and father's father name. Names always continue in our family. We do not choose the name by ourselves; they come from our lineage. Until now our names continue.

Respecting Our Affine

It is very important to respect the wife's family; we do this in two ways. One is *mankaun*, and we do it to thank her family because she was able to bear children. The other is *Isbaka-mavala*[199], which expresses recognition to the wife's family for her hard work and contribution to her husband's family. It is very important for the respect of the marriage and the two families' collective relationship.

Our Millet Fields

Our millet fields were planted by scattering seeds, and a healthy field will be thick with young sprouts. To have the field grow up strong we have *minghulau*[200]. During *minghulau* several girls will be chosen by the clan to stay at a tree house, where their family will bring food to them. During this time there are three taboos: First is that they are not to touch a cooking pot with their hands, if their hands get black then the millet in the field will get black; the second is that they are not to wash their faces, if they rub their faces it would be like knocking down the milled seedlings; the third is that their dishes should be quickly washed by the other family

[199] *Mavala* means relationship. *Isbaka-mavala* is the act of giving the pig.
[200] *Minghulau* is the time when the millet field is weeded or thinned out.

members. Dirty dishes will mean that the millet field will have many weeds. During this time, Bunun hunters cannot bring home a bear to the house or millet field. The black color will bring bad luck. A hunter who is away cannot return home during this time, he may need to stay in the mountain until the *malahodaigian* (ear-shooting festival).

Our Childhood

We kids used to just play on the ground; our hair was always long and we always had runny noses. At night, mother never let us take a bath. We just would eat and brush off, and sleep that way. Our beds were made from *hual* (a type of blanket) and of *kuling taigas* made from *liv*. The plants we should have to make for weaving are *liv, ngan, salath, mukun, maduh, and katchpulun*. I learned all these things from my mother; she only spoke Bunun.

Our Childhood Games

From three years old, my mother always took me the place we got vegetables. And my mother [knew] what kinds you can eat and what kinds not to eat. She showed me how to plant sweet potato, and where the wild vegetables are. She showed me how she wrapped me and carried me on her back. My sisters and I used to play that as kids, how to wrap and carry a baby. And the boys played *busulgaril* (bow and arrow) and *baugan* (spear), and the boys will go with their father and learn how to use the dog for hunting. The boys learn to hunt at three, four, or five years old. By five or six he should start to carry *busul* (gun) for his father.

Our Childhood Snacks

When we were kids, our mother and father always taught us what things we can eat. They showed us about *tagnas*. There is an insect in the stem of *tagnas*, you can eat it. So when we were kids, we always look for insects that you can catch and eat. There were the insects from the stem and another kind on the leaves. We used to find wild fruits, like *bakaun* (mulberry) and *halushingut*[201]; that was my favorite. These are the things we ate as small kids.

Our Housework

We are always busy weaving, such as to make *kuling taigaz* from *liv*. We pound the millet and take the husks off, just for each time, each meal and cook what is needed, especially for wine, which takes a lot. *Mukun* is needed for wine; it is harder to pound that. After the millet is done cooking and cools, then we put it in a big wood tub with *mukun* and cover for three days (the

[201] A type of nut in a thick shell, which when heated on the fire pops open.

mukun is also cooked). The iron pots from Taiwanese people, called *jiping*. Before we had iron, it was *jicu* (pottery made of clay). Our father got a *jiping* from *Lakuli*. When Aunt *Ibu* was married, they took it to her new house. My father had a young deer antler that had blood inside[202] and he took it to *Lakuli* to trade for the *jiping*. This kind of antler can have blood inside for several months.

Our Wine

First you must pound the millet, and then you wash it and cook it. When you cook it, you must control the fire so it doesn't burn, and then you can cook it down. Next we put it in a big tub and mix it with *mukun* and cover it for 3 days. You must have *mukun* to make wine; it is like yeast. I remember, when our parents poured off the wine, that there was still millet in the bottom of the tub, it was sweet and delicious.

And there were many taboos for wine. You cannot sneeze or fart when you make it, and a woman cannot have her period or be pregnant; if so she cannot touch it or look at it. If someone farts, sneezes, or touches it in this way the wine will not be true wine. The family leader should get to drink the first bowl. Since we only use one bowl, one person drinks at a time.

Our Clothes

My father used the bark deer's leather to be the baby's cloth. The goat leather was for two or three years old. And deer skin was used for the older kids. You could make a nice dress for a girl or a nice vest for a boy from deer skin.

Our Japanese School

When the Japanese came to Shou, I learned Japanese, but before that we never saw Japanese before. I used to walk to Shou just to play. There were young men there exercising, running, jumping. We always followed the elder boys around and we stayed at the Japanese wives' house and learned from them. This was before we went to school there. We just went in a small group to play.

The first time to Shou was when we went there for trading; always my mother took us kids. So at that time we learned about other tribes, such as *jivula*[203], *bingbingan*, and Japanese. The *jivula*

[202] Deer antler blood was valued as Chinese medicine.
[203] *Jivula* normally refers to any of the sinicized plain tribes (pingpu).

and *bingbingan* were servants and road workers. I was a little afraid to go to Shou. There was a store there, a doctor, policemen[204], and there was a jail there too. I was eight or nine when I started school in Shou. Because I'm lazy and walk slowly, I only went three days a week. I stayed home whenever it was rainy. At the Japanese school, we just learn simple words like *dog* or *ear*, and we only learned simple katakana writing. I was twelve or thirteen when I finished Japanese school at Shou. Then I just stayed home at *Takivahlas*.

The Japanese in Laipunuk

At school the teacher and police were so serious. And they had everything, like magic. How can we go against them? Even the chief said we should follow. In earlier times, the Japanese used to kill Bunun for no reason, but only at that early time. Once the chief obeyed, then the people would obey. The chief says because the Japanese feed us so we should not fight them.

We knew the Japanese were going to make us move, they had been softening our minds, promising to treat us good, telling us that life will be better in the lowland. The Japanese cheated us. We Bunun know we cannot resist them, we say that we agree to avoid problems. They had meetings to say they want to treat us good. They treat the village leader very well, so he will convince us to follow Japanese. No one will be against the village leader; they are going to listen to him.

During the *Haisul* event many people went to the mountains to find him. Everyone was worried: those still living in the mountains; and those already at the lowlands. They pushed us to move down. My father didn't want to go but the family was going. *Madaipulan*'s man *Uvak* was the first to move down. After the *Haisul* event, everyone was moved out. Bunun from *Takivahlas* were moved down Kamino (Shang-ye).

Our Saddest Hour

Japanese gave us land to plant, but the living was difficult. We had to carry our water for plants and to use. My father, *Anu*, was so sad because *Tama Biung* left with the Japanese to go fight. I was so sad too. The police office had *bingbingan* that worked for them as policemen; they came to tell us not to worry. *Anu* was so troubled. He had hid *Biung*, his eldest son, from the Japanese. I remember him saying, "They robbed my eldest son." All the men that went to war were killed, only their ashes came back. Our family waited for *Biung's* ashes, we just worry. When he never came home and why his ashes never came. Then one day the Japanese office called for the family

[204] The word actually used here was *Kiboza*, a Japanese police rank.

to come[205], they said *Nishimura Yasu* (T.B. Istanda's Japanese name) will return. My father just grabbed him, he said, "Are you really *Biung*?"

Malaria

At *Sadasa* there were three small villages where everyone was moved down to. We don't want to go; we really don't want to go. All the people come down and they realize that it has really happened. The elders had warned them. Then the malaria came and the people were shaking. We burned *hunungah* plant to make smoke to keep the mosquitoes away. People were trembling all day, many families. Japanese feed us their medicine (*umalung*). It was very bitter. Because of that medicine not many babies came.

Talunas

At the age of fifteen, we moved to *Talunas* because there were three houses of *Husungan* family where everyone died, so the Japanese just closed the doors and burned the houses. At *Talunas* life was still not good. Just work so hard in the field. *Takishjanan* family received us in *Talunas*, we were thankful to them. That place was better than Kamino; it had not been all divided by the Japanese. The Bunun living in *Talunas* just let us find our own area to grow millet, similar to tradition Bunun way. At that time we were happier. There was not so much disease. We just used *lapashbash* (witch's actions) for our healing.

The Animal Ceremony Place

There still used to be a place for that here in Yen-ping, but I think the government didn't approve and the people became Buddhists, so they stopped using it.

My Life

In my life there has been *masial* (good) and *makuang* (bad), so how can I know when to be happy and when to be sad? When our family members died, that was sad. In the summer when the typhoons came and we didn't have enough to eat, that was sad – it all belongs to dream, to *dahinan*. We just do our best on Earth. I can't say anything about Japanese, we just follow – there is no opinion to have. The Japanese just left slowly and the KMT came. When the

[205] Note: L. Istanda remembers it was Talunas where T.B. Istanda's returned. However, T.B. Istanda's version is slightly different (see self-introduction of T.B. Istanda).

Japanese left, the all KMT came. The KMT *masiapuk*[206] us. When I look back, we had our own way, then Japanese changed our lives, KMT time we just follow, each time was that time, each way we just have to follow.

I wish the young men, the young people, can share and have the power like the elders, but it's difficult, how can they make it back? I have that wish, but it's so difficult. Actually, I think it's impossible. I told my son (N. Istanda) "if you go back, and that makes your heart happy, happy because you really want to go back there, maybe *Nabu* will have success, it depends on your *malavan*."

Analysis of Langus Istanda Narrative

Informant's memories and understanding of life cycle rituals is comprehensive, including those of childbirth, childrearing, naming, and the associated vocabulary. From the informant we gain insight to this unique area of Bunun vocabulary. Informant's knowledge of millet cultivation and associated agricultural rituals are detailed, including those regarding wine making.

Informant's childhood memories are generally positive, inasmuch as she tells stories of games, adventures, a safe and comfortable environment, and wonder (the *magic*) for the modernity of the Japanese. Informant memories move to a negative tone regarding the forced relocations and the period of illness and death of friends and relatives she experienced.

Children were taught survival skills at a very young age, such as what insects were edible and where to find them.

Significant in its own right, Langus Istanda's narrative adds a noteworthy component of sentiment to this thesis.

[206] *Masiapuk* means feed. However, Bunun often use this word to mean control. L. Istanda confirms she means *control*.

5.3. The Takivahlas House: An Ethnohistorical Reconstruction

The Memory

The *Takivahlas* house[207] is recalled by Langus Istanda (2006 interview):

> "Although I was very young, I remember my father *Anu* moved us to *Takivahlas*. He carried the roofing materials on his back from *Sunjik* village area. This was *kalabatune*[208] bark for both roofing and siding. Our family house went through several stages of construction and reconstruction, and then later he rebuilt it using *tagnas*[209] leaves for roofing and *tagnas* reeds for siding. I remember we used these same *tagnas* reeds for bedding. Then later, after living in *Takivahlas*, my father learned both the skill to cut slate and the technology to construct with slate. This work utilized special iron tools likely gained through trade with outside cultures. I think that maybe the entire house was made of slate when I last saw it. I think that the sides were likely stone all the way to the roof at that time. I remember my mother and father where crying when they learned the Japanese had set fire to the houses in *Takivahlas* village."

The Field Research

During the January 2006 Laipunuk expedition, the author located, photographed, and measured the ruins of Tama Biung Istanda and Langus Istanda's house in *Takivahlas*[210]. According to GPS reading on January 10, 2006, the coordinates were as follows: 240814 + 2540986, and elevation was 1,365 meters.

The following are the author's field notes: "The orientations of house foundations in this area appear to have no particular alignment other than that they face downhill and toward the stream. From the *Takivahlas* base camp[211] to the Istanda's house and nearby surrounding area, there are approximately thirty house foundations. The nearest house foundation was ten meters away."

Using a metal tape measure, and taking all measurements from the inside of the walls, the author added two feet six inches for each wall in order to get the correct external dimensions as follows: the house is thirty-six feet wide (note: back wall is six feet high) and twenty-three feet

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[207] Refer to *Map 10* for the location of *Takivahlas*.

[208] T.B. Istanda reported that it was *banil* bark.

[209] As mentioned by T.B. Istanda in Section 5.1, *Tagnas* is *gao shan wujie mang*.

[210] See Appendix for field work dates and information.

[211] See Appendix for *Takivahlas* base camp figure.

deep; court yard is 36 feet wide (same width as the house) and seventeen feet deep; the pig pen, which is thirteen feet from the house, is twenty-four feet wide by fifteen feet deep (note that the pig pen walls are two feet wide by three feet high). The rock pile near the house is approximately seven feet long by five feet wide. The total length from inside corner of house to inside corner of pig pen is seventy-three feet. See computerized rendition of field sketch below.

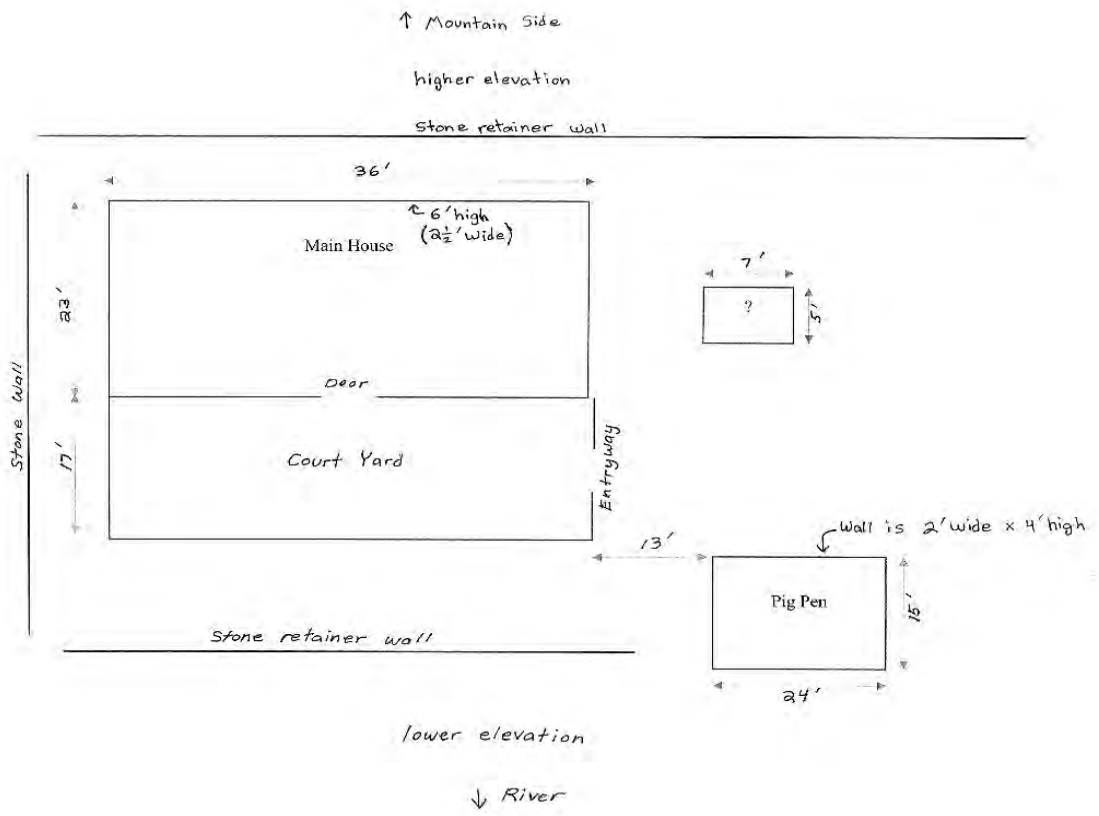

Figure 6: Field Sketch of the Istanda's House Floor Plan
Source: Author's Field Notes, January 10, 2006

Photos and field sketches supplied by author from on-location were used to assist L. Istanda in remembering the house. *Photo 12* was taken from the rear right corner of the house (if the observer is facing the front of the house). *Photo 13* is of the pig pen taken from the corner of the house.

Photo 12: Takivahlas House
Source: Author, January 10, 2006

Photo 13: Takivahlas House Pig Pen
Source: Author, January 10, 2006

Upon returning to the Bunun Culture Center, the author (with support of interviewer) re-interviewed L. Istanda on January 25, 2006. Based on this interview, with the support of the above visual materials, the following sketches were generated. They went through several drafts. Each draft was presented to the informant and alterations were made until they represented her recollection of her family house and demonstrated the three phases of development seen in *Figure 7, Figure 8, Figure 9, and Figure 10* house sketches*:*

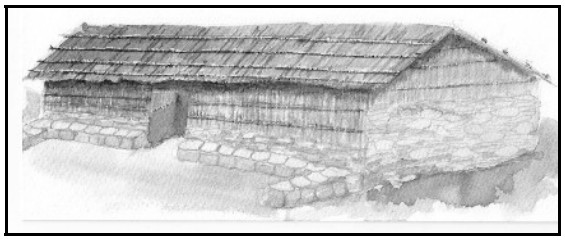

Figure 7: Kalabatune Bark

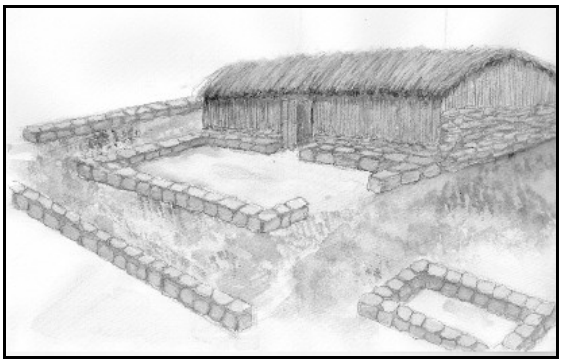

Figure 8: Tagnas Reeds (w/Pig Pen in Bottom Right Corner)

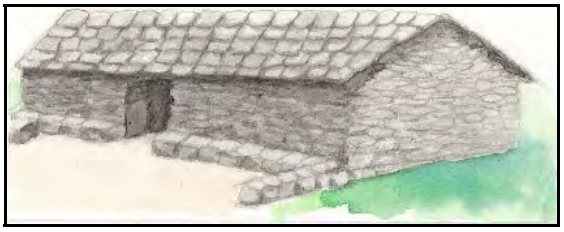

Figure 9:[212] River Rock and Slate

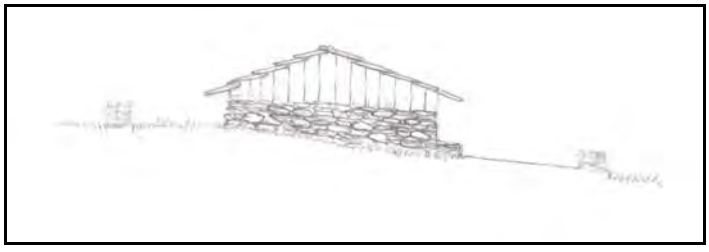

Figure 10: Side View (showing ground slope)

[212] According to T.B. Istanda, the front wall of the house was made of *banil* planks. This corresponds to the lack of a standing rock wall at the site. He also clearly remembers that their having been windows (openings).

Using these visual materials, the informant was then able to direct our follow-up sketches and add the internal design of the external house, which was not discernible in the field. *Figure 11,* below, was filled in on June 13, 2006; informants T.B. Istanda and L. Istanda, working together, were able to identify the location of the beds, stoves, and granary. The granary was elevated approximately three feet off the floor and supported by posts made of *banil*. However, they were unable to identify the rock pile adjacent to the side of the house.

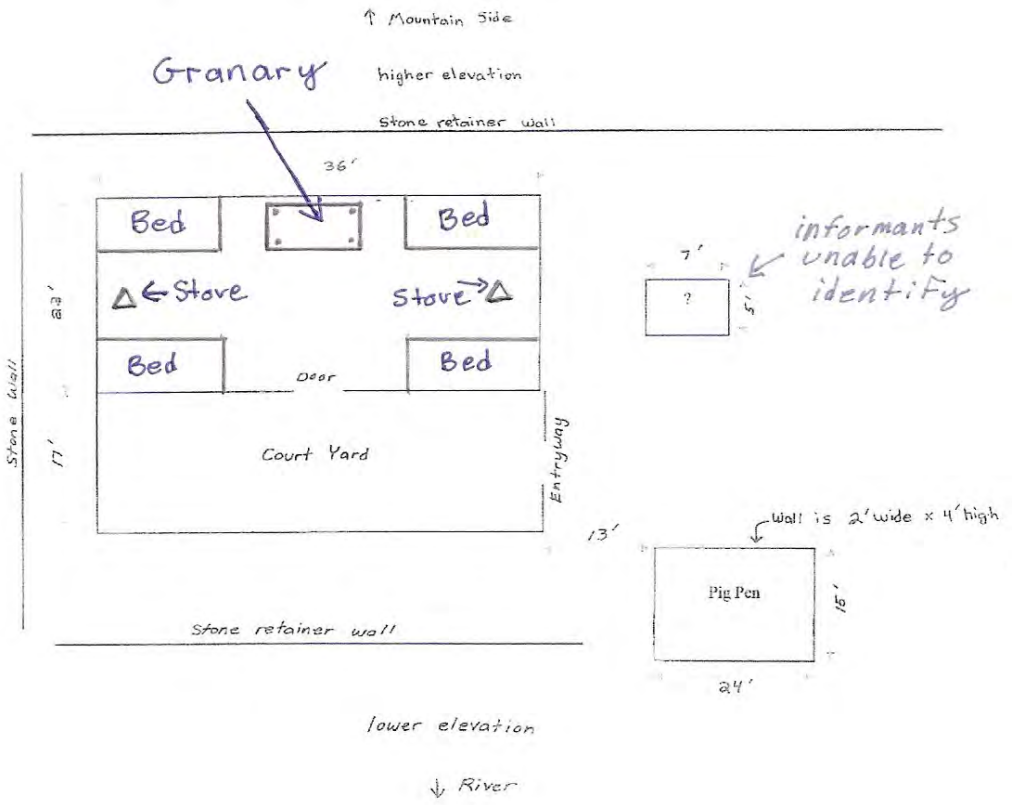

Figure 11: House Floor Plan Based on Informant's Memories
Source: Author's Field Notes, June 13, 2006

Analysis

Based on this ethnohistorical research, a hypothesis can be formed: the Istanda family witnessed material, technological, and spatial developmental changes in the development of their domicile while in Laipunuk. Originally the house was built with the materials they were familiar with and already had in the original village of *Sunjik*, and then it was rebuilt with local materials (*tagnas* reeds). Technologically, they learned about using slate for construction from other

people already in *Takivahlas*[213]. Spatially, the houses in *Takivahlas* were smaller and closer together that Bunun traditionally build (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). Furthermore, T.B. Istanda recalls that there were windows (openings); this represents a shift in normal construction with regard to household defense. Normally, the Bunun house would not have windows for defensive reasons; rather there would be only a small hole from which to shoot. *Takivahlas* village was larger than normal, with houses constructed closer together than normal. These changes may indicate that there was not a significant need for fortification, and may indicate a shift in their social environment.

Given time and circumstance, the house foundation showed no evidence of the construction and reconstruction which L. Istanda and T.B. Istanda recount, other than that the three sides were made of stone and that there was no stone used for the front wall. Based on author's observation, and following informant's testimony that the Japanese burned the house; the heat of the fire probably caused the wooden beams that supported the slate roofing material to collapse. Additionally, the Taiwan Forestry Bureau (TFB) had been active in the area. Pine trees were planted in and around the structure that are now as large as two feet in diameter. This activity disturbed the site considerably; thus further on-site confirmation is limited.

[213] T.B. Istanda (2006 interview) confirmed his sister's testimony regarding the three periods of the house's development and reconstruction.

CONCLUSION

"Every time we interview an elder I learn something significant and profound about Laipunuk and Bunun culture"

Nabu Husungan Istanda
Culture Director
Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation

The island of Taiwan has a rich and diverse history. Much of this history has remained hidden under the dominant cultures that have embedded themselves into the land and the minds of the people over the last centuries. However, the history of the land and people of Taiwan is much older, and its diversity is a goal worthy of pursuit.

Methodological Issues

Whereas this thesis methodology was originally centered on oral ethnography and focused on primary sources, it became apparent that cultural depredation and loss of native lands in the twentieth century were key issues requiring further study and broader perspectives. Antithetically speaking, the evidence of foreign cultural incursions prompted the research method to shift toward secondary sources and socio-political history. In the face of irreversible cultural homogenization the research addressed imminent issues of cultural reconstruction and conservation and synthesized into a genuinely ethnohistorical research. *Table* ***12*** displays the dialectics of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

DIALECTICS OF THESIS, ANTITHESIS, AND SYNTHESIS

dialectics	methodical focus	research focus
thesis	oral ethnography	indigenous peoples
antithesis	socio-political	foreign cultural incursions
synthesis	ethnohistorical	cultural conservation

Table 12: Dialectics of Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis
Source: Author

This thesis offers an authentic and substantive examination of Laipunuk in the context of ethnohistorical case study of the Bunun people. This case study has provided an understanding

of the sociocultural relationships among the Bunun and other indigenous peoples, the Bunun peoples' relationships to the Chinese, and it advances the knowledge of cultural interaction and adaptation within Laipunuk. The antithesis of socio-political history and foreign cultural incursions became a significant component to this study, and cultural conservation and reconstruction were a natural outgrowth.

Profound socio-politic change has resulted in the loss to the indigenous peoples of their land, resulting in severe cultural degradation that was especially brutal in the twentieth century. Contemporary ethnohistorical research is a worthy method to gain vital understanding, necessary for cultural reconstruction and conservation. As land and culture are inseparable for the original inhabitants of this island, ethnohistorical research will ultimately contribute to an integrated body of knowledge necessary to protect what remains to be conserved on many levels. This material provides useful information for the Bunun people of Laipunuk, all indigenous peoples of Taiwan, as well as researchers, scholars, and historians. For example, ethnohistorical research among the remaining indigenous peoples will contribute greatly to the fields of anthropology, linguistics, and prehistory; and advance scientific inquiry into medicinal use of regional botanicals and the original ecosystem comprised of native flora and fauna; and promote the development of the case for protection and preservation of the land for *all* the people, indigenous and resident.

Raison d'être

This thesis serves to document previously unavailable ethnographic material, creating a new ethnohistorical work that establishes the indigenous peoples of Taiwan as the island's *first residents*. The research demonstrates clearly that ethnohistorical case study is an integral component of the reconstruction of the history of Laipunuk and Taiwan, providing a link for future generations. With respect to Laipunuk, the situation is critical – calling for *rescue ethnography*. Through the recordation, translation, and documentation of primary resources, and the examination of existing literature, scholars, and Bunun descendants, this research is an authentic and unique compilation and record of the people, place, and time in query.

The procedure of data collection and recordation, centered on the narratives of Bunun elders, employed digital video and audio recording equipment. Data was then translated into English by working with elders, their families, and bilingual individuals familiar with the Isbukun dialect once spoken in Laipunuk. In some cases informants also spoke in Japanese or Chinese (or mixed); in such cases the translation process followed the same methodology. This in-depth investigation was conducted to compare and integrate oral history with limited existing

literature in order to reconstruct the cultural tradition and social identity of a people who experienced abrupt and severe cultural degradation in their youth. Cross-referencing with what documentation exists was employed to verify narrative history.

The Findings

The research provides evidence that there have been six distinct socio-political periods, which have had adverse affects on the indigenous peoples over the past four hundred years. During each socio-political period, indigenous peoples suffered the loss of land. These people identify certain regions as *their* land, specifically their *homeland*[214]. Loss of the regional homeland is equated with loss of life. In the case of the Laipunuk region, this loss occurred rather late in terms of the island's history; the official end of the Bunun' residence in their homeland occurred with the *Laipunuk Incident* in 1941, almost at the end of the Japanese Colonial Period. Rapid socialization, acculturation, and integration into the dominant foreign culture then spelled the end of the life the Bunun and neighboring tribal peoples had known for centuries. Although *cultural revival* is underway, much has been lost that can never be recovered. What can be recovered must be recovered, before the last elders die away, their invaluable recollections with them. In the case of the Laipunuk-born Bunun, with respect to the relative lateness of their extradition from their homeland, many of the elders have a clear memory of a relatively pristine and dynamic syncretism of indigenous culture and way of life. The knowledge they have, in terms of language, first-hand experience with the natural environment, and Bunun culture, is one of a kind. It is in the best interests of the wider Taiwan community to preserve these recollections for posterity.

Additionally, we found that the indigenous languages may have a much broader significance for Asian-Pacific studies overall. Indeed, there is speculation that these people and their languages may be an original source for the later peoples and languages that spread throughout the Pacific. Therefore, continuation of these studies on this one island has the potential for a very wide application in the fields of ethnohistorical, linguistics, cultural and even environmental research.

[214] Laipunuk is the *Busuh* site for the Laipunuk-born Bunun elders.

The Broader Issues

Who really *owns* Laipunuk? Who really owns Taiwan? These are critical questions that must be addressed, reflecting the issues of indigenous land rights throughout the world, not merely in Taiwan. As Taiwan continues to attract global attention regarding its dynamic relationship with the field of Austronesian studies, ethnohistorical documentation of cultures such as that of the Bunun are increasingly important and have a new global stage. From the standpoint of the Laipunuk issue, the indigenous position on who owns Taiwan; the argument of who owns Taiwan is not merely between the Peoples Republic of China and Taiwan; there is a third party, the *first residents*, the Bunun, and others who deserve further study.

From a humanities point of view, they hold one last chance for receptiveness of indigenous epistemology; from a scientific point of view, their knowledge contains a link to the critical fields of anthropology, environmental sustainability, and ethno-botany among others. Consider that the indigenous peoples lived in Taiwan for thousands of years without destroying the forests, polluting the rivers, or poisoning the land. They avoided the overexploitation of their environment; this was integral to their culture and is instructive to the larger *cultures* that dominate the Earth today.

Recommendations

The Bunun have much more to say. Other indigenous peoples scattered here and there in Taiwan have much to say. Therefore, first and foremost, I recommend continued ethnohistorical research with Laipunuk elders, as well as the elders of villages surrounding the area, so that we may better understand the social systems in place before the Japanese incursion. Related topics include tribal mapping, toponymy[215], and long-term projects including archeological survey. The founder of the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation, Pastor Bai Guang Sheng (Biung Husungan Istanda), suggests the area be opened for the purposes of cultural education for children (Istanda, B.H., 2006 interview); I am in agreement with this suggestion.

From an administrative perspective, the government of Taiwan should to come to terms with how to manage the area and face the current issue of returning indigenous lands. Today, Taiwan is pressing upon the world their quest for recognition and the right of political freedom, submitting their case for international recognition within such forums as the United Nations. Many citizens and government officials alike seek the continued independence of Taiwan,

[215] Toponymy is the study of toponyms.

based on a platform of democracy and human rights. Self-rule and self-management can be applied *within* Taiwan as well. Internal recognition of indigenous rights and consideration of matters of retribution have potential to show the world that Taiwan's claims of democracy are valid. Taiwan should address the fact that the Japanese tore the Laipunuk people from their land and homes against their will, and the KMT refused them the right of return to their ancestral homeland. Taiwan should consider the implications of this history and continued policy locally, nationally, and internationally. As an example of a positive policy step, Taiwan can forge a relationship between the democratic government, the Taiwan Forestry Bureau (TFB), and the descendants of Laipunuk–born Bunun, and institute similar policies with other indigenous groups.

Study of this nature must continue; indeed, it must be expanded. The wealth of knowledge contained in the minds and hearts of these people, about whom most of the *civilized world* know little (or nothing!), is critical; its value cannot be overestimated. This study and those like it, as well as those in related fields, should be initiated, supported, and embraced. Together we can put together a strong case for conservation and preservation of land, people, and culture, a case that could stand as a model for those confronting similar situations in other regions. It is my profound hope that we can, and will, do this.

It is my sincere hope that this study has made available a record for Laipunuk descendants, scholars, and the people of Taiwan to open the window of Laipunuk history, and to inspire the enlightened engagement in this topic. I am grateful for having had the opportunity to work with these extraordinary people, and for the opportunity to share their story with you.

內 本 鹿 – 臺灣原住民的最後聖地

Nei Ben Lu – Taiwan Yuanzhumin de Zuihou Shengdi

Laipunuk – was the last pure land of Taiwan's indigenous peoples

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APPENDIX

Field Research

The 2005 Laipunuk Expedition (5 days)

Conducted from March 23 to 27, 2005. Explored the lower reaches of the Japanese cordon trail and the Bunun village site of Mamahav. Photographed and sketched Bunun and Japanese cultural ruins of the Japanese period.

The 2006 Laipunuk Expedition (19 days)

Conducted from January 3 to 21, 2006. Departed from Hong Ye Village, Taitung County. Explored the abandoned KMT forestry road and buildings, Bunun village sites of Nabas and Takivahlas. Photographed, filmed, sketched, and measured house sites at Takivahlas of several Bunun elders who served as informants for this Thesis. Visited the old Japanese village of Shou where informants attended Japanese school. Visited Bunun village sites of Kaidaptan and Madaipulan. Explored what is believed to be the 'marriage exchange trail' between Bunun and Rukai (Mantauran) cultures. This involved crossing Taiwan's Central Mountain Range near Nei Ben Lu (Laipunuk) Mountain. Explored numerous Mantauran village sites in and around *Wan Shan*. Arrived at Miaoli Hot Springs at Pingtung County.

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Istanda, Tama Biung	Born 1917	Male
Istanda, Langus	Born 1921	Female
Istanda, Nabu	Born 1964	Male

Table 13: List of Key Informants
Source: Author

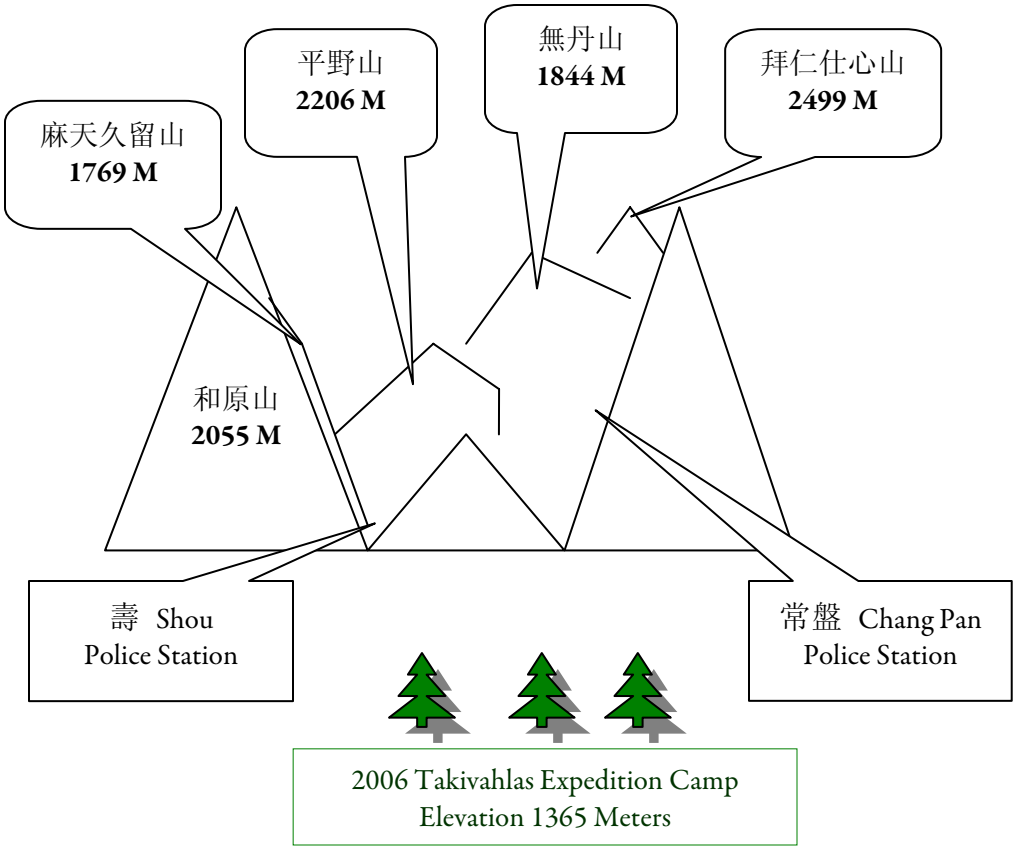

Figure 12: Mountain Peaks East of the Old Takivahlas Village
Source: Author's Field Notes 2006

MOUNTAIN PEAKS EAST OF TAKIVAHLAS

Chinese Name	Chinese Characters	Meters
He Yuan Shan	和原山	2055
Ma Tian Jiu Liu Shan	麻天久留山	1769
Ping Ye Shan	平野山	2206
Wu Dan Shan	無丹山	1844
Bai Ren Shi Xin Shan	拜仁仕心山	2499

Table 14: Takivahlas 2006 Expedition Base Camp
Source: Author

BUNUN GLOSSARY

[*Author's note: This glossary is not a comprehensive compilation; rather it is an anthology of the words found in the text this thesis. Definitions and spellings came from a range of sources and may need clarification. Bunun spellings adopted here, including those of personal names and place names, may vary from the Bible system and/or Taiwan's government's new system. These words were recorded as they were described by the informants and/or encountered during the author's field work. In some cases academic sources were sought for clarification*.]

amaminan	shaman (*n*.)
bachilasan	granary
baintusan	pull the teeth
banin	stove
batu	stone
batu	chicken coop
bingbingan	strong enemies
buan	moon/month
Bunun	human
busuh	umbilical cord
dahinan	sky; cosmos; heaven; God
dainalu	saltpeter
davaduda	*true* wine
gaviad	friend; affine
gulung	goat shin
habas	the past
habong	open front vest (made with two pieces of cloth)
habu	ashes; gunpowder
halavan	robbing
halipusun	limestone
hamisan	millet harvest season
hanitu	spirit
hanup	hunting
hanupan	hunting grounds
hual	type of blanket
hudas	grandparents
huma	millet field
is-amaminang	spirit mediums
isang	heart
is-ang	self; breath; heart; will; soul
ishuka	someone/yourself at fault of causing emptiness or loss
jicu	pottery made of clay

ji-ji (ti-ti)	meat
jiping	iron pots
jislai	may the knife just cuts the skin and causes death
jivahlan	watchtower
jivulan	plains indigenes
karanak	by yourself
klukan	chicken
kuling-taigas	a large waist bag
kus	divining stick used in headhunting to carry hanitu
lapasas	shaman (***v.***)
lapashbash	witch's actions
lapus ang	a woman's name; a bird's song; legend
lavaian	headhunting party leader
liskadan lus-an	ritual leader
liv	ramie fiber
luluman	pig pen; a house without a door (jail)
lumah	house
machilumah	a wordless song used to signal from the field
madiav	sulfur; yellow
maduh	millet
mahahun	bad luck
mai	half
maiput	*original* Taiwanese
makavas	headhunting
makuang	bad
malavan	powerful
maldadaingad	elder; ancestors; mother's patri-clan
mamangan	brave; warrior
mangan	to have power/strength
manimnin	attractive
mapashingav	formal agreement for marriage
mapintasa	becoming one; achieve consensus
mapua	sad
mapuaisang	sad heart
mapuvive	trade exchange
masampav	ugly
mashahun	bad luck
masial	good
masiapuk	feed/control
masumsum	pray; perform ritual
matatashi	a witch's curse
mavala	affine; relationship
mihumisang	hello; goodbye; *keep breathing*
ngai ngai	Hakka (Hokkien)

ngan	name; fame; sweet flag root
palabas	marriage by exchange
palapaspashan	witchcraft
pali	talk or discuss
palihadasan	oral history telling
palihansa	share opinion and knowledge
palimantuk	make agreement (being sure)
palishnulu	review the promise
pasahal	know each other
paspas	healing ritual
patatusan	the ritual ground
pinaskal	living in harmony
pislai	to empower; bestow power
pistahu	annual séance of spirit mediums
pituh	jacket/shirt which were white
put	Taiwanese; fart
saipuk	feed; foster; adopt; rule; govern
samu	taboo
sasbinad	strong protector; strong leader
shishivu	just stay or be still
sidoh	clan
sinkudakuda	work; ways of doing things
tabish	a traditional skirt
taisah/vahe	dreams
taki	place
tama	father or uncle
tama dahinan	christian god
tamuli	have no choice
tangus	ahead
tasiun	witch
thedu	name of a bird used in ornithomancy
tuluk	chicken
umalung	Japanese medicine used against malaria
unhusbungan	hunting taboo against women touch hunting objects
uninang	fortunately
vaival	different

Hunting

hulmu	hunting by waiting
ishnudan	hunting by fire
mapuasu	hunting with dog
matahavan	hunting by searching; using a bow and arrow or gun

Headhunting

gahatham	pre-headhunting ceremony using a *kus*
kus	tagnas stick (reed) used in ritual
lavaian	leader of a headhunting party
mapatahu	offering meat to the animal spirits
maputus	offering chewed meat to human skulls

Weapons

baugan	spear
busul	gun
busulgaril	bow and arrow
jimbabatuus	single shot muzzle loader
jinatasa	single shot with cartridge (shell casing)
jinim	six shooter rifle
taubak	shotgun: single shot with large barrel

Festivals, Rituals, Ceremonies

andadaz	ritual of laving millet in the field to dry
dengaisa	acknowledgement of a man's maternal family lineage
gahatham	ceremony before headhunting
hamisan	new year ceremony / millet harvest festival
intuhtuhan	baby name announcing ceremony
isbaka mavala	ritual to thank the wife's family for her hard work
iswulumah	ritual to thank the maternal family
kabalivan	ceremony to bless a newborn
kamaduh	ritual of passing the harvest in the field
lulusanan	an animal ceremony
magalavan	ritual to celebrate the growth of a child
mahabean	funeral ritual
mahusil	ritual of communal distribution
malahodagian	ear shooting festival
malastabang	telling heroic deeds
mankaun	ritual of presenting a pig to the mother's family
mapasila	marriage ritual
mapatahu	making a sacrifice of animal meat after hunting
maputus	eating a piece of meat and then giving a piece to the skulls
minghulau	ritual of thinning out the millet field
paspas	healing ritual
pisilaiya	ritual music for headhunting
pistahu	annual séance of spirit mediums
puangan	blessing the newborn with *ngan* (sweet flag root)
tainidalan	first to open the land
umanun	pulling of incisor teeth

Flora

bakaun	mulberry
banil	Taiwan yellow cypress
batal	
dahu dahu	*wu huan zi* plant
halushingut	type of nut in a thick shell, which when heated on the fire pops open
hulas	*yen fu mu* tree
hunungah	plant when burned used to keep mosquitoes away
kalabutun	tree commonly used for building and roofing
katchpulun	corn (fiber for weaving)
liv	ramie (fiber for weaving)
maduh	millet (fiber for weaving)
mukun	a root plant required for wine-making (fiber for weaving
ngan	name; fame; sweet flag root (fiber for weaving)
salath	(fiber for weaving)
tagnas	high mountain reed; *gao shan wujiemang (Mischanthus floridulus)*

Fauna

hangvan	deer
klukan	chicken
sakut	bark deer [*Cervus unicolor swinhoii* (Sclater)]
shidi	goat
utung	monkey
vanish	pig; [*Susscofa taivanus* (Swinhoe)]

Place Names

Bulbu	Mamahav	Takibadan
Bulubulu	Masuvanu	Takibana
Conbailulunowan	Mudan	Takibanuan
Dah Dah	Mundavan	Takivahlas
Gainusungan	Palalavi	Talunas
Halipusun	Pasikau	Taminik
Hyduan	Pisbadan	Tavilin
Kaili	Raku Raku (stream)	Tubabalu
Kakaiyu	Sadasa	Tuludan
Laipunuk	Sakaivan	Upunuku
Lakuli/Sakusaku	Sakusaku/Lakuli	Wulu
Linkav	Siusui	
Madaipulan	Sunjik	

Personal Names

Abus	Husung	Tulian
Anu	Ja Nu	Uvak
Atul	Lamata	Vilian
Binad	Langus	Xing
Biung	Mahundiv	Xingniu
Bisado	Nabu	
Dahu	Tahai	
Haisul	Tamuniikid	

Family Names

Balalavi	Lamataxinxin	Takishjanan
Husungan	Palalavi	Takisusugan
Isbukun	Shikish	Takisvilainan
Ismahasan	Takibanuan	Tamabukun
Istanda	Takiludun	Tashimusan

Bunun Ethnicities

Takituduh, Takibakha, Takbanuaz, Takivatan, and Isbukun

Types of Visits

tangtungun: visit; mapa-tangtungun: a regular visit; mapa-dulap:rare and special visiting

Malastabang Numbers

makatasa; makapusan; makajune; makapat; makaima