



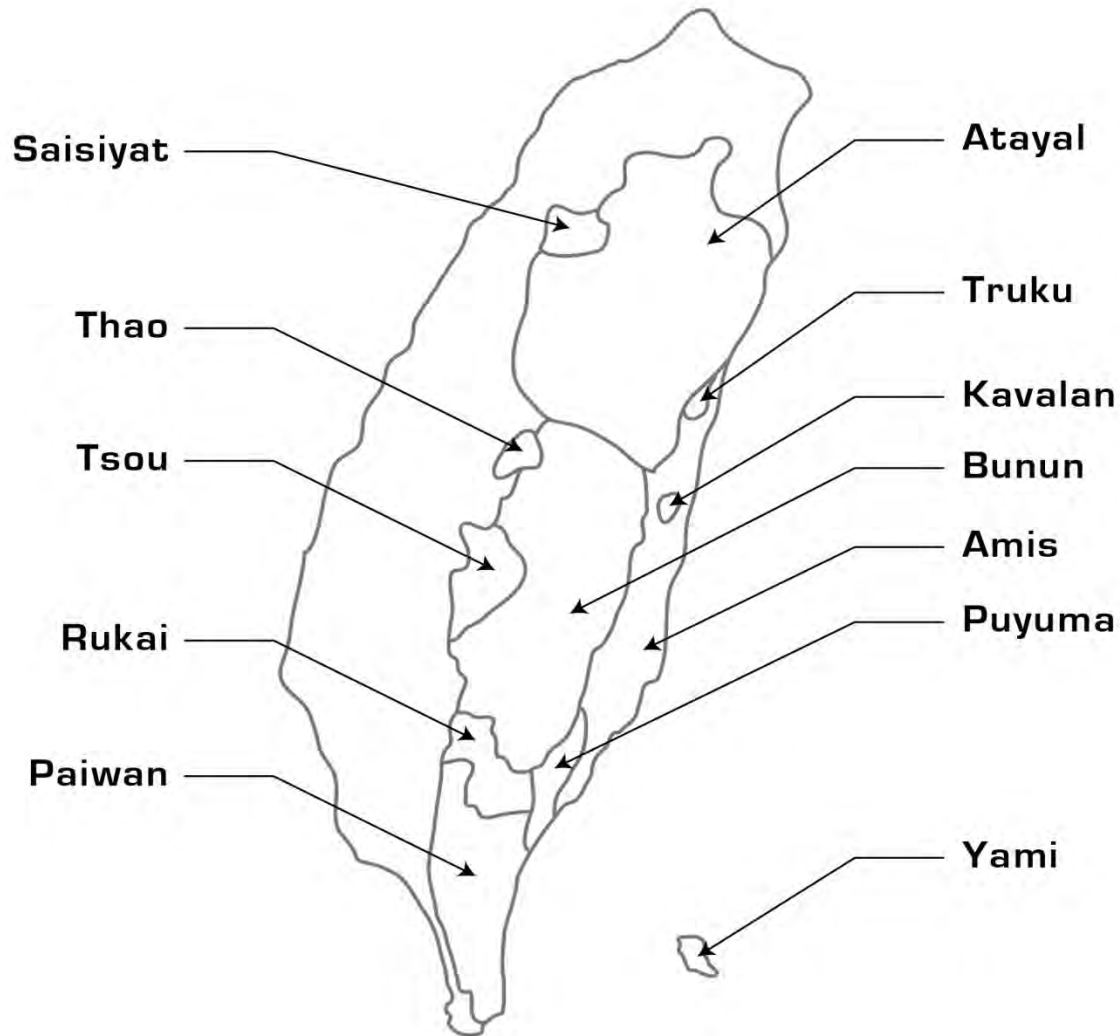
A New Trial for the Journey Home to the Bunun Villages of Old Laipunuk: Contextualizing Island Formosa Through Cultural Heritage

LAIPUNUK 內本鹿 Nei Ben Lu

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Austronesian Taiwan

Laipunuk, Taiwan



“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

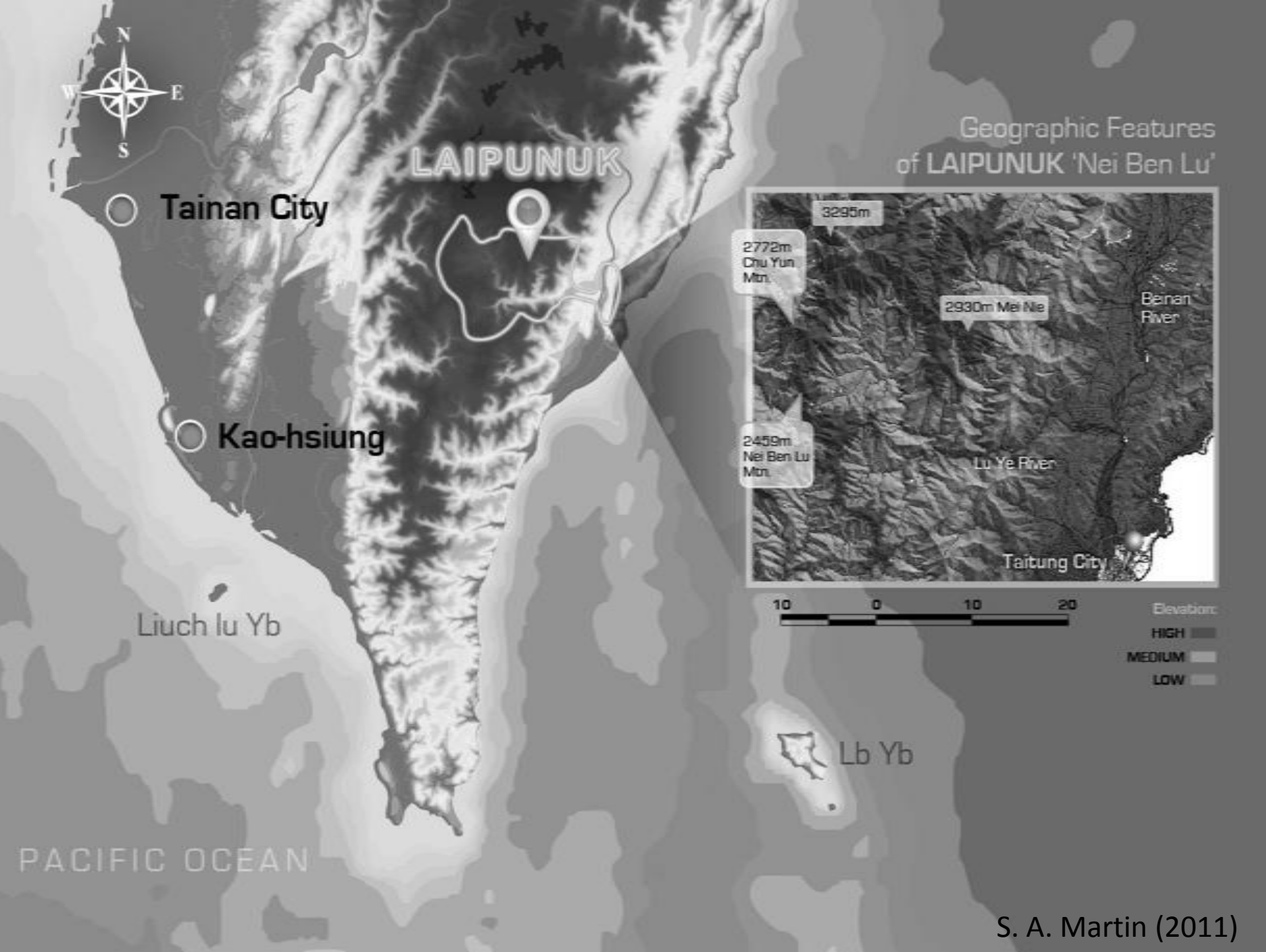
The last Frontier of the Bunun

c. 1940

The Laipunuk Alpine Watershed



S. A. Martin (2011)





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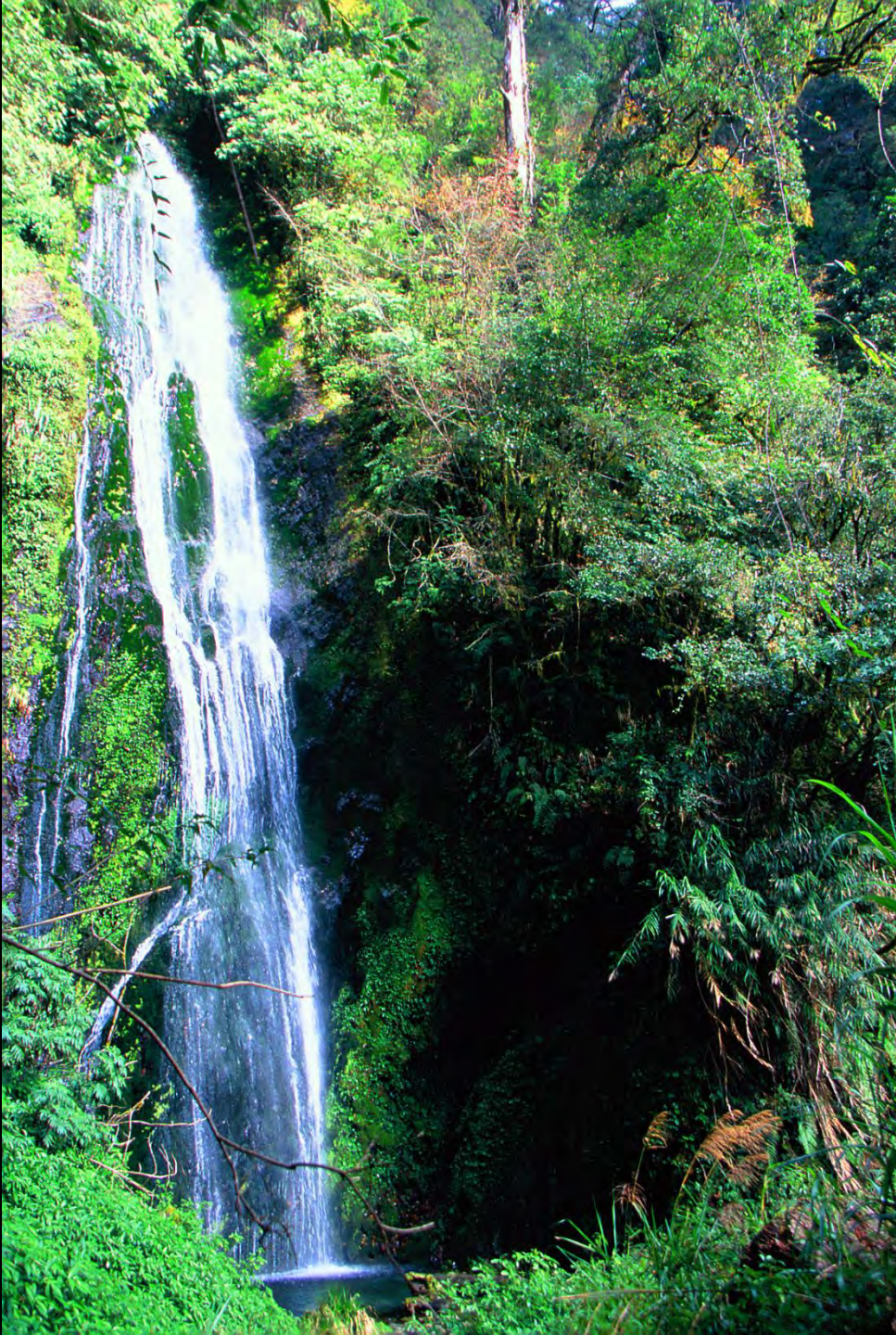
Photo by "Shi-to"



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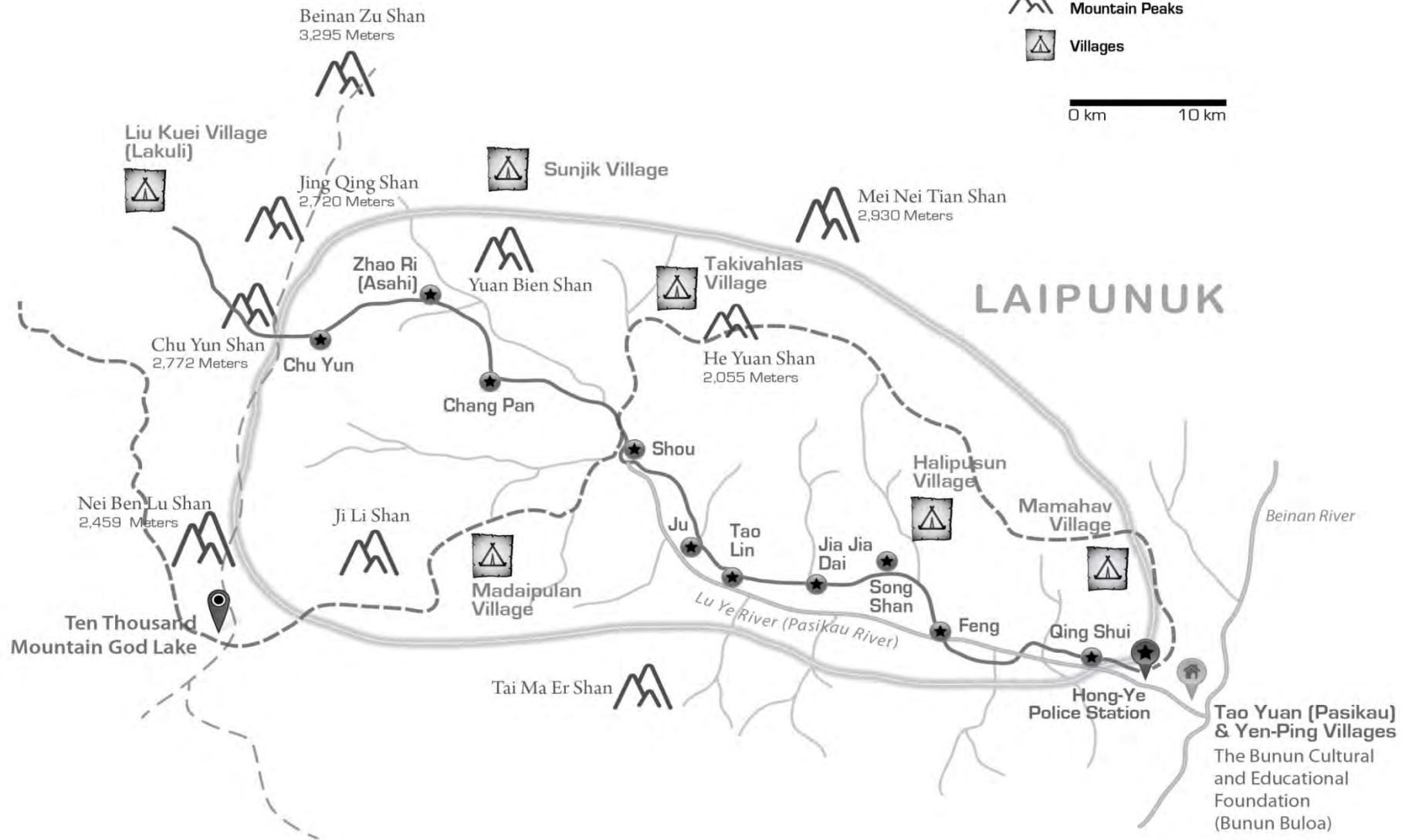
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LAIPUNUK 內本鹿 Nei Ben Lu



- Rivers
 - 2006 Cross-Laipunuk Expedition
 - East-West Divide of the Central Mtn. Range
 - Japanese Cordon Police Trail
 - Japanese Police Stations
 - Mountain Peaks
 - Villages
- 0 km 10 km



“The Laipunuk Incident” (1941)



Haisul

HAISUL and Family

(before their executions in summer 1941)

The Bunun Cosmos

Egalitarian society

Complex patri-clan
kinship structure

Observe cultural behaviors
of ritual, ceremony and
taboo to be *true Bunun*

Signature aspects of
ritual-based music and
acappella harmony

Culturally adaptive
and eclectic
(due in part to
marriage exchange)

Laipunuk 1931

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Bunun Buluo and Equalitarianism

- In 1995 Bunun Presbyterian Pastor **Bai Guan Sheng** (*Biung Husungan Istanda*) founded the ***Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation***
 - *Bunun Buluo* (Bunun village)



His goal: “To foster economic independence for the indigenous peoples.”

The establishment of Bunun Buluo has been compared with the establishment of a **new Laipunuk Bunun village**

Tainidalan: the “First to open the land”

Bunun Buluo “A New Laipunuk Village”



The past leading the future!



CONTEXT OF OUR PRESENTATION

Select topics from our paper are being presented today; our full paper is available

1). Ethnohistorical Reconstruction – “Rebuilding Mama’s House”

- Contextualizing the Bunun house through oral ethnography, mountaineering, documentation and the use of digital technology

2). Bunun Marriage & Identity in Laipunuk during in the 20th Century

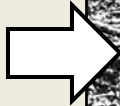
- Bunun marriage with Taiwanese resulting in various social systems

3). Cultural Continuity through Ethnomusical Traditions

- ***Malastabang*** (cultural stage for headhunting exploits) as an example

Ethnohistorical Methods

- Translation of Chinese and Japanese historical documents
- Participant observation
 - Mountaineering & Friendship
- Recordation of oral history
- Ethnographic filmmaking



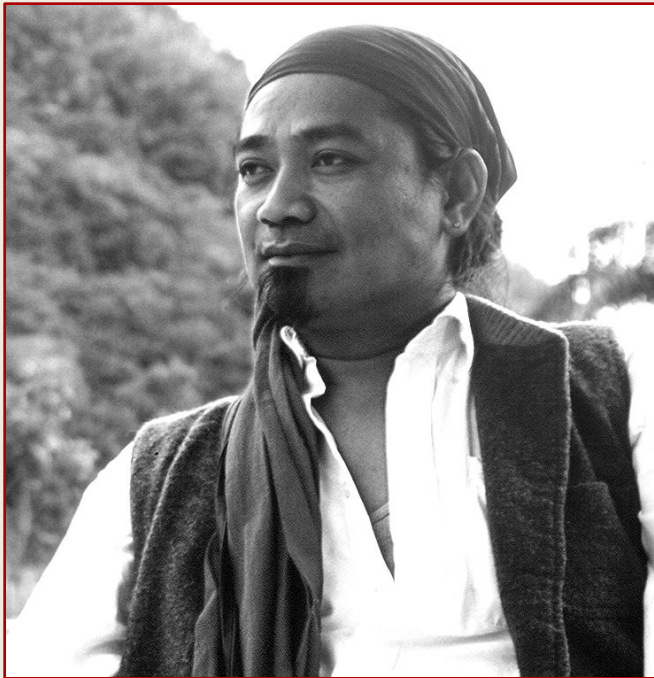
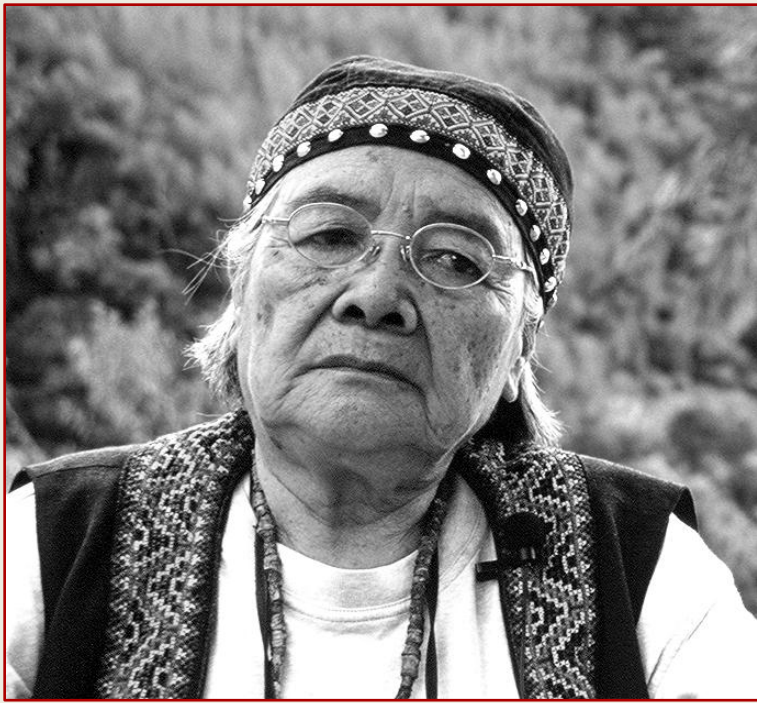
Takivalas Village, Laipunuk, Taiwan



The Asang Dance Troop



Bunun Cultural & Educational Foundation



Ethnohistorical Reconstruction: Rebuilding Mama's House



Ethnohistorical Reconstruction: Rebuilding Mama's House



Ethnohistorical Reconstruction: Rebuilding Mama's House



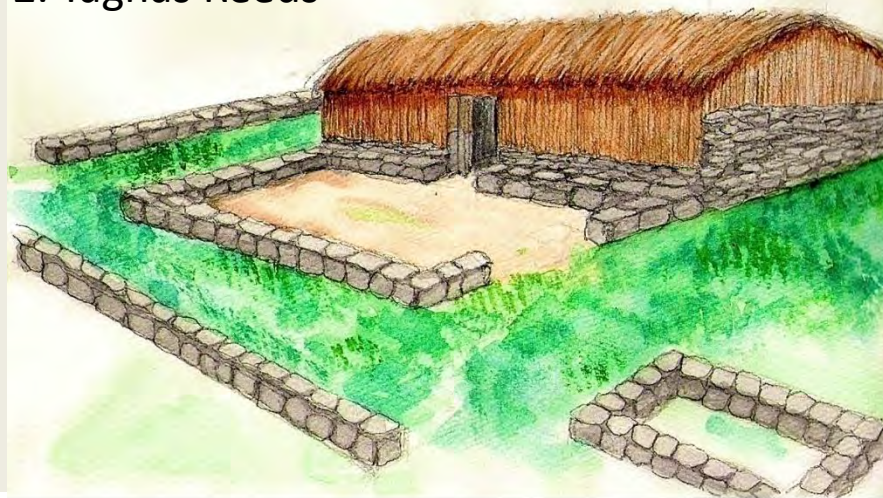
The Pig Pen



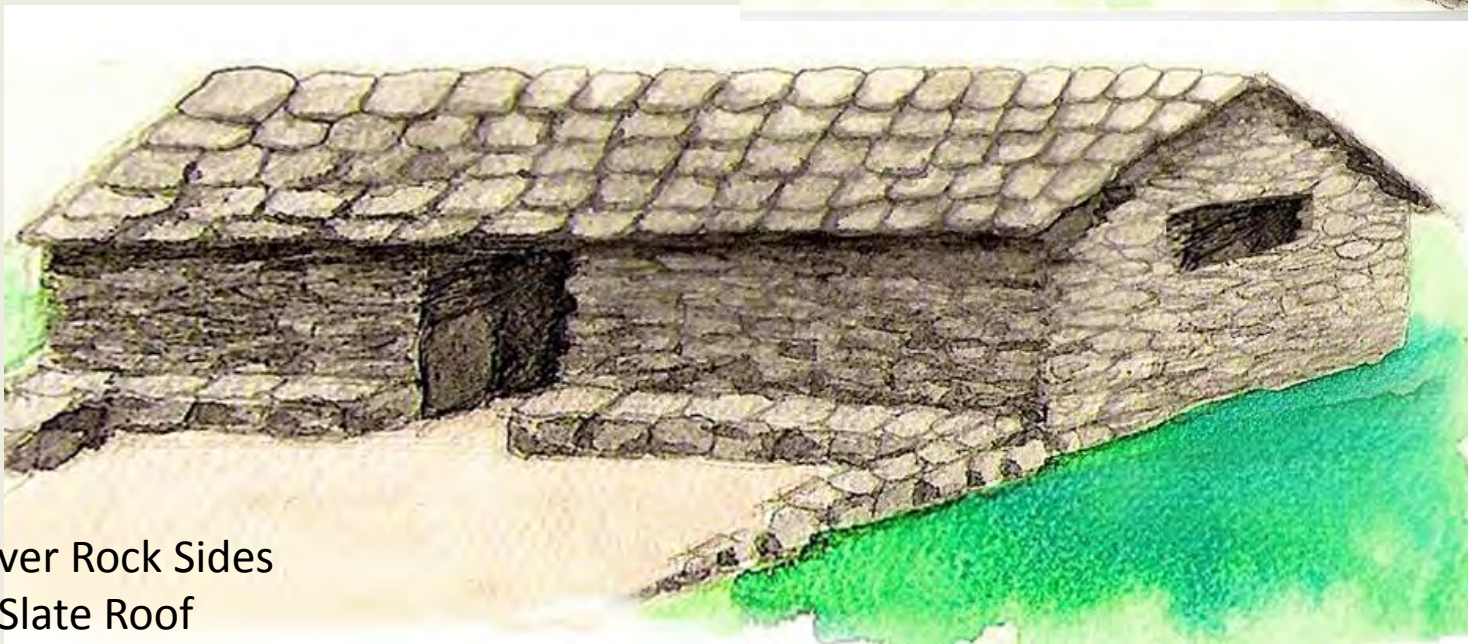
1. Kalabatune Bark



2. Tagnas Reeds

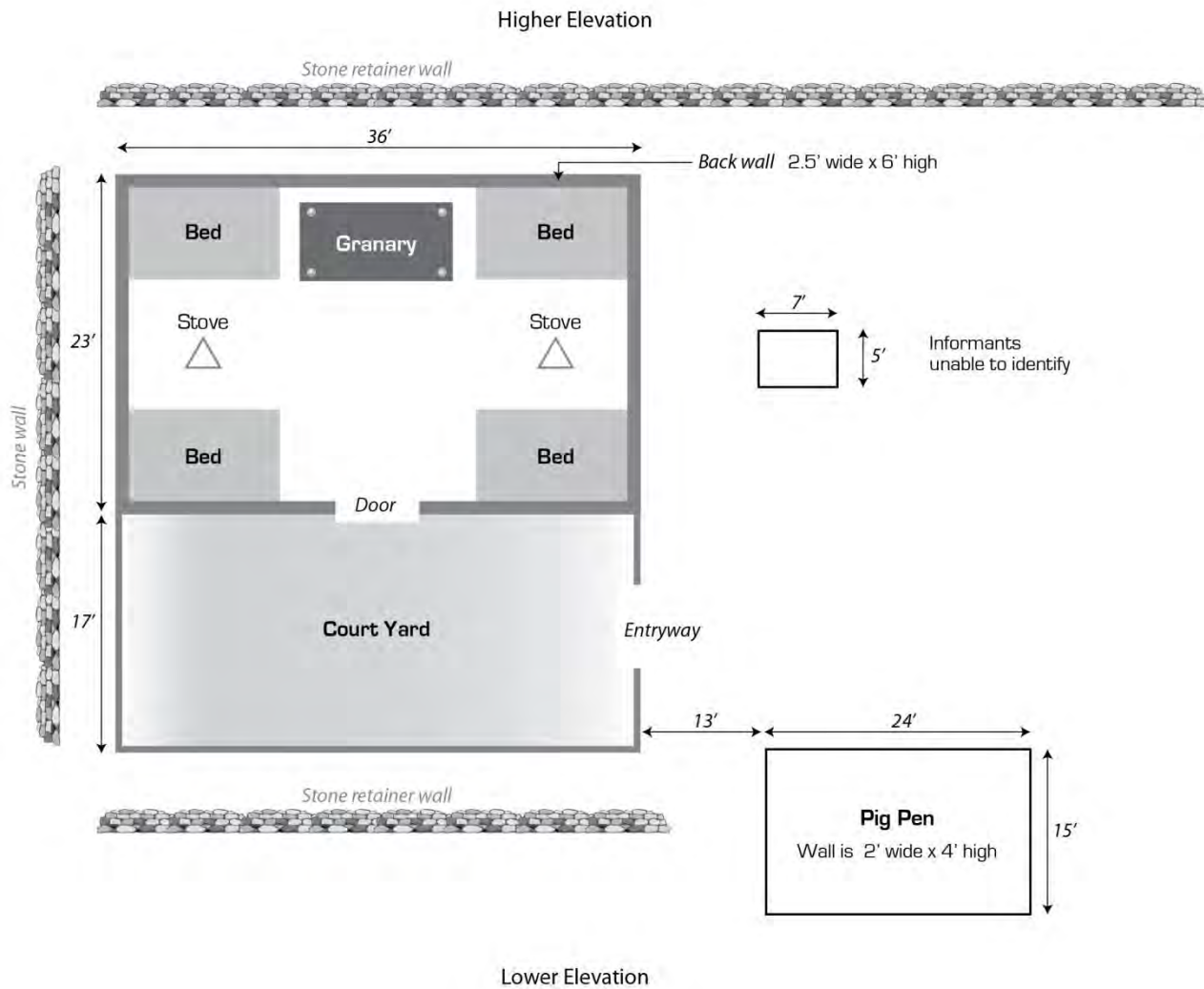


3. River Rock Sides
and Slate Roof



Ethnohistorical Reconstruction: Rebuilding Mama's House

Mountain Side



River Side

Rebuilding Mama's House

Ethnohistorical Reconstruction: Rebuilding Mama's House



1941 home of Langus and Tama Biung Istanda as reconstructed by the Istanda family descendants and friends of *Bunun Buluo* in **2008**.

MARRIAGE & IDENTITY (Qing & Japanese Periods)		
Marriage Structure		Social System
Husband	Wife	Quality of <i>True Bunun</i> (e.g., Malastabang)
Bunun	Bunun	Bunun
Min-nan Chinese	Bunun	Min-nan / Bunun
Hakka Chinese	Bunun	Hakka / Bunun
Jivulan	Bunun	Min-nan / Hakka / Bunun
Bunun / Chinese / Jivulan	Bunun / Chinese / Jivulan	Bunun / Min-nan / Hakka

MALASTABANG

continuity	socio-political era & pressures	adaptation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ritual aspect Stage for important cultural events Social unity Role of women supporting husbands Cultural communication 	Qing Dynasty: with Chinese encroachment and trade relations, the Bunun move deeper into the mountains	headhunting exploits; assertion of bravery; and confirmation of maternal line
	Japanese Colonial Empire (1895-1945): Japanese prohibit headhunting and relocate the Bunun to lowland areas	shift from headhunting to hunting; entering a period of decline
	Chinese Nationalist (from 1945): the Bunun are prohibited from returning to traditional lands and practicing rituals	period of stagnation and decline
	Early democratic period (from 1987): political pressures begin to ease and Bunun families initiate grass root expeditions to locate traditional village areas.	shift from hunting to experiences in mountaineering expeditions (tribal mapping) to Laipunuk
	Democratic period: political tolerance and support for indigenous cultural revival spurs a surge in mountaineering expeditions	experiences in mountaineering with renewed significance in hunting and mapping
	Touristic period: indigenous tourism provides economic impetus for music and dance	Shift to stage performances as a platform for cultural experience, revival, and economic support.

In Review...

Contextualizing the Bunun culture through literature, oral ethnography, mountaineering and digital technology
opened a new trail for community reconstruction

- Extent of intermarriage alongside the socio-cultural system in **Laipunuk may be unique** in the history of Austronesian Taiwan

- 6 periods of socio-political change and imposition with maintained links to cultural heritage through adaptation

- Ethnomusical tradition served as a stage for cultural revival and survival

- Bunun identity is perpetuated through personal behavior and cultural tradition
(Ethos-driven rather than ethnic-driven)



In the wake of foreign cultural incursion and the loss of traditional hunting grounds, the Bunun have struggled to maintain their integrity and identity through egalitarianism, marriage, oral history, and music;

cultural traditions and behaviors are often modified and adapted to fit within the cultural norms and expectations of dominant cultures – yet deep intrinsic meanings are carried forward

Tama Biun Istanda (1917 – 2007)

We hope that our paper offers insight to the contextualization of *Island Formosa* through cooperation and participation in institutional oral ethnography and ethnohistorical reconstruction

Concluding
Thoughts



The study suggests internal and external benefits to the Bunun though creating public interest in indigenous cultural heritage and knowledge which foster linkages among people and organizations through contextualizing the island of Formosa as an integral place in the Asia Pacific.

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THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

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MIHUMISANG!



THANKS TO THE ICFIP 2014 CONFERENCE ORGANIZERS

- ❖ Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica
- ❖ Council of Indigenous Peoples
- ❖ Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines
- ❖ European Association of Taiwan Studies
- ❖ SOAS, University of London

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Tama Biung Istanda (1917-2007)

APPENDIX

Ethnographic Narrative

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“To recognize our history, first we must *pasahal* [recognize each other]. Our family system was destroyed by the Japanese, and again by the Chinese. Today the family doesn’t communicate, religions and voting have separated us: Christian, Buddhist, Taoist, different beliefs, this broke our social structure. The way to go back is to rebuild the family circle. I agree with what my nephew [Nabu Husungan Istanda] says: *palihadasan* [discuss and talk about the history]; *palihansa* [show and share your own opinion and what you know]; *palimantuk* [make agreement, be 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. Fortunately, at least I have the opportunity to express what *true* Bunun is. My body can still show the ceremony, the body movements and words. For me it’s difficult to witness our culture degenerate. All my grandkids now speak only Chinese. How can they be *true* 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* [powerful/strong].”

(T.B. Istanda 2006 Audio-visual recording)