A Series of Books for the 20th Anniversary of the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines

Religion, Law and State
Cultural Re-invigoration in the New Age

Editors
Hsun Chang, Awi Mona [Chih-wei Tsai]

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Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines

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Cultural Continuum among the Bunun of Laipunuk (Nei Ben Lu), Southern Taiwan

Steven Andrew Martin, David Blundell

Abstract

Over the past century, the Bunun people, an Austronesian-speaking indigenous culture of Taiwan, have withstood acute marginalization resulting from outside incursion, particularly from the Japanese (1895–1945) and the Nationalist Government (since 1945). However, in recent years democratic reforms ushered in opportunities for cultural conservation and new sustainability through cultural resource management.[1] This research is focused on a particular group of Is-bukun Bunun speakers from the high-mountain villages of Laipunuk, Yen-Ping Township, Taitung County, Southern Taiwan. It seeks to identify aspects of intersystem cultural continuum amidst acute social change induced by external pressures. The research employed the translation of rare Chinese documents and interpretation by scholars in the discipline, the recordation of oral history through video and audio devices, by in-depth interview, and through participant observation.

The study found that the Bunun have demonstrated profound cultural resilience in the contexts of ritual dance, marriage, hunting, religion, and the identification of place. Cultural traditions and behaviors were often modified and adapted to fit within the cultural norms and expectations of dominant cultures, yet deep intrinsic meanings were carried forward, crossing spiritual and generational gaps. The research offers a window to Bunun epistemology and cultural systematics, exploring how indigenous peoples perpetuate their beliefs and values

1. This refers to conscientious and applied management skills, including education and conservation, aimed at maintaining important aspects of cultural resources and heritage, such as traditional and historic arts and languages.

through internal cultural transformation; it serves to document the home-grown cultural resource management of a Taiwanese human treasure for English readers.

Keywords: Southern Taiwan, Bunun, Laipunuk, Formosan indigenous, Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation, historical cultural continuum

1. Introduction

Austronesian-speaking indigenous peoples in Taiwan have had a long and colorful history as the unique inhabitants of the island; they have also witnessed countless waves of traders and invaders, endured displacement from their lands and experienced cultural marginalization (Blundell 2009, 2012). Written records of the indigenous peoples and their cultural systems began in 1624 with the Dutch East India Company, the first organized colonial authority in Taiwan. Although there were probably more than fifty ethno-linguistic communities at that time, today there are sixteen officially recognized groups. The research is focused on one of these groups, the high-mountain Bunun from the alpine watershed named Laipunuk (內本鹿) (Nei Ben Lu) in southern Taiwan (see Appendix 1). There are no written records of Laipunuk from the Dutch period (1624–1662) or Qing rule in Taiwan (1683–1895) and only limited documents survive from the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945).

(1) Marginalization and Social Change

Unlike the Dutch East India Company which practiced a mercantilist ideology, the Chinese who had immigrated to Taiwan during the Qing dynasty were mostly long-term settlers. Male Chinese immigrants (from 1684 to 1788) were not permitted by the Qing government to bring women to Taiwan and intermarriage with local aboriginal women was commonplace; thus Han surnames were passed into indigenous cultures patrilineally (Brown 2004, 149). Consequently, the indigenous peoples were assimilated (i.e., sinicized) and their cultural identities changed accordingly.

Qing strategies vis-à-vis native Formosan indigenous peoples oscillated between two adversative policies: (a) defensive segregation; and (b) 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 recent times). The policy sanctioned the construction of earth mounds, walls, and guard posts, especially at strategic points or passages between the mountains and the plains. Called the *Ai-Ɣun Line* (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). The construction of the Ai-Yun Line, which began in 1722, are analogous to the motivations for the behind creating the Great Wall of China (Martin 2006) a desire to keep the "cooked" or "civilized" people in, and the "raw" or "uncivilized" people out.

In 1895, the Japanese defeated the Chinese in the First Sino-Japan War. Subsequently, Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese under the Treaty of Shimonoseki, marking the beginning of the Japanese colony of Taiwan and ushering a new chapter of conflict for the indigenous peoples.

The Japanese expected absolute obedience from the indigenous peoples under their social policy of *zet tai fuku ju* (絕對服從), which signified unconditional submission, resulting in three positions in Taiwan's society. In order of privilege, they were: firstly Japanese, secondly Han Chinese, and lastly indigenous peoples. There was a strict separation between the ruling and the ruled. Japanese police had ultimate power, subjugating indigenes to work without pay (i.e., civil conscription) a practice that was pervasive in Japanese colonial society (C. Lin 2004 audio-visual recording). The ruler-subject ideology may have had lasting effects on the subjective mind of the indigenous peoples as it broke the spirit and structure of their cultures (N.H. Istanda 2004 pers. comm.).

The Japanese used a *divide-and-rule* ideology to bring the indigenous peoples under their control. Similar to the British rule in Africa and India, divide and rule involved dividing interests. Anthropological study became a device to learn ethnic group alliances and rivalries and to devise subjugation strategies. Ultimately, the Japanese sought to 'civilize' indigenous mountain peoples into becoming lowland rice paddy farmers.

With the end of WWII and the replacement of the Japanese colonial rule with the Nationalist Government on Taiwan (herein referred to as the Kuomintang, or KMT) as the ultimate rulers of the island, new policies were enacted. For example, Mandarin was chosen exclusively as the official or national language (*guo-yu*) and considered to be the high language in diglossia. Although the Japanese were first to establish a policy of mono-lingualism, the switch from Japanese to Chinese placed additive pressures on indigenous cultural identities. In contrast to the strongly proactive policies of the Japanese, and given that all indigenous groups had already been 'civilized', the KMT regime employed a "live-and-let-live policy" inferring that "If indigenes make a

fight, then we have a fight, if they are willing to go along, they will have some support" (Chen 2004 pers. comm.).

(2) The Bunun Cosmos

The Bunun are one of the sixteen officially recognized Austronesian-speaking groups in Taiwan and are distinguished by five dialects (Takituduh, Takibakha, Takbanuaz, Takivatan, and Isbukun), which represent not only variation in language, but social and cultural behaviors (Huang 1988). Three other ethno-linguistic groups are particularly relevant to the current study due to their proximity to Laipunuk during the previous century and given evidence supporting socio-cultural borrowings: the Paiwan and Rukai (e.g., the Mantauran), who practice a hierarchical socio-political system, and the Tsou, who practice a *phratry* (compound community) affine-based system.

The Bunun are an egalitarian society whereby an individual's position within the group is achieved through their deeds, bravery, or wisdom. 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. According to oral history, the Bunun people originally lived on the western plains during the 18th century. Since the arrival of the earliest Japanese ethnographers in Taiwan, the Bunun were documented as inhabitants of the highest mountain areas.

The word *Bunun* means *human being*. Although this may imply that a *non-Bunun* is *non-human*, the discernment is ethos-driven and not only necessarily centered on ethnicity. Therefore, being Bunun is not solely based on an individual's genetic or family history as anyone can become Bunun. To the Bunun, being *true Bunun* means that one observes the cultural behaviors associated with Bunun taboos, rituals, and ceremonies (N.H. Istanda 2006 pers. comm.). For example, to be *true Bunun*, individuals must engage in the traditions and rituals of headhunting.

The Bunun are known for their skillfulness in acapella harmony, and music is an overall signature aspect of their culture. However, the Bunun are generally perceived to be solemn and serious by nature; their character attributed to life in the harsh and remote areas of the high mountains.

The multifaceted nature of the Bunun kinship structure is a cultural trademark whereby they are noted for their complex clan system (Huang

Photo 1. Laipunuk Bunun (Bi South Studio 1932).

1995, 66). The Bunun have a patri-clan kinship structure, normally comprised of small family groups distinguished in four aspects: moiety, clan, lineage, and family (Chiu 1973, 134). Close family ties give Bunun communities great cohesion and the Bunun kin universe contains considerable knowledge of social descents, affinities, and the dead (*ibid.*, 170).

The Bunun particularly adopted jewelry and clothing styles from other peoples, and early 20th century Japanese photographs show them wearing clothes, headwear, and adornments borrowed from neighboring peoples, including the Chinese. Figure 1 shows a Bunun woman wearing Chinese dress and a Bunun man with a Rukai-style neckband.

Cultural eclecticism and adaptation are due in part to marriage exchange, whereby a woman from one family is exchanged for a woman from another family. The Laipunuk Bunun employed marriage exchange as a means to gain passage rights and control over farming or hunting grounds, and this led to cultural exchange with other indigenous peoples (Huang 1995, 68; Huang 2006 pers. comm.; N.H. Istanda 2006 pers. comm.).

Three examples of Bunun ritual music are relevant to the research: (a) *Pasibutbut*, the *Harvest Prayer Song*, which expresses hope for the growth and bountiful harvest of millet. It features a unique eight-tone harmony in a chromatic style whereby good harmony is important for ensuring a good harvest. The ritual is conducted by holding hands and moving counter-clockwise in a circle; (b) *Pisilaiya*, a traditional pre-headhunting song featuring the shaking of *tagnas* reeds (*Mischanthus floridulus*), was sung before the hunt; and (c) *Malastabang*, or the *report of events*, a ritual used to announce the events and achievements of headhunting, signaling a proud time and forum wherein men make known which village they are from. Malastabang also serves as a means of identification and indicates one's eligibility for marriage; it may also serve as a platform for establishing one's identity as *true Bunun*.

The religion of the Bunun is characterized by animism, complex agricultural ritual and rites of passage. However, gods, spirits and souls are not distinguished clearly (Chiu 1973, 73). Bunun cosmos is divided into three worlds: the sky world, the common world, and the underworld (*ibid.*, 73). The Bunun belief in the spirit world is expressed in their pre-Christian belief in *hanitu*. *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 use the concepts *masial* (good) and *makuang* (bad) when describing *hanitu*. Bunun music, ritual, and ceremony, but not headhunting, are still in practice and inextricably linked as a *cultural package* and following this cultural package makes one a *true Bunun*.

(3) Laipunuk Historical Background

The research is focused on the southern-most Bunun group, the Isbukun, who took refuge from the Japanese colonial empire (1895–1945) in the remote high-mountain watershed of Laipunuk (Nei Ben Lu) (see Appendix 1). The Laipunuk region is an alpine environment, comprised of an arc of mountain peaks and ridges which are the source of numerous streams which drain into the Lu Ye River (i.e., Pasikau River). The region is located primarily within Yen-Ping Township, Taitung County and covers approximately 15,084 hectares of natural forest. Figure 2 identifies the approximate location of Laipunuk on Taiwan.

Map 1. Location of Laipunuk (Steven Martin).

When indigenous people first lived or hunted in the Laipunuk region cannot be said for certain. The Isbukun Bunun may have expanded across the Central 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). N.H. Istanda (2004 pers. comm.) suggests that the area may have been a mutual hunting ground for the Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan and the Puyuma. Huang (2006 pers. comm.) suggests that originally the Rukai were dominate in Laipunuk and it may have been their hunting area. N. H. Istanda (2004 pers. comm.) 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 developed; this can be seen in the patterns of our dress and clothing, such as the style of chevrons and the use of black color."

Beginning in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Japanese built a series of cordon trails and police stations into the Laipunuk in an attempt to administer the region (see Appendix 1). In 1941, a Bunun man named *Haisul* led an attack on the Japanese police stations, an event now referred to as the *Laipunuk Incident*. As a result, the Bunun were forcibly relocated to lowland areas along the Taidong plain (Tsai 2006; Li 1997; Martin 2006), and 1941 is remembered as the definitive date marking the loss of land, language, and human life to lowland diseases such as malaria (Martin 2006).

2. Methods

The research employed a mixed-methods approach, including the translation of rare texts, gathering Bunun oral history from primary sources, ethnographic film documentation, personal interviews with scholars and participant observation. The study is not theoretically grounded in isolation; rather it is an ethno-historical piece that serves as an historical record for English language readers. The findings are based solely upon translated documents, personal interviews, oral history and field experience. Hence the topics and themes presented here reflect only the topics generated during the research period, including those which arose spontaneously from informant narratives. The main research location was the *Bunun Cultural and Education*

Foundation in Yen-Ping village, Taitung County which offered four advantages: (a) as Taiwan's first non-profit organization (NPO) founded by indigenes (in 1995), it offered access to the Bunun community; (b) the NPO was founded and managed by Laipunuk descendents; (c) it facilitated the use of audio visual recording equipment and translators; (d) it opened up opportunities for participant observation, including participation in two mountaineering expeditions to Laipunuk.

(1) Translation of Written Records

Limited written records exist on the Bunun culture of Laipunuk, namely a series of Japanese field reports written in 1904 and 1921. The information in these Japanese documents was translated into Chinese by Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, sometime after 1980. These reports were generally simple descriptions of the local villages. Huang (2001a) analyzed significant portions of these materials which he published (in Chinese language) in *Taitung County History - Bunun Zu*. The researcher translated these materials (from Chinese to English) along with other research conducted by Huang (i.e., Huang 2001b) and conducted personal interviews with Huang in 2006 to gain clarity (e.g., Huang 2006 pers. comm.). Translation was supported by Mr. Yan Zhao from the National Chengchi University Language Center. Tables listed throughout this paper were generated by the researcher based on translation and analysis of the Chinese text.

(2) Recordation of Oral History

The research employed an ethnohistorical approach concerning the recordation of oral history through qualitative interviews and audio-visual recordings. The work was primarily carried out at the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation. The researchers prepared questions in English which were in turn presented to informants by the interpreter (Nabu Istanda) in the Is-bukun dialect of Bunun, and in some cases Japanese and Chinese. Subsequently, interviews were translated into English for review and new lines of questioning were developed based on knowledge and insights gained through each stage of this process. Interviews were carried out from 2004 through 2006. Bunun translation was mainly provided by Nabu Istanda and transcription was done entirely by one of the researchers. Key informants

included four members of the Istanda family spanning two generations: Tama Biung Istanda and Langus Husungan Istanda (brother and sister, 89 and 86 respectively when last interviewed) and Biung Husungan Istanda and Nabu Husungan Istanda (elder and younger sibling, 55 and 42 respectively when last interviewed). Accordingly, the style of in-text citations employed throughout this paper include the first initials of each informant.

(3) Participant Observation and Ethnographic Film

The researcher videotaped the *Asang Dance Troop* at the Bunun Culture and Education Foundation in Taitung, Taiwan, including musical performances during rehearsals and stage performances from 2004 through 2006. Through translating and discussing the material gathered for the project, these films were used to analyze the meaning and intent of the participants and clarification was sought from members of the group and the Bunun community.

One of the researchers participated in two mountaineering expeditions to the Laipunuk region during (2005 and 2006) with first and second-generation descendants of Laipunuk-born Bunun families. Through participant observation in the high mountains, insight was gained into the meaning and nature of Bunun behavior and ceremony, and findings were discussed with Bunun participants.

3. Findings

The findings document unique features related to marriage systems, musicology, social change, cultural continua and other elements of cultural resource management as follows.

(1) Japanese Police Reports and Social Change

Implications of interpreting the Japanese police reports include recognizing that they were primarily recorded by small groups of Japanese police who scouted remote areas using Bunun guides. They are quite basic, yet they serve as a significant empirical record of population, social and economic structure, and agricultural practices of the period. Definitional terms of the Laipunuk sociopolitical structure are peculiar to this subject, region and era as presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Definitional Terms of the Laipunuk Sociopolitical Structure (Martin 2006).

ping ying	Chinese	translation
shi wu	施武	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 Taiwanese representative of Qing government serving as a medium between the indigenous and the non-indigenous world
fan ding	蕃丁	common people of indigenous society (hunter, farmer, gatherer, conscript)

According to the 1904 Japanese *Field Report*, the area was too remote 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 were self-sufficient and had merchandise, trade products, and products of daily use. The Japanese documented their investigation of the area just over the Central Range from Liu-kuei (i.e., the western-most area of Laipunuk) which belonged to a group of *shi wu* made up of 82 families with 751 people. These families were small independent tribes with emerging leaders. There were nine Taiwanese people living in this area acting in a *tong shi* capacity. Each family had their own trade area, was married to indigenous, and 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 were not the same race, their customs were similar, especially those within a given geographic proximity. Trade occurred between various groups without the intervention of the *tong shi*. The Japanese noted that the area was fertile, agriculture was abundant, and very large quantities of

high grade tobacco were produced. Also there were bellows to work iron and to fix hunting knives and tools.

In November 1922, the Japanese government made a second investigation which was wider in its geographic scope and much more focused on the socio-economic behavior of the people than the 1904 report.

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 who were unusually progressive and their customs were very close to both Bunun and Paiwan (i.e., the Bunun egalitarian system and the Paiwan and Rukai hierarchical or noble-class system). The Bunun families were much unified and their relationships were very close. *Mantauran* and *Bali San* (of the Rukai ethnic group) had blood relationships (marriage relations). However, at least three groups of Bunun did not have good relations with the plains or *pingu* indigenous peoples.

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 (12 families with 84 people). Among those 12 families, four were still living a Chinese lifestyle, two had been influenced by indigenous people, and the remaining six families had been totally assimilated. This indicates three levels of assimilation.

The *tong shi* of this area survived by trading with indigenous people (including the use of gunpowder for trade exchange). When the Japanese government caused conflicts which affected their trade or trade profits, the *tong shi* may have instigated the tension among the indigenes and the government, and this may have been problematic because there was a profit-based motivation for the *tong shi* to remain living there. Although the government was not very involved in Laipunuk, the 1922 report notes that the people were still very 'civilized', more so than other Bunun areas. This may have been due to the effect of the Taiwanese *tong shi*. At that time, the assimilated Taiwanese had not yet been required to relocate to the plains. However, the report notes that there were four families (43 people) who were considered dangerous and recommended for relocation to the plains.

The Han Taiwanese had entered Laipunuk to live with the indigenes before the Japanese arrival. Previously, they lived mainly in *Liu-kuei* and *Wan*

Shan (*Mantauran*) areas (west of the Central Range) and conducted trade with the Laipunuk people who traveled back and forth (east-west across the Central Range). Eventually, some Han Taiwanese (*tong shi*) went to Laipunuk and married with Bunun. The Bunun were trading forest and agricultural products to Han Taiwanese merchants, who then took the traded items to the plains to sell and make considerable profits. Furthermore, the 1922 report indicated that the Japanese had learned that Laipunuk was much larger than they had previously documented.

Huang (2001a, 46) provides a detailed comparison between the 1922 report and the earlier 1904 report by examining how the 1922 report was more succinct: (a) there were more than 17 *she* (village areas) and their population was actually 1,112; (b) there were 12 *tong shi* (not 9 as previously documented), and the significance of gunpowder and trade with Liu-kuei were more complex than previously thought; (c) the marriage relations between the *tong shi* and local people were 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; (d) 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 Taidong and Kaohsiung county lines (meaning an east/west trade exchange across the Central Range), indicating that the new social system was based on the new trade system; (e) 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 relationship with the Chinese.

Huang (*ibid.*, 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*). These *tong shi* provided a connection to the outside world for the *fan ding* and this is a symbol of Laipunuk's unique cultural mix (*ibid.*, 50). Above each *tong shi*, there was a leader or chief (*tou*

mu) who served as a land lord. Therefore, one *tou mu* had a power-relation with one *tong shi* (ratio was 1:1). In this way, the Paiwan land lord and the Laipunuk *tou mu* were similar (*ibid.*, 49). Each *she* had a *tou mu*, and groups of s*he* had a higher *tou mu* (*ibid.*, 50).

Therefore, in Laipunuk there was 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. Therefore, the emergence of a noble class distinguishes a shift in the Laipunuk Bunun society from a purely egalitarian Bunun system (achieved society) to a hierarchical or noble system (ascribed society). Table 2 outlines the Laipunuk Bunun social structure:

Table 2. Laipunuk Bunun Social Structure (Martin 2006)
(based on Huang 2001a, 2001b)

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

Before the Japanese took over, Laipunuk was developing into a new system of hunting and farming (Huang 2001a, 51). The Japanese believed that the Paiwan, Tsou, and Bunun were a mixed system – and that the social-political culture was Paiwan; the social association was Tsou (art, carving, etc.); and the wood/stone culture and music were 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 (social disputes could be solved through economic compensation). Therefore, Laipunuk was not only a trade system, but a political center, a trade scheme, and a powerful society – and this was of great concern to the Japanese (*ibid.*, 51). Table 3 shows the indigenous cultural syncretism of Laipunuk which was observed and recorded by the Japanese.

Table 3. Social-Cultural Syncretism (Martin 2006) (based on Huang 2001a, 2001b).

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.

(2) Bunun Ethnohistory and Relationship with Taiwanese

Within the shift in Bunun social structure, the influences from the Taiwanese can be examined through an ethno-historical approach including archival records, personal interviews, and oral history recordation. 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 (Martin 2006; Huang 2001a, 2001b). Huang (2006 pers. comm.) notes: "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 in a key position in this situation. The Japanese point to 12 Chinese families (with 9 houses) living in Laipunuk and they were very suspicious of why the Chinese were in Laipunuk." The Chinese served as traders, as a communication network (especially as a link with the outside world), and as intermediaries or peacekeepers in Laipunuk (T.B. Istanda 2004 audio-visual recording; L. Istanda 2004 audio-visual recording; Z.M. Lin 2006 audio-visual recording).

Significant in the region was the development of tobacco agriculture and gunpowder manufacturing and trade (T.B. Istanda 2004 audio-visual recording; L. Istanda 2004 audio-visual recording; Z.M. Lin 2006 audio-visual recording). According to Japanese documents, evidence of gunpowder and Chinese gun shops in Laipunuk were of particular concern (Huang 2006 pers. comm.). L. Istanda (2006 audio-visual recording) 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 Manglav* because *Manglav* means

strong ... and there was another Taiwanese man named Suntuk who lived at Shou, but I can't remember much about him ... He married a Bunun woman named Tanivu (her Japanese name was Teluku) and she died five or six years ago."

To understand the Taiwanese position in Laipunuk we must look at the evidence of trade networks to the east of Laipunuk and across the Central Range. Liu-kuei (called *Lakuli* in Bunun), Bao Shan village, and other villages were trade centers (Huang 2006 pers. comm.). Liu-kuei in particular had evolved to an important Japanese government trade center. Early in the twentieth century, the Laipunuk people used to walk to Liu-kuei in one day to trade with the Taiwanese, and N.H. Istanda (2006 pers. comm.) 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 (Han, or local Chinese) and the Bunun were generally close within Laipunuk and are a contributing factor to social change in the region. The influence of Rukai, Paiwan, and the Tsou notwithstanding, outlined herein are four social systems in Laipunuk relative to intermarriage with the Taiwanese, which occur at a family level and to varying degrees. Martin (2006) identifies three different types of Taiwanese classified by the people of Laipunuk: (a) Hakka (called *ngai ngai* by the Bunun); (b) Holo or Hokkien (called *put* for mixed blood and *maiput* for 'original Han Taiwanese' by the Bunun); and (c) *pingpu* (sinicized plains indigenes called *jivulan* by the Bunun). N.H. Istanda, (pers. comm. 2006) argues that the *pingpu* groups followed a sinicized Taiwanese social system and were not considered an aboriginal tribe by the Bunun. Furthermore, the 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 4 partitions the potential influence of marriage on the traditional Bunun social system. In accordance with Bunun philosophy, *true Bunun*

extends to anyone who wholeheartedly follows 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. Within a given system, various degrees of a social sub-system were observed (i.e., a particular family's cultural structure may follow a Chinese or Bunun system to a lesser or greater degree).

Table 4. Laipunuk Social Stratification Through Marriage (Martin 2006)

marriage structure		social system
husband	wife	varying degrees of *true Bunun*
Bunun	Bunun	true Bunun system
Holo Taiwanese	Bunun	Holo / Bunun systems
Hakka Taiwanese	Bunun	Hakka / Bunun systems
Jivulan	Bunun	Holo / Hakka / Bunun systems
Bunun / Taiwanese / Jivulan	Bunun / Chinese / Jivulan	Bunun / Holo / Hakka systems

Z.M. Lin (2006 audio-visual recording), a Laipunuk-born elder, attests to this complex mixture of social structure: "My *put* 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 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, 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* Han Taiwanese]. My father never went headhunting so he never participated in *malastabang*."

N. H. Istanda (2006 pers. comm.) 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* (acknowledgement of a man's maternal family lineage) to respect the maternal family name and village. N. H. Istanda

recalls two sisters, *Ibu Maiput* and *Miwa Maiput* [*Maiput* has been taken as family name], whose Laipunuk-born family were Holo Taiwanese: "Their family was said to be very brave and they likely participated in *malastabang*."

When wine (which is sacred to the Bunun) is brewed by someone who is not *true Bunun* it is not *true wine*. Specifically, the name for true wine, *davaduda*, was changed to *dava jivulan* when it was brewed by *jivulan* peoples (i.e., *pingpu* or plains indigenes).

(3) Laipunuk Bunun Musical Tradition

During the Japanese period headhunting was strictly forbidden and Bunun musical traditions faced deprivation, yet aspects of their ritual music evolved. For example, after the 1941 forced relocation, *Pasibutbut* shifted from being centered on headhunting (T.B. Istanda 2006 pers. comm.) to being centered on millet cultivation (as a harvest prayer song), and today it is done to bring good luck in life, safety in mountaineering, and as a significant component to the cultural tourism industry. Despite the changes in practice and significance, the song carries cultural symbols and systemacy wherein the harmony, style and promotion of collective unity among the Bunun are in continuum. Similarly, *pisilaiya* shifted from headhunting to hunting, and currently provides a means of communication, information, and entertainment.

Malastabang originally served as an important platform for social gathering, offering a podium to report significant events in headhunting exploits and bravery, such as where, when, what, 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 decline by the end of the Japanese colonial period. In the early KMT period the practice remained in disuse until it 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 rather than headhunting. During the democratic period, when a Bunun man (including boys or young men) had returned to a Laipunuk village, he 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. As an outcome of democratic reform, the Laipunuk Bunun community adopted tourism as a means to contextualize their cultural heritage and provide a new

and modern podium for economic and cultural revival. Table 5 identifies the continuum and adaptations of *malastabang*.

Table 5. Adaptation and Continua of the Malastabang Ritual (Martin 2006). Religion and Sense of Place

Malastabang continua	political era pressure	adaptation
ritual; podium for important cultural events; social unity; role of women supporting husbands; indigenous economy	Qing dynasty in Taiwan (1683–1895); with Chinese encroachment and trade relations, the Bunun move deeper into the mountains	headhunting; assertion of bravery; and confirmation of maternal line
	Japanese colonial (1895–1945); the Bunun are prohibited to headhunt and relocate to lowland areas	shift from headhunting to animal hunting; entering a period of cultural decline
	KMT martial law (1949–1987); the Bunun are prohibited to return to traditional lands and practice rituals	cultural stagnation and decline
	early post martial law (1987–1992); political pressures 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
	democracy (1992–present); improved political tolerance and support for indigenous cultural revival spurs a surge in mountaineering expeditions	experiences in mountaineering with renewed significance in animal hunting
	modern tourism industry (1992–present); indigenous tourism provides economic impetus for music and dance	contextualizing cultural heritage; tourism as a new podium and economy for cultural revival

In 1995 Bunun Presbyterian Pastor Bai Guan Sheng (Biung Husungan Istanda) founded the *Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation* and simultaneously began construction on *Bunun Buluo* (Bunun village). His goal was to foster economic independence for the indigenous peoples (B.H. Istanda 2006 pers. comm.). The establishment of this center has been compared with the establishment of a new Bunun village, as if a new Laipunuk village

(the word used here was *tainidalan*, meaning the first to open the land) (N. H. Istanda 2006 pers. comm.). According to B.H. Istanda, the traditional Bunun philosophical perspective includes equalitarianism: "The Bunun were 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."

With the adoption of Christian belief into Bunun culture (mainly the Catholic and Presbyterian Churches), the concept of *hanitu* has come to mean devil. The Bunun word *dahinan*, once synonymous with 'sky' or 'heaven' (Huang 1988, 174) has come to mean God (T.B. Istanda audio-visual recording; L. Istanda 2006 audio-visual recording). 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 (Martin 2006).

Many marriages are now Christianized and Bunun traditions are either infused into the Christian tradition or abandoned altogether (Martin 2004–2006 participant observation). 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 (Huang 1988). Many life-cycle rituals continue to be practiced with an overlay of Christian features (Huang 1995, 70). In contrast, Huang (*ibid.*, 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.

Organized by the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation as an outgrowth of the church and gatherings at *Bunun Buluo,* the year 2001 marked the first officially organized expedition by the Bunun in an attempt to return to Laipunuk and locate lost villages. Under the auspice of Taiwan's shift toward democratic reform, N. H. Istanda (2004 pers. comm.) was self-encouraged to return to Laipunuk when he was introduced to the concept of *indigenous mapping* by a Chinese scholar at the turn of the century: "In the year 2000, with the coming of the new democratic government, I knew it was time to go there [to Laipunuk] for myself. In 2001 we had a forum at Bunun

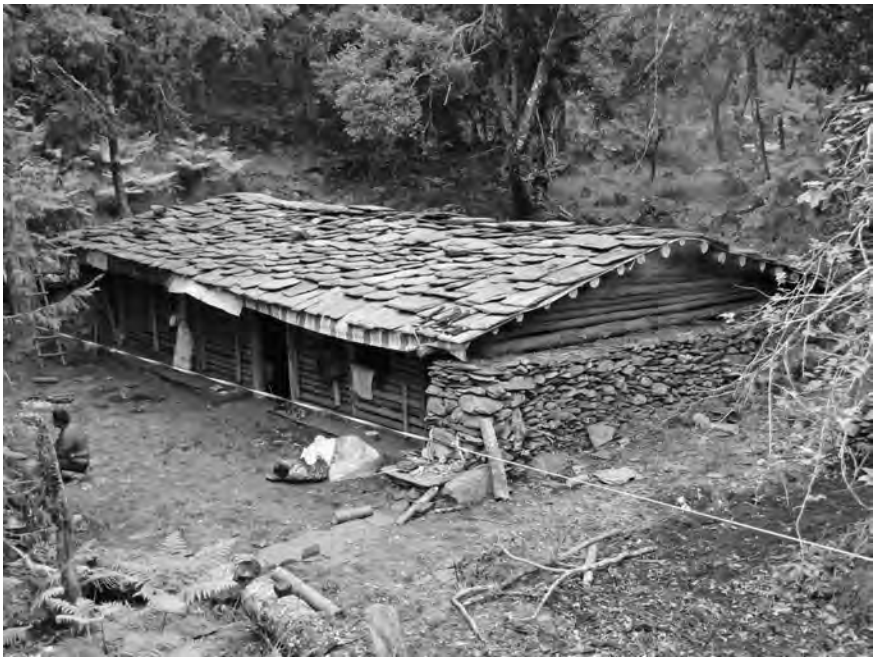

Photo 2. Reconstructed Laipunuk House (Martin 2011) photo courtesy of Nabu Istanda.

Culture and Education Foundation and we invited Laipunuk elders. There were about twelve that came. The expedition left from the old Japanese trading post of Liu-kuei and crossed [from east to west] the Central Range. But they got terribly lost and the expedition was not entirely a success."

However, at the time of writing, there have been twenty-one expeditions to Laipunuk initiated by the Istanda family and supported by friends of the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation. A key aspect of the expeditions has been to locate lost villages and homes in the high mountains and to reconnect elders with their childhood homes. In Bunun culture (as with other Austronesian-speaking cultures), an individual's umbilical cord may be placed or buried at a specific site, such as the front of the house, and that location is eternally recognized as 'home' (Tsai 2003 video transcript; N.H. Istanda 2006 pers. comm.; Martin 2006, 2010, 2011). The continuum of the Bunun house has been the subject of ethnohistorical reconstruction among the Istanda family for some time and efforts were launched in 2005 to begin the rebuilding

project (Martin 2006, 2011). Subsequently the house was reconstructed; being the first-ever home in Laipunuk to be rebuilt since the Japanese Colonial Empire (Martin 2011). Figure 3 shows the 1941 home of Langus and Tama Biung Istanda reconstructed by the Istanda family descendants and friends of *Bunun Buluo* in 2008.

4. Discussion

Imposition and marginalization from external cultures have impacted the Bunun of Laipunuk. During the Qing period the Bunun sought new and remote areas to continue their culture and ways of life away from the Chinese. In the context of increased contact and external pressure from the Chinese toward the end of the Qing period, the presence of the Qing government's *tong shi* system was spreading. Laipunuk offered three spatial aspects for the Bunun: prime area for tobacco agriculture; new hunting grounds; and a remote location away from the Japanese government's suspicion and scrutiny regarding the manufacture of guns and gunpowder.

Huang (2001a, 45) labels early Laipunuk as the development of *new area system*, a process of connecting culture and new area system from east and west of the Central Range, resulting in an increase of activity which was appealing for others to join in. This assumption is based on a number of observations. Firstly, the early Bunun in Laipunuk may have had to organize their social structure into large groups in order to fight or defend themselves from the Tsou. 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 spatially large and open, so the Bunun faced a new and greater area. Thirdly, Huang (2006 pers. comm.) suggests examining the creative/artistic aspect: "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 were not so artistic, they were more practical." There may have been an attraction to the prospect of new aesthetic experience.

Given that the Bunun life was very solemn, serious and times were hard when isolated in the high mountains, the new Laipunuk system would have been attractive, especially since there were 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. Any tribe who dared would face certain retaliation" (*ibid.*). Traditional Bunun subsistence 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; their lives were filled with danger" (*ibid.*). With the arrival of the Japanese period, the external pressure of eminent global power was pushing toward Laipunuk from all directions until the watershed was in effect among the very last frontiers of the Taiwan aborigines (Martin 2011). All of the factors discussed in this research had an additive effect on pushing the indigenes together, and the additive 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. In response to the advancing Japanese Colonial Empire throughout the Central Range, the Bunun were searching for a new place to continue their ways of life; all other areas were too close to other tribes or the imposing Japanese forces. T.B. Istanda (2004 pers. comm.) remembers his family's accounts of searching for an unclaimed area to live, moving from place to place across the Central Range.

With the KMT came a period of discriminatory stagnation for the Bunun from Laipunuk: their language was forbidden, hunting was prohibited, and cultural behaviors were discouraged. Although Presbyterian Christianity offered a new direction and sense of hope for them, it nonetheless induced social change and a shift in cultural belief and perception of the cosmos.

The current democratic era notwithstanding, Laipunuk may have been the last place in Taiwan where many indigenous cultures influenced each other to form a new culture. With the Bunun serving as a catalyst, the Tsou, Paiwan, and Rukai influenced a shift in the nature of indigenous society in Laipunuk (Huang 2001a, 2001b). Additionally, the social system in Laipunuk had become prosperous due to the integration of Chinese and the region's position as an east-west trade route across the Central Range, inasmuch as this allowed the Bunun to have the benefits of the outside world without actually having to leave their familiar world. Three aspects to consider include: (a) the

development of a hybrid society system through the syncretism of egalitarian and hierarchical systems; (b) the increased access to trade and sophisticated material culture, including cookware, cloth and guns; and (c) the eminent pressure and events of the Japanese police force advancement into the remote southern region of the Central Range.

This research demonstrates that traditional Bunun music, ritual, and marriage were in practice in Laipunuk, and they were 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 the shift in social structure from egalitarian (achieved society) to hierarchical (ascribed society), the majority people of Laipunuk were culturally *true* Bunun. 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 be culturally defined. Ethnicity in Laipunuk was plausible, penetrable, and a process. Although birth played a significant role, it was not the absolute defining factor, and the Bunun demonstrate a mechanism of social behavior that reinforces Bunun ethnicity.

The research identifies a homegrown eclectic and egalitarian system of cultural resource management evident in the formation of an indigenous not-for-profit organization, the creation of a new 'Bunun village', and the participation of the community in institutional oral ethnography, music and dance, social and spiritual gatherings, mountaineering and tribal mapping, and the re-discovery of historic sites which bridge the past and the ethnographic present.

5. Conclusion

As a high-mountain hunting and agrarian society, land and culture are inseparable for the Bunun. However, the loss of their indigenous homelands throughout the twentieth century has resulted in harsh cultural marginalization.

Although the Bunun freely adopt and incorporate material culture, traits and non-Bunun peoples into their culture, and in encountering foreign cultural incursion and the loss of their hunting grounds, they have struggled to maintain their culture and identity. Over the previous century, the Bunun have endured constant pressure from foreign cultures, including those of the

Photo 3. The Asang Dancers at the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation (Martin 2006).

Qing dynasty, Japanese colonial empire, the KMT, and from other indigenous cultures; they have also exhibited internal willful adaptation and social change. During the course of this ethnography, the heart-felt discouragement among Bunun elders was evident, especially in the context of the future generation's unwillingness to continue Bunun culture, tradition and language (see Appendix 2). Nonetheless, a Bunun cultural identity exists in continuum with underlying concepts of identity, social structure, marriage, music and religion.

This research offered an authentic and substantive examination of the Bunun in the context of Laipunuk as a case study. It provided an understanding of the socio-cultural relationships among the Bunun with other peoples, advancing knowledge in cultural interaction and adaptation. This study contributes to an integrated body of knowledge essential to conserve indigenous epistemology, providing useful information for the Bunun people of Laipunuk, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, and for researchers, scholars, and historians; it serves to document the home-grown cultural resource management efforts of a Taiwanese cultural treasure for English readers.

The study points towards potential internal and external benefits to the Bunun though creating public interest in indigenous cultural heritage and knowledge, fostering linkages among people and organizations through revitalizing tribal mapping, and contextualizing the island of Formosa as an integral part of the Austronesian region from an ethnolinguistic perspective.

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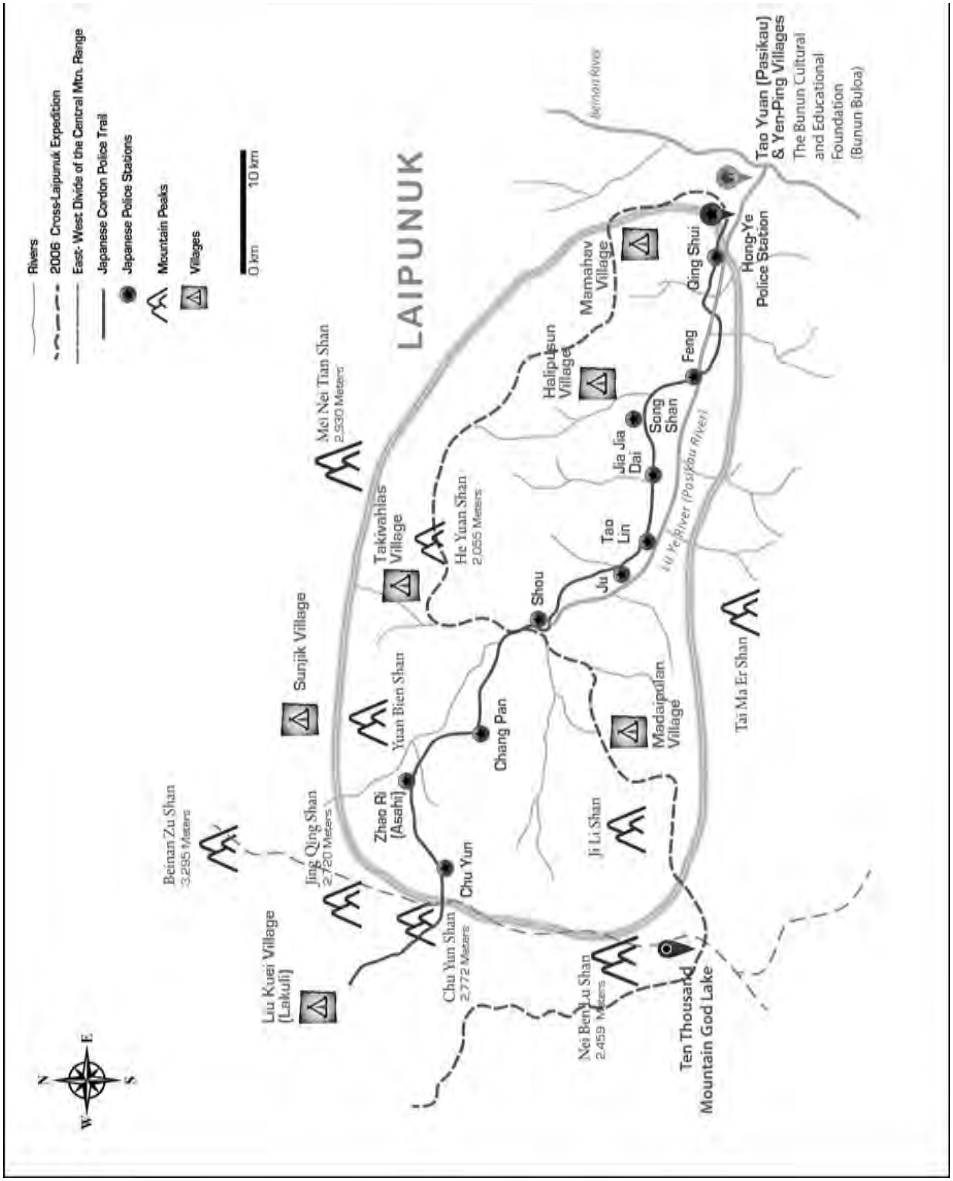
Appendix 1

The Laipunuk Watershed (Martin 2010)



Appendix 2

Tama Biung Istanda 1917–2007—Ethnographic Narrative

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).

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內本鹿布農族社群的文化維續

Steven Andrew Martin, David Blundell

摘　要

過去一個世紀以來，同爲南島語族文化社群之布農族，抵禦了外來侵入者所造成之劇烈邊緣化，尤其是兩股延續性的國家勢力，前有日本殖民統治（1895–1945），及其接續之中華民國政府（1945年以降）。然而，近年來的民主改革迎來了文化保存以及透過文化資源治理的新興永續契機。本研究係以臺東縣延平鄉位居高海拔之內本鹿的布農族郡社群爲焦點，試圖在由於外部壓力所誘發之社會變遷，確認系統間之文化維續面向。

本文之研究方法包括對於本領域稀少之華文文獻轉譯，輔以學者之詮釋，復以影音記錄口述歷史，加上深度訪談和參與觀察。

本研究發現布農族展現深刻的文化適應力，特別顯現在祭儀舞蹈、婚姻、狩獵、信仰和地方認同；文化傳統和行爲均能適時因應強勢文化之規範與期待，加以調整與適應。此外，深層的文化意涵非但沒有因此弱化，甚至進一步地跨越精神與世代隔閡向前發展。本研究提供理解布農族認識論與文化系統學的新視角，進而探究原住民族如何藉由內部文化轉變，維續信念與價值。本文之目的即在積累臺灣人類重要資產之本我文化資源管理，提供給英語文讀者。

關鍵字：南臺灣、布農族、內本鹿、福爾摩沙原住民族、布農文教基金會、歷史文化維續