

The Making of A 'Community':

An Anthropological Study Among the Puyuma of Taiwan

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR PH.D. DEGREE
IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

Wen-te Chen

1998

School of Oriental and African Studies
(Department of Anthropology and Sociology)
University of London



ProQuest Number: 10673201

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10673201

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Abstract

This thesis has two primary purposes. Firstly, by focusing on the issue of 'community', it provides a detailed ethnographic account of a Puyuma settlement in Taiwan. Particular emphasis is laid upon investigating comprehensively the interrelationships among social spheres (e.g. household, age organization, rites, and so on) which previous analyses have dealt with separately. Secondly, this thesis problematizes various past and current theoretical approaches to 'community', 'village', 'village-community', and other close equivalents in the anthropological literature. It argues that anthropologists should adopt an alternative conceptualization of 'community'.

The thesis opens with a review of key anthropological discourse on 'community' in which it is argued that the significance of indigenous conceptualizations has largely been overlooked both by those adopting the 'writing culture' genre and by those stressing the 'global-local' dimension. Against the background of Taiwan's changing historical context, I explore how the notion of Puyuma 'community' can be seen as the moving resultant of the interplay of administrative imposition and indigenous (re-) appropriation. Thereafter I examine the interrelationships of house (*rumah*), household, and ritual house (*karumaan*), and their centrality for the Puyuma. The process of becoming a Puyuma, it is argued, now has come to involve a mutual conjunction of kinship and age organization. In Chapter 6, I analyze the changed alignment between 'community' leadership and *karumaan* identity, whilst Chapter 7 examines how indigenous senses of 'community' have been ritually defined. The implication of 'new' religious factionalism (Han-Chinese, Catholic, and Presbyterian) for the contested construction of a 'community' provides the substance of my penultimate chapter. By way of conclusion, I reiterate the significance of this study for comparative Southeast Asian studies--- which have mostly ignored Taiwan's aboriginal population--- and the wider theoretical implications for the way in which anthropology, as a discipline, constructs 'community'.

Acknowledgements

Writing is a solitary activity, but is also one which requires many people to make it possible. I would particularly like to thank the Puyuma of Nan-wang and the Puyuma (especially of Pinaski) whom I have known since mid-1980s. Their help, patience and understanding have enabled me to carry out my fieldwork, and this thesis shows what I have learnt from them so far.

I am very grateful to my supervisors, Stuart Thompson and Andrew Turton; my thesis could not have assumed its present form without their many valuable comments. I would also like to thank Alessandro Dell'Orto, Jos Gamble, Kevin Latham and Jeff Roberts for their friendship and help during my studies at SOAS. And I owe much to Mr. Ian Long for his helping making the thesis much more readable and fluent.

The National Science Council of the Republic of China in Taiwan has provided me with a three-year grant, through which I have had the opportunity to study at SOAS and write my thesis. I would also like to thank the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica for allowing me four-year's leave to advance my academic career. A grant received from Irwin Fund also helped me to undertake my fieldwork.

Personally, I would like to thank my colleagues: Ying-kuei Huang for his long-term academic assistance and encouragement, Mei-feng Ts'ai and Shiun-wei Huang for their continuous help in supplying the information that I have needed while writing. I am also grateful to I-yih Cheng for her encouragement and insightful comments during the writing.

Finally I must thank my family for their patience and understanding, and ask their forgiveness for my absence of almost six years during which I have been concentrating on study, fieldwork, and writing.

Table of Contents

Abstract	
Acknowledgements	
Illustrations and Lists of Tables	
<u>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION</u>	1
Problems with 'Field' Research	1
Why 'Community'	8
Fieldwork Experience among the <u>Puyuma</u> of Nan-wang	25
The Organization of the Thesis	31
<u>CHAPTER 2 ABORIGINES AND THE ISLAND OF TAIWAN</u> <u>: THE CASE OF THE PUYUMA</u>	36
The History of the Island of Taiwan and Its Aborigines	38
The <u>Puyuma</u> : Classification and Study	56
<u>CHAPTER 3 NAN-WANG: A SETTLEMENT AND A 'COMMUNITY'</u>	74
The Development of the Nan-wang Settlement	76
Nan-wang--- A 'Community' Recognized, Expanded, and Re-created	89
A 'Community' Recognized and Delimited	90
An Expanded 'Community'	94
A 'Community' Re-created	105
Ambiguity and Contest: From the Puyuma to a Puyuma of the 'Community'	112
<u>CHAPTER 4 RUMAH (HOUSE, HOUSEHOLD) AND KARUMAAN</u> <u>(RITUAL HOUSE, ORIGINAL FAMILY)</u>	117
The Constitution of <i>Rumah</i>	120
<i>Vinã</i> : The Relationship Between a Household and Its Natal Household	143
The Significance of <i>Karumaan</i> and Its Implications	150
Some Concluding Remarks	160
<u>CHAPTER 5 LIFE COURSE: THE PROCESS OF BECOMING</u> <u>A PUYUMA OF THE 'COMMUNITY'</u>	165
'Life Course' and Its Related Customs	168
The Significance of the Boyhood Stage (<i>Takovakoban</i>)	203

<u>CHAPTER 6 THE EMERGENCE OF THE 'LEADING FAMILIES' IN THE 'COMMUNITY'</u>	209
Leading Families Having <i>Karumaan</i> (and <i>Parakwan</i>)	212
The Leading Families Without <i>Karumaan</i>	222
The Dynamics of the Leadership and Their Implications	229
<u>CHAPTER 7 'COMMUNITY' AS RITUALLY CONSTITUTED AND REPRESENTED: ANNUAL RITES AND MORTUARY RITES</u>	236
Annual Rites	238
<i>Mugamut</i>	242
<i>Kiaamian</i> and <i>Muraliyavan</i>	248
<i>Vasivas</i> and <i>Mangayau</i>	255
The Ways in Which the Deceased Are Dealt With Rites as Contested Fields	273 282
<u>CHAPTER 8 PROBLEMS IN THE MAKING AND REMAKING OF A 'COMMUNITY'</u>	287
A 'Community': Views from Different Religious Divisions	289
'Where Were The Ancestors From?' : A Significant Event	324
A New Sense of 'Community' and the Emergence of a Puyuma 'Culture'	328
The Making of a 'Community': a 'Field' for Competition	338
<u>CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION</u>	346
Appendix 1 Puyuma Household Names and Their Meanings	358
Appendix 2 Previous Headmen of the 'Community'	359
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	361

Illustrations

Maps

Map 2-1 The Geographical Distribution and Classification of Austronesian Languages	41
Map 2-2 Stage of Land Settlement on the Island of Taiwan	45
Map 2-3 The Geographical Distribution of Taiwanese Aborigines	53
Map 2-4 The Geographical Locations of the Puyuma Settlements	63
Map 3-1 The Geographical Distribution of Nan-wang Borough	78
Map 3-2 The Geographical Distribution of <u>Lower Nan-wang</u> , <u>Nan-wang</u> , and <u>Upper Nan-wang</u>	79
Map 3-3 The Spatial Design of <u>Nan-wang</u> under Japanese Rule	84

Figures

Figure 4-1 The Architecture of the <i>Karumaan</i> of <i>Pasaraat</i>	154
Figure 5-1 The Architecture of the Boys' House	176
Figure 5-1 The Puyuma Kin Terms	190
Figure 5-2 The Puyuma Affinal Terms (Male Speaker)	190
Figure 5-3 The Puyuma Affinal Terms (Female Speaker)	190
Figure 6-1 The Succession of the Chieftainship of the Puyuma	218
Figure 6-2 The Succession of the Chieftainship of the Puyuma	219

Tables

Table 3-1 The Change in Population Ratio Between Non-Han and Han-Chinese	80
Table 3-2 The Constitution of Leading Families in Nan-wang and Their Associated Features	96
Table 5-1 The Stage of the Male and the Female Puyuma	173
Table 7-1 The Puyuma Calendar, Agricultural Activities and Rites	239
Table 8-1 The Distribution of 'Ancestral Tablets' among the Puyuma Households Adhering to the Han-Chinese Folk Religion	293
Table 8-2 The Constitution of the Catholics Attending Nan-wang Church	308
Table 8-3 The Constitution of the Presbyterians Attending Nan-wang Church	318

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Field research in Anthropology is what the blood of
the martyrs is to the Church

(C. G. Seligman; Quoted from Lewis 1985:27)

Problems with 'Field' Research

As a discipline with the ambitious aim of researching into the issues of 'common humanity, of cultural variation and of social process' (Ingold 1994: ixi), anthropology--- particularly its socio-cultural wing--- is based on field research. Indeed, just as the martyrs are specific to the Church, so field research has always been recognized as a distinctive feature of anthropology, by which it is distinguished from other disciplines that are also concerned with human activities. In other words, field research--- the crucial aspect of anthropology's symbolic identity as a discipline and as a 'community' of scholars, and an initiation for the student of anthropology--- provides an important means to escape from a sort of speculative philosophy of human nature advocated and presupposed by its Western intellectual foundations. Instead, by virtue of the intimate engagement with the people afforded by field research, anthropology is 'philosophy with the people in', from which a 'perpetual deconstruction' can be undertaken (Ingold 1994: xviii-xviii). Usually conceptualized as an 'empirical' method, field research or fieldwork is also considered to be an important criterion for demarcating the development of the discipline. That both Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown are referred to by Kuper (1973) as founders of 'British social anthropology' is a vivid instance. Along with theoretical argument and monograph writing, field research constitutes part of a trinity on which '(M)odern, maybe scientific, anthropology' has depended (Fardon 1990b: 1). Even when viewed by those who contend an extreme 'experiential positivism' (ibid: 3), the rich data 'collected' from personal fieldwork can survive the theoretical arguments proposed by anthropologists themselves.

Since fieldwork is undertaken in the specific time and place during which anthropologists are in contact with 'their people', it would appear

to be separable from the activities pertaining to theoretical and ethnographic writing. Fieldwork is also *prima facie* distinct from pre-fieldwork preparations such as training and research proposals. Once conceptualized and defined merely as a method by which anthropologists collect their 'data', fieldwork was imagined as cut off from both ethnographical writing and pre-field training. However, this supposed separation not only neglects the real issues of how anthropological knowledge has been created and constructed (Crick 1982; Hastrup 1995)--- it also leaves unaddressed the complicated relationship between field research and pre-fieldwork training. There is a bundled relationship here which should receive more attention.¹ However, defined as the basic means by which anthropological knowledge is acquired and built up, fieldwork (a practice in a specific 'field') has suffered a similar fate to that of anthropology (especially the structural-functionalist paradigm) when the latter was under challenge in the 1950s.

With decolonialization after the Second World War, anthropology as a discipline was criticized politically as a handmaid of the rulers (the Western colonial and imperial regimes), a tool for pacifying non-Western peoples.² In other words, anthropology has its roots in '*an unequal power*

1. It is surprising to me that the phase of 'pre-field training' should not be seen as a problem in comparison with both 'fieldwork' itself and ethnographic writing. For instance, ethnography is defined as referring to 'both mode of inquiry and writing' (Marcus 1995: 1). Even in Fardon's 'trinity', we are not sure to what 'theoretical argument' actually refers. The issues of reconsidering and relocating the intellectual capital that has been significant for our anthropological predecessors and has been realized in 'pre-field training', and of how to re-conceptualize the history of the discipline, are too complex to be dealt with here. However, I would say that to confine 'field research' as a separate sphere independent of 'pre-field training' and ethnographical writing would not only misrepresent anthropology as a naive 'empirical' discipline: it would also reduce a series of issues this discipline has now confronted and should seriously consider to a simple concern with representation and literary tropes.

2. The most vivid characterization of anthropology as a handmaid to Western colonial regimes lies in a picturesque quotation by Kuper at the beginning of his chapter discussing the issue of anthropology's relationship to colonialism. As well as two other white men (a capitalist and a priest or missionary), an anthropologist was fleeing, carrying with him a copy of the book, *African Political System* (Kuper 1973: 123).

encounter between the West and Third World which goes back to the emergence of bourgeois Europe, an encounter in which colonialism is merely one historical moment' (Asad 1973b: 16; emphasis added. see also Levi-Strauss 1966).

This sense of anthropology as a handmaid of colonialism was clearly demonstrated not only by the fact that 'anthropological fieldwork was facilitated by European colonial power' (Asad 1991: 315), but also by anthropologists taking 'the codified version of local society as its model of reality' (Harris 1996: 1; see also Asad 1991: 321-22). As a corollary to the objectification perpetrated by the colonial regimes, the ruled were not only denied their history, but their agency was also erased (Ulin 1976). In other words, the 'bounded', 'territorialized' field in which anthropologists used to live to undertake their studies was a creation of the colonial regimes, and did not reveal the actual situation occurring in the 'field'. As recently indicated by Clifford (1992: 98), when referring to some photographs presented at the beginning of Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, many 'postcolonial questions' were not raised in 1921 when Malinowski was doing his fieldwork. By contrast, Clifford continues, the image 'represented a powerful localizing strategy: entering "the culture" around a particular locus, "the village," and a certain spatial practice of dwelling/ research which itself... depended on a complementary localization--- that of "*the field*"' (ibid; emphasis added). Having said that, these aforementioned critiques render problematic the undertaking of research in a 'field', (usually referred to as a 'tribe', a 'village', a 'community' or a 'society').

Both the plausibility of undertaking field research confined to a specific 'field' and the notion of field research itself have become more problematic since the 1980s. Specifically, the issues are related to 'writing' ethnography and to re-conceptualizing anthropological studies in terms of a developing 'global ecumene'. While the first concern in some ways widens the separation between fieldwork and both theoretical arguments and ethnographical writing, the latter questions how fieldwork in a specific 'field' can be justified and retain its enduring value.

Let us begin with the first challenge, viz., 'writing ethnography' or 'writing culture' (see Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986).

In a way, some convergence exists between these two challenges. Those who are occupied with the problems of ethnographical writing, for example Clifford and Marcus, have sensed the implications of studies that adopt a global perspective. Since the mid-1980s, as Marcus, co-editor along with Clifford of 'writing cultures', notes, there has been a convergence of interest in culture 'as lived *local* experience and the understanding of the latter in *global* perspective' as a means of understanding how 'collective and individual identities are negotiated in the various places that anthropologists have traditionally, and *now* not so traditionally, conducted fieldwork' (1992: 311; emphasis partially added). Even so, their main focus is on representation itself, viz., the writing of ethnography by means of appropriate literary tropes. This concern is vividly related by Marcus and Fischer. In their description of the challenges interpretive anthropology has to face, Marcus and Fischer have argued that the issue is 'how to represent the embedding of richly described local cultural worlds in larger impersonal systems of political economy' (1986: 77; emphasis added). 'What makes representation challenging and a focus of experimentation', continue Marcus and Fischer, 'is the perception that the "outside forces" in fact are an integral part of the construction and constitution of the "inside,"...' (ibid; emphasis added). In other words, it is *representation*, an experimentation with literary tropes, that is the main concern, rather than dealing with and conceptualizing such a process of construction and constitution.

However, this 'literary turn in anthropology' has raised still further questions, rather than providing a promising alternative for re-conceptualizing the real issues anthropologists have to face as its advocates had thought.³ Firstly, in their arguments for a 'literary turn' in ethnographical writing, they presuppose that this is a universal issue. But *writing* itself is problematic, as Strathern (1992) reminds us.

3. For instance, in a note to his recent work, Marcus remarks that a rhetorical, literary-style critique of ethnography has in his view 'made possible the exploration of new problems and even methods in anthropology by allowing for the possibility of alternative frameworks and terms in which its traditional problem areas could be rethought' (1992: 328, note 3).

Specifically, it is problematic regarding the argument for dialogue and for a plurality for indigenous voices. While such representations perhaps express dissents which have been absent from previous ethnographical monographs, they appear to be 'another imposition of Western liberal assumption' (Errington and Gewertz 1984: 373; see also Strathern 1987). Also related to this literary focus is a tendency to regard the whole work of ethnography as lying in writing, or representation, itself (Carrithers 1996: 170; see also the critiques from authors in Fardon 1990a), rather than paying attention to the issues by which anthropologists can remain in touch with and illuminate the 'hard surfaces of life'.⁴ Moreover, focusing on experimental writing betrays the assumption that representation in book-like written forms (i.e., 'text') is prior to communication (i.e., 'con-text'), a tendency seriously criticized even by some 'post-modernists' (e.g., Tyler 1995). In other words, what is displayed in such a 'literary turn' is an increasing movement of anthropology away from fieldwork and its 'becoming ever more indistinguishable from the works of literary critiques and historians' (Pool 1995: 117). Or, in Fardon's words, it is 'a production of texts by means of texts, rather than by means of fieldwork' (1990b: 5).

The second current of opinion challenging conventional anthropological field research comes from those who adopt a world-historical political view of history. In these studies (cf. Roseberry 1988. see also Marcus and Fischer 1986, particularly Ch. 4), notions of culture as 'localized' and

4. A similar critique is also found in a recent collection edited by R.G. Fox (1991). In his introduction, Fox has noted the significant contributions made by the 'reflexivists' or 'postmodernists', (like Geertz, Clifford and Marcus, to name a few examples), in making us aware of problems with ethnographic authority, and, by extension, of the present condition of anthropology (Fox 1991: 5-7). Nevertheless, Fox asserts that this sort of new, experimental anthropology helps to maintain an 'artisan image by which we are deceived' (ibid.: 8). Having tried to transcend some of the predicaments and flaws displayed in experimental ethnography due to its location of politics within the texts themselves, the papers in Fox's edition remind us instead of the wider constraints under which anthropological labor has been produced. In other words, Fox argues, we should pay more heed to the 'factory' conditions, viz., the world in which anthropology 'gets produced in order to continue to produce it' (ibid.: 9, 13-15).

integrated, and of 'society' as 'bounded' and homogeneous, are seriously criticized. Instead, as Wolf (1982) has argued,⁵ the societies typically studied by anthropologists have been involved in the political-economic forces at the world since the early sixteenth century. Consequently, the 'field'--- no matter whether its former equivalent was a 'village', a 'community' or a specific 'location'--- becomes problematic too, considering the fact that world-wide interactions and networks have been operating to create, in effect, a global ecumene (Hannerz 1996: 7).⁶ In other words, what the ethnographers now have to confront is a picture of 'global ethnoscares', in which peoples 'are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous' (Appadurai 1991: 191).⁷ Ethnographers 'can longer simply be content with the "thickness" they bring to the local and the particular, nor can they assume that as they approach the local, they approach something more elementary, more contingent, and thus more "real" than life seen in large-scale perspectives' (ibid: 198-199).

5. Nevertheless, there are several serious problems in Wolf's arguments, as some critics have succinctly pointed out. For instance, Wolf is reprimanded for incorporating non-Western peoples into the unfolding of global forces in Western terms, and therefore of continuing to represent non-Western peoples literally as 'peoples without history' in its literal meaning. It is this bias that Asad challenges, asking instead, 'Are There *Histories of Peoples Without Europe?*' the actual title of his review article (Asad 1987; emphasis added). On the other hand, with its focus on the global forces as the development of capitalism, Wolf's history ironically becomes--- in the case of the non-Western peoples--- 'a *history without people*' (Coronil 1996: 63; emphasis added).

6. Due to rising global phenomena, of which transnational migration is particularly remarkable, even 'nations' are unbounded as some studies have argued (e.g., Basch et al 1994; Kearney 1996).

7. Appadurai suggests that the term 'ethnoscape' should be substituted for earlier "wholes" like villages, communities, and localities (1991: 209). Indeed, the issue of 'locality' has already been discussed in his earlier paper (Appadurai 1990). There, 'locality', both in the sense of the local factory or site of production and in the extended sense of the nation-state, is conceptualized as an emerging fetishism 'which disguises the globally dispersed forces that actually drive the production process' (1990: 16). By contrast, in his later works (1995), Appadurai has paid more attention to the 'locality', though quite reasonably its 'production' is his main concern.

So what will the fate of conventional 'field research' be? Some alternative solutions to this question are being sought by anthropologists who are still attached to 'field' studies. In a sense, such solutions indicate that while the existence of a 'global ecumene' is acknowledged, this does not imply that 'local differences' have been completely erased in a homogenizing and universal process. On the contrary, what has been emerging is a picture of contradiction and conflict, or an ongoing interaction of centripetal forces promoting global integration with centrifugal forces recreating local autonomy (Featherstone 1995: 103). It is more of a 'glocalization' than a complete triumph of 'culturally homogenizing forces over all others' (Robertson 1995: 25, 26 ff; see also Robertson 1992: 170 ff). Indifference to variations not only neglects the fact the world is composed of unequal power relationships, but also denies the variously complicated situations around the world. It is here that 'field research', though now conceptualized in a different way, is undergoing a revival and its significance is being recognized.

Indicating the limitations of Appadurai's approach (see Appadurai 1990, 1991), Olwig (1997: 35) has in a succinct and timely way reminded us that 'If anthropologists merely remove their localized field work from the stable village to the transient environment like the hotel or bar, they will primarily focus on the more short-lived and flimsy contexts of modern life and therefore risk exaggerating its transient and "uprooted" character'. Moreover, having taken into account challenges that make 'field study' problematic, some anthropologists are trying to define the 'field' as a 'field of relations' rather than as a 'locality'. In other words, the 'field' is a 'contact zone', and 'the field of interrelationships' should be taken as 'a main point of departure in anthropological research' (Hastrup and Olwig 1997: 7-8).

In this view, while 'field' research remains important, its equivalents like 'society' or 'community' or 'village' lose their conventional positions, to the extent that they are treated as a hindrance to grasping the global forces constituting these subjects.⁸ The notion of 'culture' has suffered

8. Regarding the term 'society', for instance, Featherstone and Lash (1995: 2) have recently noted that 'a central implication of the concept of

a similar fate. At best, it is still used, but is not understood as a 'substance' (Featherstone and Lash 1995: 7): as a corollary, the differences implied in this term, viz., cultural differences, are no longer 'taxonomical', but rather 'interactive and refractive' (Appadurai 1991: 205), or created '*through* connection' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 8; emphasis in original). At worst, considering its notorious implication of exoticizing 'the other' and being occupied exclusively with something collective and shared, this notion should be done away with or replaced by other notions, like 'knowledge' (e.g., Barth 1995), or used as an adjective as 'cultural'.⁹

To sum up: due to the changing situation that conventional anthropological 'field research' has had to confront, a series of conventional notions, particularly those seemingly confined to a 'field', like 'culture', 'society', 'village', 'community' and other equivalents, have become problematic and should be re-conceptualized. They can either be replaced by new terms, like 'knowledge', 'sociality' or 'cultural', or used only in a descriptive sense. At best, they should be avoided as much as possible.

Why 'Community' ?

From the above it might seem that words like 'society', 'culture', 'community' and 'village' are too controversial to be key notions, and that they are not interesting topics which deserve further investigation. Regarding the issue of identities, those notions formerly carrying an implication of 'roots, of a stable, territorialized existence' (Clifford 1988: 338), or such primordial phenomena as 'traditions, communities, kinship systems, rituals, and power structures' (Marcus 1992: 312), may no longer appear appropriate for addressing the world we now face. In the first of his three requirements for dealing with contemporary social reality, for

globalization is that we must now embark on the project of understanding social life without the comforting term "society".

9. As Ingold suggests, for instance, 'It might be more realistic to say that people *live culturally* rather than that they *live in cultures*' (Ingold 1994: 330, emphases in origin).

instance, Marcus argues for '*Problematizing the spatial: a break with the trope of community in realist ethnography*' (1992: 315; emphasis in original).¹⁰ Although both his usage of and his argument against the term 'realist' and 'realism' are themselves debatable,¹¹ it is plain that Marcus believes that the idea of identity attached to a bounded or territorialized 'community' does not satisfactorily appropriate 'multi-locale' and dispersed contemporary social complexities. Why, then, should we focus on 'community', considering the fact that this term can refer to various levels of subject: from conventional ethnographic studies, like locales, regions, communities and other equivalents, to the nation-state? Also, more problematic, is the connotation of a 'bounded' locality, a problem that was indicated as early as the late 1960s (e.g., Stacey 1969; see also Bell and Newby 1971).¹²

10. The other two are '*problematizing the temporal: a break with the trope history in realist ethnography*' and '*problematizing perspective/voice: a break with the trope of structure in realist ethnography*' (ibid: 316-319). Furthermore, Marcus argues, the trope of community is an important reason for difficulties in grasping the 'collective and individual memory', the crucible for the local self-recognition of an identity (ibid: 316).

11. Whether the term 'realist' or 'realism' is appropriate at all or should be rejected is an issue worth further discussion. Here, I only mention two viewpoints. Firstly, with regard to the term itself, both Keesing and Jolly try to replace 'ethnographic realism' with 'ethnographic narrative'. They consider that the term 'realism' (introduced by Marcus and Fischer (1986)) in the sense of nineteenth-century novels, in its original implication,--- namely, that 'the reader/viewer is entering a world of "fiction"--- is the reverse of what many anthropological monographs have done (1992: 228, 242, note 10). On the other hand, Hastrup argues for a distinction between realism as a genre and realism as an epistemological imperative (1995: 188, note 3). While realism 'as a genre and as an instance of a correspondence theory of truth' must be abandoned, it is still the 'only possible epistemology for purported scholarship' (ibid: 163; esp. Ch. 9). Hastrup's argument reflects her emphasis on the significance of fieldwork and, as a corollary, the necessity of an 'ethnographic present' (ibid: 20-21).

12. Certainly, Stacey had, in the 1960s, already pointed out some important issues related to community studies. For instance, even without using the notion of 'articulation', Stacey raised the issue of the connection between the internal 'local social system' and external forces beyond the locality (and to some extent even beyond the nation). She also indicated the implications of this connection, viz., various points of power,

As mentioned above, many recent studies have found that there is a tension between the so-called 'global' and the 'local' (both defined here in a diffuse, rather ^{than} an 'essentialist' way). Despite their rejection of universal and homogenizing global development, an important argument in these studies is that 'community', 'village' or other equivalents are no longer 'bounded'. Certainly, such an argument reminds us not to impose a nostalgic, romanticized image on these 'localized units'. The real picture is that these 'primitive' or 'rural' areas have long been involved with global forces. Such a viewpoint suggests that we should take serious account of the complicated web of relationships forged by the peoples both within and beyond these conventional subjects.

Suggestive as this viewpoint is, it only tells us a partial truth. In other words, while we are now more conscious of the features of 'deterritorialization', and the relationships and forces operating beyond these 'localized units', we are left little (if any) room to ask how these 'localized units' have been conceptualized by the peoples concerned. In this way, various conceptualizations of 'home', 'community', and other equivalents, and their implications for the processes involved in such connections, are presented as something universal. A timely and proper critique of the autonomy of primeval community is one thing: but it is another thing entirely to preordain how the indigenous people sense their 'community', 'village' or 'society'. In other words, in my opinion many of the aforementioned critiques of conventional anthropological notions have advocated an 'external' view. In this way, their arguments remind us at best that the 'community', for instance, as a pristine autonomy should be rejected, and that we should examine how it was formed '*as a community*' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 8, emphasis in origin). At worst, their arguments presuppose something universal--- under such a global perspective variations around the world are either explained as an outcome of 'exoticizing the other' which should be rejected at all, or treated as the 'production' of the articulation between 'local' and 'global',

for the internal constitution of the existing 'local social system'. However, Stacey did not take into consideration how the people conceptualized their 'community'.

in which there is no 'essence' for the 'local' peoples.¹³

I would argue that, while remaining aware of the challenges I have mentioned, we should (as an important corrective to these shortcomings) pay more heed to how variously the notion of 'community' has been conceptualized by peoples around the world. In other words, we should undertake research to find out how such indigenous notion(s) refer to relationships within a particular 'community': and we should also investigate how these notion(s) have been shaped by the forces from without. That is, instead of turning our backs on the 'community', perceived as 'bounded' and 'territorialized', we should make 'community' our main focus, from which a series of complicated problems--- for instance, how 'community' is defined, how it is related to the people in their own understanding, and how it is re-defined through articulation with outside forces--- can be reconsidered. It is with these aspects that I will try to deal in my thesis, based on a case study among the Puyuma people, one of nine officially categorized aboriginal groups on the island of Taiwan. Before presenting my own main viewpoints and briefly describing my fieldwork experience with this people, I will use some case studies from Southeast Asia to make my previous discussions more concrete on the one hand,¹⁴ and on the other to display the potential relevance of Taiwanese aboriginal studies, hopefully including mine, to this area.¹⁵

13. In contrast with this approach, I would suggest some more positive studies. With respect to the issue of 'society', for instance, Strathern's usage ('sociality' replacing 'society') is a good case. Based on her studies among the Melanesians, Strathern has questioned the dichotomy of society/individual and the use of the notion of 'society'. Her definition of 'society' has raised heated debates and has been challenged (See Strathern et al 1990). For a similar discussion regarding 'culture' see Wagner (1981).

14. I do not mean that this issue is confined to Southeast Asia. The usage of 'community' or 'village' has been intimately connected with the 'peasant' in anthropological studies, which is in turn associated with Latin America (see Kearney 1996).

15. Many studies (see Bellwood 1995: 98-101; Bellwood et al 1995: 5) have indicated that the island of Taiwan was probably an important place from which a geographical expansion of the people of the Austronesian

'Community' or 'Village' in Southeast Asia: Some Examples

With regard to Southeast Asia the aforementioned issues about the notions of 'village', 'community', 'village community' and other social equivalents (and their relevance for ethnographical studies) have been greatly discussed. Here, two review books that were published in the same year respectively by Breman (1988) and Kemp (1988) offer us a good starting point.

Let us start with Breman's work. Right at the beginning of his book, Breman indicates a serious problem displayed among many studies of village community in Asia. That is, the village community itself has been taken for granted as a closed corporate formation and constitutes 'the social foundation of peasant economy in Asia' (1988: 1). Instead of uncritically accepting this notion as a point of departure for our studies, Breman argues, we should subject those features usually associated with this image of village community to examination; to wit, 'political autonomy, economic autarchy, social homogeneity and, finally, the tenacious immutability of this closed collectivity' (1988: 2). Based on a critical review of previous studies and on his earlier study (Breman 1980), Breman throughout this slim book (less than fifty pages) paints a picture of the village community in Asia completely at odds with that usually found in other works. For instance, the village never was isolated, nor was it territorially circumscribed, or even a basic social formation (ibid.: 10, 23, 40, 42). By contrast, 'territoriality' was an important colonial ideological construction, attributed to the village community to fit the demands and needs of the colonial mode of production that emerged during the nineteenth century (ibid.: 23, 39-40). In the case of Java for example, the idea of the village as a communal and corporate entity was a colonial creation due to the imposition of an introduced tax system

language began southward to today's island Southeast Asia. Even so, studies among aborigines of Taiwan, in contrast with other peoples of this area, have been neglected by the Western anthropologists for a long time. In contrast, many studies of this island have been undertaken by Japanese scholars. This result is in part attributable to the historical development of this island, see Chapter 2.

(ibid.: 1, 10-11, 41).¹⁶ A corollary to this reification, Breman continues, was not only that pre-colonial migration and mobility were left unremarked, but also that no room was left for 'any kind of self-propelled transformation process' (ibid.: 24-27). Considering the real situation of the village prevalent in the pre-colonial period, Breman concludes, '*The Asian village never existed*' in terms of its closed, corporate and politico-economically autonomous characteristics (ibid: 42; emphasis in original).

These serious comments made by Breman on 'the Asian village' have even stronger echoes in Kemp's works. In the beginning of his book, Kemp states his main argument succinctly; to wit, "'the village", whatever form it takes, must be seen as the "creation" of the state and analyzed within that context' (ibid.: 2; cf. 12, 25, 27-29). But Kemp goes further than Breman to indicate a basic problem confronting many studies of the Southeast Asian peasant village community: they approach village community, kinship and household in a corporatist and group-oriented way (1988: 13, 24, 34-36; see also 1996: 50, 53). In other words, to analyze the relationships forged within village and household in terms of a group-oriented concept, Kemp argues, is to dispense with other modes of articulation and relations that not only extend beyond the locality, but importantly, are dyadic in their character. With respect to kinship in particular, Kemp continues, such a group-oriented approach obviously contradicts the bilateral system characteristic of Southeast Asia (1988: 13-19). Quite apart from that, the nature of the village or of kinship cannot be fully understood without considering the way in which it has been articulated within the wider social system or the state (ibid.: 17, 22-23, 25, 32).

To sum up, a view of the village community as bounded, territorialized and corporate is not sufficient for us to understand the actual

16. Recently, Breman (1996) has re-emphasized this argument. That is, in the case of Java the *desa* community, a result of freezing the previous social structure, has occupied an important role in both 'colonial literature, colonial management, and in the construction of the Orient' (ibid: 28; see also 3, 18).

situation.¹⁷ At its worst, this image mis-represents the actual situation occurring in the village. For instance, the basis of social organization may not be the village but the hierarchical peasant households, as in the case of Java (Breman 1996: 18).

Indeed, in some aspects both Breman's and Kemp's critiques of village community studies in Southeast and South Asia are not original. For instance, a similar viewpoint, though limited to the case of Bali, had been contended by Geertz in the early 1960s in a review article on a collection of essays written by the Leiden School of anthropologists. Completely disagreeing with the idea that the Balinese village was a 'self-contained, tightly knit, precisely delimited social microcosm, its absolute integrity underwritten by essentially religious concepts', Geertz (1961) instead referred to various forms of relationship which had long existed across villages in terms of trade, marriage, politics and religious pilgrimage. Even the royal houses he maintained had been involved in affairs related to the village community, rather just 'riding uneasily above' it. In contradiction to a picture of an indissoluble whole in which various social units were locked together, the actual situations on-the-ground were more complicated than these Balinese cosmological notions had implied (1961: 500). The defeats displayed in these Dutch scholarly works, Geertz argued, were due to four problematic assumptions; the notion of 'closed community' or *dorpsrepubliek* was one of them.¹⁸

Even though this comment on the notion of 'closed community' had already been made by Geertz, both Breman's and Kemp's contributions

17. Based on these arguments, Kemp (1996: 60-63) in his later paper has criticized a viewpoint advocated by some Thai scholars. That is, constituting a Non-Government Organization (NGO) movement, these scholars stress a sort of intrinsic and autonomous Thai traditional village community.

18. The other three axioms are respectively: the 'cake of custom' approach that has been concerned with the description of 'standardized practices and beliefs independently of their actual embodiments in action'; 'the search for an ur-society' a quest for an archetypal, pre-Hindu village whose displaying of ancestral or quasi-ancestral forms of social and cultural organization exemplifies their being less influenced by outside forces; and 'the assumption of an exact formal congruence between symbolic system and social structure in primitive societies'.

still have their merits and deserve our attention. Based on a wider range of reading, they have extended the challenge to the notion of a closed, corporate and territorialized village community across the Southeast Asian and South Asian areas. Apart from that, both of their studies allude to the important roles played by colonial regimes or states in the process of creating and shaping this image. In Kemp's words, the part played by the administrative order has usually been neglected in these studies (1988: 8); the administration will use political rhetoric, cloaking its activities under phrases like 'community development', while expanding its control at the expense of 'any local community identity and organization' (ibid.: 37, note 4). Breman and Kemp have also noted a paradoxical consequence of this invention or articulation, where the colonial regime has 'imposed an image of the past which radically changed rural social structure while supposedly conserving it' (Kemp 1988: 27; see also Breman 1988: 39). And, it is also through this process of 'articulation' of the local settlement with the wider social system that we can see some local institutions, like kinship, providing mediating roles such as Kemp (1988: 22-23) suggests.¹⁹ In a nutshell, both Breman's and Kemp's review works express the correspondence of regions in Southeast Asia and South Asia to the general anthropological issues I have mentioned above, particularly the challenge to an image of village community as 'bounded', 'homogenous' and 'territorialized'. Instructive as Breman's and Kemp's arguments are, there are some confusions and as a result some defects in their works that should be discussed further.

To begin with, some conceptual confusions exist. For instance, while it is right to point out the insufficiency implied in a notion of village community as bounded, corporate and territorialized, this does not mean

19. In Kemp's opinion, the pervasiveness of such cognatic systems and the existence of pronounced matri-/patrifocal tendencies should be analyzed, 'not just in relation to the village/rural world but far more broadly as aspects of a much larger and more complex society' (1988: 23). However, in other places (e.g. Kemp 1991), not only does Kemp privilege the role of kinship, as well as locality, in providing a conceptual framework for daily life, he also alludes to the importance of sets of 'commonly held values and expectations' (1982: 113). These seemingly contradictory views in my opinion exemplify the limitations of Kemp's, as well as Breman's, approach. I shall address this issue later.

that the indigenous notion(s) of village community are *always* conceptualized in this way. In other words, a sort of geographically distinct reference to the village community is not necessarily equivalent to the indigenous notion(s) of community, even if it constitutes an important aspect of it. The confusion of this distinction means that indigenous notions of community all come to be characterized in the same way--- 'bounded', 'closed' and so on. Certainly, both Breman and Kemp are quite right to remind us (the researchers!) of the limitations inherent in confining our studies to a bounded local unit. They, particularly Kemp, are also right to indicate that such notorious descriptions as 'amorphous', 'fluid', 'individualistic' and 'loosely structured', are just reflections of the researchers' own obsession with a 'group-oriented' concept (see Kemp 1991: 95). However, what is left untold is what the village community means to the participants themselves, and how this conceptualization is demonstrated in their daily life--- this despite the fact that Kemp himself has reminded us of the significance of a more 'phenomenologically sensitive' attention to the participants' perceptions (1988: 2, 10). By contrast, what is substituted for this 'group-oriented' approach is a mirror-image sort of argument in which everything is opposed to the features characteristic of a 'bounded', 'territorialized' and 'closed' village community--- still haunted by a 'group-oriented' shadow. Furthermore, if a sense of community is the result of 'interaction and refraction', or is created 'through connection' as Appadurai, Gupta and Ferguson have argued, then an important question is how notion(s) of village community have been demonstrated and realized by the indigenes themselves (see also Cohen 1985: 28). Similarly, if even a geographically distinct village community is a product of colonial or state intervention, we still do not know much about how this 'product' is appropriated, or what consequences such appropriation has for indigenous daily life, let alone its contradictory relations to indigenous notions.

Both Breman and Kemp have indicated the existence of various kinds of social cohesion (Breman 1988: 9, 42; Kemp 1988: 5-6) and have even acknowledged the determinant functions possibly performed by local patterns of organization in shaping government intervention (e.g. Kemp 1988: 30). However, throughout their studies, this acknowledgement is only

paid lip-service; their approach is more of a view from 'above'.²⁰ This neglect has serious consequences. On the one hand, we still lack knowledge about how the indigenous people have conceptualized their village community. On the other, Breman and Kemp do not specify these notions and do not investigate their associations with both daily life and other local institutions. For instance, while Kemp (1982, 1991) has on other occasions suggested some distinctive local features--- like kinship and locality--- and even a set of commonly held values and expectations for creating a recognizable community, these points and their implications are not his main concern at all.

In addition, if kinship can perform a mediating role as Kemp has tried to argue, why can 'village' or 'community' not do so as well? In other words, instead of being limited to conceptualizing 'village' or 'community' only as structurally coherent, internally homogenous, and territorially bounded--- an approach found in both Breman's and Kemp's works and previous studies they have criticized--- I would suggest that the issue of 'village' or 'community' should be reconsidered and reanalyzed in a way more fitting for indigenous peoples, by which local internal constituents can also be fully discussed.

In contrast with this picture 'from above', some ethnographical works on Southeast Asia provide us a view 'from below' with respect to the issue of community. Here, for the sake of space, I focus my discussion on two studies: one undertaken by Freeman (1970, 1981) among the Iban and Gibson's (1986) work among the Buid. Both peoples, Iban and Buid, are characteristic of an egalitarian model. In the former case, this feature is clearly found in their basic unit, the *bilek-family*; whereas in the latter, it is exemplified in a pattern of sharing between individuals. A feature found in both cases is that the community does not exist in a corporate way: but this does not mean that the community does not occupy an important role for these two peoples. On the contrary, it does, and its

20. For instance, in his earlier critique of previous studies of the Javanese village, Breman alerted us to a new bias that could occur without simultaneously illuminating the local institutions 'from below'--- an approach he admitted not to have sufficient opportunity to put into practice (1980: 3).

significance may be more than the authors themselves have thought. In other words, by means of the two cases I have chosen, in which community is not expressed in a fully corporate way, and in which this corporateness is a later development, I am endeavouring to illustrate the importance of the indigenous notion(s) of community and its relevance to the understanding of local situations and the relation between community and other institutions.

In his study on the Iban, the indigenous people in the interior of Borneo, Freeman depicts the constitution of a long-house based community. As Freeman states, the individual *bilek-family* is the basic and irreducible corporate group of Iban society (Freeman 1970: 26, 41, 60). Not only is every *bilek-family* the land-owning group, it can also (often, and willingly) leave its long-house and join any others (ibid.: 76, 127). A long-house community will sometimes even disintegrate once its component *bilek-families* disperse to merge with other long-house communities (ibid.: 103). In addition, the major rituals are carried out by individual *bilek-family* members rather than by the long-house community as a whole (ibid.: 262). It seems from these descriptions that Iban society is characterized by its component corporate *bilek-families*. Contrary to this seemingly predominant focus, however, are Freeman's allusions to the significance of the long-house community for its component *bilek-families*, particularly in chapter 2, 'Iban social organization: the long-house community'. For instance, as Freeman remarks, an Iban *bilek-family* 'always belongs to one particular long-house community' (1970: 101; emphasis added) and is responsible for the maintenance of the latter's ritual well-being. Incorrect behavior by any member of a long-house will have a baneful influence on the entire community (ibid.: 122, 128). Even if, as mentioned above, each *bilek-family* can freely leave the former long-house community of which it constitutes a part, 'Certain ritual observances,..., must always be made' before it goes whither it chooses (ibid.: 101, emphasis added), because such an act of leaving is conceived of as 'being fraught with certain dangers for the rest of the community' (ibid.: 124). Furthermore, there are some obligations to be observed by members of the same community. For instance, all farm work carried out by each *bilek-family* will be abandoned for three days whenever a person

from the same long-house dies, despite the fact that each *bilek-family* manages almost all its own farm cultivation. (ibid.: 124-5). By contrast, on some occasions--- like a woman giving a birth, and many other ritual situations--- strangers (i.e., non-members of the long-house community concerned) cannot enter any part of the long-house (ibid.: 125).

In a nutshell, Freeman presents us with a picture in which a complementary relationship exists between the component *bilek-families* and the constituted long-house community.²¹ In such an analysis, we are not just informed that the long-house community is 'an open, and not a closed group', due to the independence of movement of the individual *bilek-family*. We are also told that the corporate character of a long-house community is clearly displayed both by a ritual concern with its well-being (ibid.: 128), mainly taken charge of by a ritual head, and by the fact that *bilek-families* themselves are placed under the jurisdiction of the house headman (ibid.: 104, 116).²² In other words, the case of the

21. A similar viewpoint is also found in Helliwell's (1996) recently revised paper. Helliwell acknowledges the independence of each apartment (1996: 143-144). However, instead of analyzing and presenting the spatial structure of the longhouse in an abstract way, Helliwell is preoccupied with 'the ways in which people live and use' these spaces, and argues for the significance of the longhouse community for these component apartments--- which is also well illustrated by the obligations which individual apartment owners have to the longhouse community (1996: 140). In other words, Helliwell argues, we should regard the component apartment and longhouse community 'as merging into one another rather than opposed' (ibid.: 134-5, 138, 142). I have two further comments on Helliwell's paper, while mostly agreeing with her arguments. Firstly, she seems to suggest that this similar viewpoint has not yet been noted by Freeman, while Appell's work is mentioned as a notable exception (ibid.: 146, note 11). Secondly, while she mentions that only 23 of the 106 permanent village dwellings were found in either of the two extant longhouses during her fieldwork, through 1985 to 1987, she, like Freeman, does not offer us more information about the relationship between apartment and longhouse, and its changing aspects. In other words, her arguments are sometimes presented without specifying the temporal situation.

22. One important function of the house headman is to be 'the custodian of *adat*, its juridical warden and principal arbiter' (Freeman 1970: 114). The *bilek-family* is an autonomous unit under Iban *adat*, on which the harmony and continued existence of the community depend (Freeman 1981: 31-32, 35). Indeed the inheritance and the influence of these two pivotal positions, one juridical, the other ritual, vividly depict the inseparable

Iban displays a co-existence of non-corporate and corporate characters regarding the long-house based community; which aspect is stressed depends on the contexts in which other local institutions are referred to. Only when we are aware of these coexistent features do we correctly understand the significance of community for the indigenes, and the relationship between it and other local institutions.²³

Let me say more about the Iban case before shifting to Gibson's study. What I am trying to indicate here is that the significance of the long-house community is overshadowed in Freeman's work by his main concern: the trait of equality and freedom displayed in the constitution of the *bilek-family*.²⁴ That is to say, once we give a little more attention to the issue of community, something interesting but scattered throughout Freeman's monograph will become clearer. As Freeman himself has noted, the ritual concern with the well-being of the long-house community as a whole is quite clearly demonstrated in the ceremonies to mark the founding of a new long-house, in which a communal-like rite sponsored by the ritual head must be undertaken prior to that undertaken by each *bilek-family* (1970: 120-122). This ritual expert is regarded as the founder of the long-house (ibid.: 121). In other words, without such a founder, 'it was not possible for a new long-house community to be formed' (Freeman 1981: 32). Apart from this, we are also told that even under the British

relationship between *bilek-family* and long-house community (1970: 114-120; 1981: 34-47).

23. In a recent study in Bali, (though it is a society characterized more by hierarchical relationships), Warren (1993) also exemplifies this co-existence and its resulting expression in various local institutions. As Warren notes, 'local social relations are much more fluid and decentred than traditional scholarship on the village (*desa*) would have it, but much more palpable than contemporary revisionist approaches would lead us to believe' (1993: viii).

24. Freeman's appreciation of the classless and egalitarian features characteristic of Iban society is especially obvious in his later response to J. Rousseau's argument for a hereditary status in Iban society (Freeman 1981). For Freeman, such equality and freedom do not just have anthropological interest, but also reflect a greater concern with human values, providing an important case for John Locke's discussion of the nature of mankind (ibid.: 51).

administration, each long-house community, not the *bilek-family*, was an autonomous entity, and 'not subject to the control of any other group' (1970: 65). Moreover, it is interesting to find that even when the Iban leave their long-house community almost deserted and live in a farm-house during crucial stages of the agricultural cycle due to their shifting pattern of cultivation, a ceremony for the young *padi* (rice plant) should be undertaken with the participation of a member of each component *bilek-family*, if planted rice is seriously attacked by disease. During this time, a temporary shrine is erected in the long-house rather than in the separate farm-house that is nearer to the land. Only after a ritual invocation in this shrine in which the gods are summoned to protect it, will a clump of *padi pun* (sacred rice)²⁵ previously dug up by each *bilek-family* be taken back to and replanted in the farm from whence it came (ibid.: 154, 160-164, 197-198).

Having put together these scattered descriptions, we also find something interesting with respect to the roles respectively occupied by house headman and ritual head. As Freeman has noted (1970: 65, 110-111, 113), while the house headman has expanded his importance and been accepted by the colonial government as the representative of the community, to mediate between his long-house and the administration, his authority is still limited. By contrast, while the ritual head receives no recognition from the colonial regime due to the fact that he is 'solely concerned with ritual affairs', his situation is very different within the long-house, due to the importance for the Iban of ritual beliefs and observances. For Freeman, the reason that the Iban do not have a highly developed leadership is due to the *bilek-family* and the cognatic kinship system characteristic of the society. However, both the limitations in the

25. For the Iban *padi* is the most precious thing, and all rites related to agricultural activities are focused upon a strain of sacred rice, *padi pun*. Every *bilek-family* has its own particular variety of *padi pun*. When a partition occurs, during which siblings who have not married out have equal rights to *bilek-family* property, the sacred rice is not divided (this would dissipate its magical efficacy). Instead, the sacred rice is kept by the original *bilek-family*, while the divided sibling is presented with one of the *sangking* (three or four subsidiary strains of sacred *padi* possessed by a *bilek-family*) (Freeman 1970: 51).

authority of the house headman, particularly as a representative of the community, and the position of the colonial government-appointed district leader, can probably be reconsidered from the perspective of the long-house community defined as a ritual unit. Or, put another way, do these limitations reflect the way that the Iban resist the forces from without? Admittedly, we do not have enough information to construct this alternative interpretation, mainly because Freeman has confined his analysis to the issues of *bilek-family* and of long-house community; little is said about the wider context and the changing situation the Iban are confronted with.²⁶ It is here that the study by Gibson on the Buid provides another case, in some ways contrasting with, but complementary to Freeman's.

Like the Iban, the Buid stress equality and personal autonomy (Gibson 1986: 119). Among the Buid, however, these features are well demonstrated by an idiom of companionship (*ibid.*: 72). Within this idiom, what is stressed is a sort of voluntary relationship constituted by equals, and not the prescribed relationship between juniors and seniors implied by the idiom of kinship, let alone the emphasis on origins and shared physical substance implied by the latter idiom (*ibid.*: 7, 119). The idiom of companionship, Gibson states, is exemplified by a series of continuous shared activities; by means of the sharing of meat, a new member can quickly be integrated into the community (*ibid.*: 42-43). According to this idiom, it is the household, or the marital couple, that constitutes the most intense arena and type for companionship and sharing (*ibid.*: 7, 120). It seems at first sight, therefore, that community is not significant for the Buid. However, the real situation is quite the opposite.

26. Freeman has given a historical description of the long-house communities around the area he studies (see Freeman 1970, esp. chapter 3). From this description, it seems that the long-house community was increasing its importance both because the land was allotted to the long-house community by the colonial regime after the resettlement, and because the colonial authority severely restrained Iban expansion, which in turn led to the increase in the size of long-houses (*ibid.*: 58, 143). Even though he has sensed the consequences of the colonial policy, Freeman says little about the issues I have mentioned here (*ibid.*: 143).

On the one hand, Gibson tells us, 'the Buid view the strength and solidarity of the community as varying in inverse proportion to the internal strength and solidarity of its component households' (ibid.: 57). On the other, sharing between egalitarian individuals is expressed in a collective way that should extend to the whole community, regardless of age, sex or the genealogical connection between the giver and the other inhabitants (ibid.: 43). This collectivity, and the primacy of the community as an object of allegiance for the household, are clearly displayed in the right of the community to intervene in individual marital affairs (ibid.: 78-84). Moreover, this collective solidarity and a sort of corporate-like community is mutually reinforced by ritual processes. Even a rite held by an individual house to combat predatory spirits is undertaken in a collective way; mediums from different households are brought together during the seance (ibid.: 174-177, 193, 215). To sum up, in the case of the Buid (which seems more egalitarian even than the Iban case), a corporate-like community not only exists but demonstrates its significance on many occasions. Moreover, Gibson finds--- due to the introduction of cash cropping, the extension of the settlement scale, and increasing relations with the people living in the lowland areas--- that the Buid local community has been greatly transformed: into 'a corporate group with a recognized leadership, policy-making process, corporate property and identity' (ibid.: 101, 218).

Like Freeman's study of the Iban, Gibson's case study of the Buid illustrates the significance of the indigenous notion of community and its expression on social occasions; the issue of corporateness or of its absence is only one social aspect and has its respective consequences for local institutions. But Gibson seems to go a step further than Freeman. That is, he is also concerned with the issue of the Buid's relationship to the wider world (ibid.: 7). Although it is scattered throughout his book, an important point suggested by Gibson is that the Buid's 'traditional' institutions, and the values placed on egalitarianism and personal autonomy, are a product of their response to predatory neighbours (ibid.: 177, 188, 193, 225-226). Not completely persuasive and not fully

demonstrated, sometimes even contradictory,²⁷ these arguments nevertheless suggest a significant way of thinking about these communities' encounters with the wider forces. In the case of the Buid, Gibson suggests, the creation of such a community is based on the deployment (or dissolution) of the household, which constitutes for the Buid 'the most intense arena of companionship and sharing' (ibid.: 177, 215, 219). Another implication of this 'plausible speculation' is that if community itself is a creation, either from scratch or through a development from corporate-like institutions to semi- or corporate ones, we should take account of how this specificity is expressed and conceived by the indigenous people rather than taking it for granted as a universal situation.

So what have we gained from the brief review of these four studies? Of course, this review is not intended to encompass all the important issues related to the study of community, theoretically and ethnographically. Nor are the comments I have made on these works intended to deny their merits; however, a more refined argument can be developed based on them. In other words, the implications of these four case studies are: that community itself is a real issue, not just 'from above', but more importantly 'from below'; that community is significant not just from the indigenous point of view, but also through its role as a mediator between the indigenous people and the wider society they confront; and that community can be expressed in various ways, either fluid or corporate, depending on its contexts, and that its representation has consequences for other local institutions. That is, by limiting ourselves to the debate on whether the community is corporate or non-corporate, we divert our attention from other important and related social aspects, which have intimate relationships to the indigenous notions of community.

Apart from these points, I want to contend that community itself can be a contested field, based on my case study among the Puyuma on the island of Taiwan. In other words, the issue is not just an analysis of the

27. Gibson himself acknowledges that his viewpoint of the Buid culture as having developed 'in response to the continuous pressures' is a sort of 'plausible speculation' due to the limited historical knowledge available about the area in which the Buid have been involved (ibid.: 225-226).

power structure within the community (Bell and Newby 1971: 19), or a study that pays attention to the community's internal conflicts (Wolf 1986: 327), but is also an investigation of the community itself as a nodal point representing the interaction of different forces (cf. Mallon 1995). Here, the definition of 'indigenous' or 'outsider' varies through time and context. Indeed, a similar point has been already contended by the studies that emphasize the significance of the forces from outside. But their viewpoints do not postulate that the indigenous notions of community are significant themselves, rather that they are products emerging from a process of articulation. In contrast to this argument, I would contend that community is important when it is seen from the indigenous view. It is also the issue through which we can find out how local institutions have articulated with, and been subsumed within a wider framework. And only by taking serious account of the issue of community will we understand how community can be a contested field, in which individual competitions or 'centrifugal forces' like migration can be appropriated and re-appropriated, but which is simultaneously full of other sorts of conflict. In the rest of this introduction I shall briefly mention my personal fieldwork experience with the Puyuma, and outline the organization of my thesis.

Fieldwork Experience among the Puyuma of Nan-wang

Life is lived forward, but understood backward

(Kierkegaard, quoted from Carrithers 1996: 167)

I began my fieldwork in Nan-wang in late 1985 when I joined a team research programme. This research project was supported by the Department of Civil Affairs of the Taiwanese Provincial Government, and was mainly occupied with the traditional rites, dances and songs of the aborigines on the island of Taiwan. Nan-wang was not the first Puyuma settlement in which I undertook fieldwork. One year before I went to Nan-wang, I had visited another Puyuma settlement, Pinaski, as part of another research project, which was concerned with the relationship of traditional Taiwanese aboriginal socio-cultural features with their

contemporary human rights situation. A student of anthropology should consider many factors before s/he finally decides where to undertake fieldwork. S/he might also need to leave the original place if s/he finds that it does not accord with his/her purpose. At that time, I decided not to continue my studies in Pinaski but to change my fieldsite from Pinaski to Nan-wang for the second research project, because in Pinaski most of the Puyuma (nearly nine tenths) were Western religious believers, and there were only two specialists, who were an older couple that only provided services for their clients when asked.

Some of the considerations involved in deciding where to do fieldwork at a particular time might not be relevant and might even be detrimental from a long-term perspective. However at that time, considering the situation, I thought it would be difficult to understand so-called traditional Puyuma rites if only justified by a naive empiricist viewpoint: firstly seeing, then thinking, asking, seeing and so on.

Nan-wang is very different from Pinaski in many aspects, particularly those directly relevant to the research project. For instance, only 20% or so of its native population are composed of Western religious believers. By contrast, 80% of the Puyuma of Nan-wang accept the Han-Chinese folk religion, and have not forsaken their ritual observances at all. In some senses, the indigenous ways and the requirements of the Han-Chinese folk religion are not incompatible but mutually reinforce each other, probably due to the fact that the Han-Chinese folk religion is characterized by its diffused features. In retrospect, there were some serious limitations in the earlier period when I undertook my fieldwork in Nan-wang. Above all, I only stayed in Nan-wang during the daytime, and went back to Pinaski at night, because I could not find a place to stay suitable for several months of fieldwork. Such 'out-of-the-field' fieldwork had serious disadvantages for my understanding of the people's daily life. In order to overcome such limitations, I focused on ritual activities, either annually held ones or those of personal concern. Due to this focus I had a lot of opportunity to observe and to become acquainted with these rituals. I also had the opportunity to detect any minute changes that were made to the ritual processes held by the specialists, who were considered to be the guardians of ritual observances. In accompanying these specialists

on different occasions not only did I did start to learn something about the various ritual activities, and their connections: I was also able to visit individual Puyuma households, where I found out the reasons for holding the rite, not only seeing the personal causes for a household's involvement in it, but also learning the roles performed by the specialists in Puyuma daily life. This information constituted an indispensable base for my further studies, and hopefully its significance will be persuasively demonstrated in my thesis.

The fact that I was limited to staying in Pinaski at night and undertaking fieldwork during the daytime in Nan-wang in the early period of my research did have some unintended advantages for my later fieldwork. Being well acquainted with the Puyuma of Pinaski, for instance, I forged some important personal relationships with individuals and extended them to their kin or fellow believers in Nan-wang and other Puyuma settlements. With this as a general background, I could try to construct a framework by which several distinctive features characteristic of Nan-wang might become clearer (see Chapter 2), even if the details were still rather sketchy.

In my earlier studies I was certainly not preoccupied with the issue of community. It only occurred to me in retrospect in the late 1980s. The reason for this neglect could be traced back to my first experience of fieldwork among the Puyuma, i.e., in Pinaski. In my result report on the research project concerning aboriginal human rights, I tried to outline the historical context in which the Puyuma of Pinaski had been involved, and how due to incorporation the natives had suffered certain misfortunes, including human rights abuses (see W-T. Chen 1985). Even so, I really only dealt with this historical knowledge as a background, from the viewpoint of 'an outsider', using it to understand the contemporary situation confronted by the natives. A very personal experience vividly illustrates this limitation at that time.

When I undertook my fieldwork in Pinaski and Nan-wang, I had a strikingly different feeling from that which I had in an Ami settlement. The situation was as follows. While I found that after a time I was gradually incorporated into the Ami settlement (exemplified by being acknowledged as a member of the family I lived with and by being given

an Ami name and a nickname), I felt that a distance was maintained between the Puyuma and myself. Not only was I not publicly acknowledged as a member of the native family, I was also not given a personal native name but was known by a series of esteemed titles, like 'Mr.' 'Dr.' and so on. Because this feeling was so strong and became even stronger as time wore on, I tried to solve it by means of 'an intellectual game'. That is, I tried to tell myself that this feeling (which was getting on my nerves) could be allayed if I explained it as a result of socio-cultural variations between these two peoples. Indeed, I explained it like this in an informal conversation with my colleagues.²⁸ Nevertheless, as Prof. Ying-kui Huang succinctly pointed out, my interpretation, interesting as it was, did not pay enough heed to the issue of how 'an outsider' was conceptualized as a result of the natives' historical encounter with the forces from outside. A good point, and one which I could not answer at the time. Perhaps I still do not understand the situation entirely. In other words, in my 'intellectual imagination' I assumed that socio-cultural features could be considered without taking more serious account of the wider contexts from which they had emerged.

An acknowledgement of the significance of wider historical contexts and of the issue of how the indigenous people conceptualize them began to come to my mind when I re-wrote a product report of the 1986 joint research project (see W-T. Chen 1987, 1989). I was trying to determine at that time why, when an 'older' leading family came to power due to its relationship with the forces from outside, its role was limited and it was still junior to another 'older' family. In an earlier paper (W-T. Chen 1989) I argued that this feature could be explained by the mechanism of ritual observances and shared values held by the Puyuma themselves. In retrospect, this interpretation was not entirely persuasive, partly because it was mainly confined to ritual activities. In addition, I left the historical

28. In this informal conversation, ca. 1987, I attributed the reasons for this different fieldwork experience to the socio-cultural variations of these two peoples. That is, while the Ami had age-set system and fictive kinship to incorporate the newcomers, the Puyuma did not have similar institutions for this incorporation, even though they had age-grade organization.

context for future study rather than including it in that paper. Even so, the issue of community was increasingly coming to my notice, partly because annual rites carried out by the specialists were attempting to demarcate and define the indigenous community, despite the fact that Han-Chinese inhabitants lived in the same settlement and were in the majority. The issue of community did not come to my notice until the late 1980s even though I later found in a note made by a specialist the statement that: 'While the rites held in the *karumaan* of the *Pasaraat* family is concerned with the whole *zeka*, "community," the rites held in the *karumaan* of the *Rara* family are only concerned with this *karumaan* itself'. This statement was not wrong or overstated in retrospect, but it did minimize the role performed by the latter leading family, as I shall discuss in this thesis. When I went back to Nan-wang in September 1993 to restart my fieldwork, I decided that the issue of community should be seriously considered, and that by focusing on this issue some fragmented data could be put together and re-analyzed. And this thought was definitely sparked both by paying more heed to the history of the settlement and by learning about various legends in which the Puyuma of Nan-wang related how an 'older' family, viz., the *Rara*, came to power.

Accompanying this sort of 'intellectual' development in my case study was a series of more complicated personal encounters. As I have said, in its earlier stages, my fieldwork in Nan-wang was of an out-of-the-field kind. Most of my acquaintances were among the elders and specialists (many of them were also the elders), and their families. As time wore on, these elders kindly addressed me by my name in Japanese, and I was seen as a student who was preoccupied with rites and customs. Partly because I had stayed in Nan-wang since 1985 even though I did not live there, partly because I undertook intensive fieldwork (particularly between 1993 and 1995, during which time I lived with a Puyuma family), my relationship with the inhabitants was changing, and becoming more complicated.

In my later period of fieldwork, some Puyuma called me *Karunun*

(rather than *Patabang*), a name of a leading men's house.²⁹ Some said that I was already a Puyuma because I had lived there for a long time. However, I found that apart from these friendly relationships and acquaintanceships, there were also increasing personal tensions with some, if not with many, inhabitants. As I have said, I was preoccupied in my concern with rites and customs. However, if an indigenous community was mainly defined in terms of rites as I shall discuss in this thesis, and if this knowledge was an important resource for legitimizing one's position regarding community affairs, my status was becoming increasingly paradoxical. This situation became worse when there were various continuous, (though implicit,) conflicts inherent in the 'community', and I was often identified with some 'faction' or other.

Apart from such tensions due to my identification as a student of rites and customs, there were also some suspicions about my status as a Han-Chinese (an 'outsider'), once they had discovered my interest in settlement affairs in terms of the administrative system. Therefore, particularly during the local election in this ethnically mixed settlement, I was often in some way excluded from meetings where certain Puyuma, who were civil servants, thought that my presence was inappropriate. This situation led me to think much more about the issues of how the Puyuma thought about 'an outsider', and how it is possible for 'an outsider' to become 'an insider', and whether some personal conflicts are unavoidable. The more tension I felt, the more I thought about these issues. The more I participated in their daily life, the more I felt a distance and suspected that it was wider than I had previously thought. In retrospect, such personal fieldwork experiences, centered on a concern with the issue of community, can perhaps be summarized by what Kierkegaard has said, 'Life is lived forward, but understood backward'. My own experience in Nan-wang certainly confirms to me that my understanding of the Puyuma of Nan-wang, presented in this thesis, will

29. This form of address is used for a man by his wife's elderly kin, including his parents-in-law. It is interesting to note that *Karunun* is the name of the great men's house of the south section. Interestingly, the Puyuma who called me *Karunun* explained to me that this form of address is for 'the outsider'. I shall discuss it in detail in Chapter 6.

remain provisional and partial. But it offers me a base from which a further step can be made.

This thesis is the product of almost ten years of involvement with the Puyuma of Nan-wang, going back to 1985. Although I only occasionally visited this settlement at first, spending two months a year there, more intensive fieldwork was undertaken between September 1993 and August 1995. In total, between 1985 and 1995 I spent more than twenty-six months on fieldwork in Nan-wang.

The Organization of the Thesis

I have briefly described my fieldwork among the Puyuma, particularly focussing on two settlements, Pinaski and Nan-wang. The thesis itself is primarily concerned with the case of Nan-wang, while Pinaski and other settlements can be taken as examples by which some contrasts can be made with, and light shed on, the case of Nan-wang. The thesis is composed of eight chapters. Apart from the Introduction, the main concerns of each of the rest of the chapters can be summarized as follows.

In Chapter 2 I attempt to locate the Puyuma people within a brief historical overview of the island of Taiwan, particularly since the turn of the century, i.e., under Japanese colonial rule. This focus is partly due to the fact that many documents have been written since this period. But it is also because during this period Taiwanese aborigines in general, and the Puyuma in particular, have experienced great transformations: by forceful pacification and resettlement on a scale never seen before, by the creation of the island-wide administration system (including household registration), the widespread establishment of schools and police stations, and so on. It is also during this period that a systematic classification scheme for aborigines was constructed, which the later Han-Chinese administration and anthropologists mostly follow. Apart from that, some general background on the Puyuma will also be adduced to illuminate some distinctive features characteristic of the Puyuma of Nan-wang.

Based on these descriptions, I come in Chapter 3 to the Nan-wang settlement. An important Japanese colonial legacy to the Puyuma of Nan-

wang was their resettlement to the present territory in 1929. It is within this clear-cut, bounded territory that the community (in indigenous terms) has been given a different shape. However, the making of a 'community' in the indigenous way was made even more problematic by the dualistic system, which itself displayed the result of an articulation between 'indigenes' and 'outsiders' in earlier times, which was different again from 'the outsider' represented by the colonial regime and its deputized 'newer' leading families. This is an issue I shall come back to in Chapter 6. Paralleling the term 'settlement' with 'community' in the subtitle of Chapter 3 --- the former stressing its administrative dimension, the latter its indigenous aspect--- epitomizes and illuminates the continuous tensions confronted by the Puyuma of Nan-wang. In discussing the notion of 'community', I bring forth the significance of *saliki*, 'boundary'. However, in my view, the significance of 'boundary' in this case study is dependent on the indigenous notion of *vini*, 'seed of grain', particularly that of millet. In other words, the 'boundary' is socio-culturally specific and historically constructed, rather than a quasi-universal feature 'largely constituted by people in interaction' as A.P. Cohen (1985: 13) asserts.

The significant role occupied by *vini* sheds some light on the constitution of the *rumah* (house, or household) and its relation to the *karumaan* (ritual house) often (but not necessarily) attached to an original stem family. This discussion constitutes the main focus of Chapter 4. Instead of treating the individual household and the 'community' as opposite to each other, I argue that we would do better to consider them as two ends of the same line, with the original stem families possessing the *karumaan* standing in the middle. Associated with this, the characterization of the *karumaan* in previous studies as a kin group beyond the domestic level is so incomplete that several important features have been left unanalyzed. A critical investigation of the rites held around the *karumaan* as ritual locale, a theme reflecting on the correspondence with 'house society' studies, sheds some light on the relation and independence between branched households, original stem families, and leading families that represent the community in ritual terms. In addition, the notion of *vini* strongly suggests that we should

reconsider the ideas that the Puyuma have invested in their ancestral tablets, a feature often misunderstood as an assimilation by the Puyuma from the Han-Chinese.

If the *rumah* (house) is the place in which an individual is born and grows up, the life course of the Puyuma is not confined to this institution. On the contrary, time will show that both genders have their respective life courses. Comparatively speaking, the process for a male Puyuma is more marked than his female counterpart: while the former has to pass through two stages and spend a lot of time in boys' and men's houses, the latter does not experience a similar transformation during her life, though cooperative agricultural team work used to provide an important occasion for incorporating female teenagers. Having investigated different stages of life and their accompanying transformations for the individual Puyuma, I will try to illustrate the intimate connection between household and 'community' in another way. The latter is here represented by the men's house. This connection and its implications become remarkable if the boyhood stage is taken seriously into account, and it is illuminated by the myths concerned with the origin of the boys' house. In other words, focusing only on the adult stage makes it easy for us to conceptualize the community in a way that leaves unsaid the important part occupied by the female Puyuma, whose activities are centered around the household and are more fluid, but constitute an inseparable part of the interactions of daily life. These arguments constitute Chapter 5.

In the following chapter, I come back to a distinctive feature characteristic of the Puyuma of Nan-wang; namely, an internal dual-like division. Although some figures and their families emerged as local deputies of the Japanese colonial regime, unlike their 'older' counterparts, these 'newer' families did not have their own *karumaan* as a ritual locale for holding rites with regard to the 'community'. It is the legends that deal with the emergence of an 'older' leading family which concern us. This case illustrates the importance of combining indigenous resources, here the *karumaan*, with those from without. However, due to the fact that Nan-wang, as well as other local aboriginal communities, has been subordinated to the wider administrative system, the introduction of new systems and resources has opened up new avenues of competition for

ambitious individuals, including members of both the 'older' and the 'newer' leading families. In a way, this conflict both epitomizes and continues the tense relation between 'the indigenes, or the established' and 'the outsiders, or the newcomer'. But the picture becomes more complicated once the roles of the elders and the specialists are also taken into account.

On some occasions these aforementioned discords are erased and a clear hierarchical relation is demonstrated and acknowledged. The mechanisms which effect this are rites. In Chapter 7 I focus my discussion on various rites held by the Puyuma themselves. Demonstrated in these rites is an intimate relationship between individual, household, and 'community'. But it is the 'community' which is privileged above its component individuals and households. These rites, particularly those held annually, also indicate the co-existence of a complementary but hierarchical relationship between two 'older' leading families, which further suggests the inherent problem of incorporating the forces from without in terms of the 'community'. This ritually defined community becomes more problematic in the case of the Puyuma who hold Western religious beliefs, which represent the forces beyond the boundary of 'community', and are not circumscribed by the ritual observances generally accepted by the Puyuma of the Han-Chinese religion.

In Chapter 8 I bring forward some recent but important issues, particularly ones occurring since the early 1990s, when the Puyuma of Nan-wang were chosen to give a performance financed by the government. It was also during this period that I undertook intensive fieldwork in Nan-wang. During this time articulation with wider forces shaped the making of the indigenous community in a different way than before, and raised conflicts within the 'community'. It is here that the role taken by the (male) older association consisting of the elders, who are entitled to initiate the younger male Puyuma, gradually became important. On the one hand, this association mediates and arbitrates internal conflicts; on the other it represents the community as a whole in opposition to the wider society--- not a few of its conflicts resulting from articulation with the wider society. However, this association cannot be separate from other activities if its legitimacy also relies on an indigenous notion of

'community', which in turn is constructed by ritual observances. It is through this attachment to the 'community', as a field, that competition between individuals and the increasing problems confronted by the Puyuma due to migration are dealt with. In this way, an indigenous community is in the process of making³⁰ and remaking itself.

In conclusion I will summarize the main arguments I make in my thesis. Based on my case study from the Puyuma of Nan-wang, I will indicate the significance of the issue of 'community' in illuminating the ethnographical problems demonstrated in previous studies. Furthermore, based on these discussions, I will develop some arguments that I would suggest have wider implications for the documents of this topic.

30. The significance of the phrase 'making' is succinctly pointed out by Stoler. 'Making' names 'a historical, imaginative, and general process', and its use promotes us to 'look more carefully at who took part in that process; what social conditions and discursive forms...', as she (Stoler 1995: xiii) remarks.

CHAPTER 2 ABORIGINES AND THE ISLAND OF TAIWAN
 : THE CASE OF THE PUYUMA

*Ayawan*¹ is not an autochthonous institution: on the contrary, it was introduced by the *Hollam* (i.e., the Dutch)...Likewise, *kwang*, a Puyuma word meaning 'gun' (firearm), is borrowed from the foreigners....

When the *Hollam* arrived in Taitung, they heard of a paramount leader in the area. They then went politely to visit this leader, a person from the *Pasaraat* family. However, the leader just sat in his chair, and showed by his dignified demeanour a rather antagonistic attitude towards the foreigners. Flanking him were warriors holding their weapons in readiness for attack. Later, the *Hollam* left and went to the southern side. Having seen the foreigners approaching, this family entertained them in a generous and kindly manner. After going back to their office, the *Hollam* reflected on their strikingly contrary experiences. They thought that the demeanor of the *Rara* family was so kind that it deserved the honor of providing their local deputy. Since then, the privileged position formerly occupied by the *Pasaraat* was taken over by the *Rara*.

(From my fieldnotes)

....More than two hundred years ago, a Puyuma named *Pinadai* from the *Rara* family came to power. From then on, the *Rara* replaced the *Pasaraat* as the paramount leading family of this area [eastern Taiwan]....The transfer of leadership was attributable to the respect *Pinadai* was held in by the Puyuma, due to the fact that he taught them a great deal about the new and efficient agricultural implements that he had learnt of and brought from western Taiwan....

(Sung 1965b: 118)

....Due to the assistance they gave to the Ch'ing court in pacifying a rebellion on the island of Taiwan (ca. 1721), and due to their privileged position in the area, the paramount leader of the Puyuma was granted by

1. This term literally means 'leadership'. In the case of the Puyuma of Nan-wang, the situation is complex and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 (see also Chapter 3). Apart from this usage, the term is also used during the stage of boyhood. Briefly, in former times when two *takoban* (boys' houses)--- one in the northern section, the other in the southern one--- were still functioning, in each *takoban* one boy was called *dinu ayawan*, while another was called *dinu maidan* (literally, *maidan* means 'elderly, older, greater'). The former was always from a leading family; to wit, the *Pasaraat* family in the northern section, the *Rara* family in the south. By contrast, *dinu maidan* referred to the oldest boy in the boys' house. More details about this distinction and its implications for the internal constitution of the Puyuma of Nan-wang will be discussed in Chapter 5.

the Ch'ing dynasty the honorable title, *Pei nan ta wang*, 'The Great King of the Puyuma'.

(Shidehara 1931: 4-5; see also Abe 1929: 67; S-C. Huang 1973)

These four quotations--- two from my fieldnotes, two from previous studies--- relate the legends of how the 'King of the Pei-nan (Puyuma)', as well as his family, the *Rara*, came to power.² Regardless of the various attributions of their success, these reports indicate that as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth century, relations with the wider society (the Dutch or the Ch'ing regime) had important effects on local power relations.³ In other words, the aborigines on the island in general, and the Puyuma in particular, had contacts with the wider society for a long time, and these encounters have more significant implications than previous studies assume, both for our understanding of the aborigines themselves and in the formation of the wider society of which the aborigines constitute a part.

Building on previous studies, particularly by historians, I will attempt in this chapter firstly to outline a brief history of the island of Taiwan. As I shall demonstrate, as early as the sixteenth century Taiwan was not as isolated an island as it seemed to be. Ever since Dutch rule (1624-1662), the aborigines--- the earlier inhabitants of the island--- had experienced great changes. Even the aborigines living in eastern Taiwan like the Puyuma⁴ were no exception. In other words, the aborigines have

2. According to a genealogical map drawn by a male educated Puyuma in 1970, this title was conferred by the Ch'ing Kao Tsung Emperor in 1787.

3. As I shall discuss in the course of this thesis, the consequences of relations with the wider society are more complicated than these quotations have suggested.

4. As I have discovered, while the Puyuma of Nan-wang call themselves *Puyuma*, the Puyuma of other settlements address the former as *Piuma* (cf. Mabuchi 1974: 406, note 77). Considering the confusion that might be caused by the term *Puyuma*, namely, appropriating a settlement's name to refer to a 'people', some Japanese scholars (Utsurikawa et al 1935, Chapter 7) used the term '*Panapanayan*', a common place of origin, as the chapter title for this 'people'. Nowadays, the term *Puyuma* is also accepted by the Puyuma of other settlements in addressing themselves

constituted a part of the history unfolding on the island, but they are increasingly becoming a minority, both in terms of their population and their other socio-cultural significance on the society of Taiwan. In this historical process, the aborigines are being transformed into subjects subordinate to the regimes originating outside. What is more, since the turn of the century--- in other words, the period of Japanese rule (1895-1945)--- the aborigines have been the subject of ethnographical and anthropological research studies. However, both their subordinate position and their status as a subject of study were being challenged by some aboriginal elites by the 1980s.

In the second part, I shall confine my concern to the case of the Puyuma. Beginning with a re-investigation of the classificatory history of the Puyuma as an 'ethnic group', I will try to raise some important issues that either have not been discussed or have not yet been satisfactorily analyzed by previous studies. Particularly in comparison with other Puyuma settlements, some distinctive features characteristic of the Puyuma of Nan-wang (and their implications) will be underlined and discussed further in the following chapters.

The History of the Island of Taiwan and Its Aborigines

Taiwan is an island located between the Malay Archipelago and Japan and is separated from mainland China by the Taiwan Straits, at 22° to slightly beyond 25°N latitude and 120° to 122°E longitude. A small island, it is about 380 kilometers from north to south, and about 140 kilometers from east to west in its width. Topographically, out of its total area of about 36,000 square kilometers the island is mostly covered by mountainous country; 75% of the island consists of mountains and hills (Wang 1967:

and the Puyuma of Nan-wang as a 'people'. Therefore, in order to make some distinction between a 'people' and a settlement like Nan-wang and its indigenous inhabitants, throughout this thesis I confine the term, Puyuma, to the case of Nan-wang. By contrast, Puyuma denotes the aborigines and their settlements, including the case of Nan-wang, that were formerly categorized as *Panapanayan*. In contrast with these usages, *Pei nan tsu* is a Chinese phrase decreed by the Nationalist government for this 'people', and which is accepted even by the educated Puyuma.

9). Nowadays, most western and northern plain areas on the island are densely populated. Conversely, the mountainous areas and eastern plains are still sparsely inhabited.

The inhabitants of the island consist of aborigines and Han-Chinese.⁵ In contrast with the later-coming Han-Chinese, the aborigines--- a variety of Malayo-Polynesian peoples in terms of their physical, linguistic and socio-cultural characteristics (Mabuchi 1960)--- are recognized as the earlier inhabitants of the island, who have been there for several thousand years. According to recent studies, the great heterogeneity of the Austronesian language spoken by aborigines on the island of Taiwan suggests that Taiwan is probably a prime centre of dispersal for this language--- the most widespread language in the world prior to AD 1500, whose speakers range from the island of Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east (Bellwood 1995; Bellwood et al 1995; Jolly and Mosko 1994b) (see Map 2-1). In spite of the fact that they are the earlier inhabitants and were formerly the majority, officially recognized aborigines nowadays constitute less than 2% of the total population on the island of Taiwan (357,732 of 209,444,000 in 1993). In addition to this, the aborigines as a whole are a disadvantaged minority group in Taiwanese society, with respect to their economic, political, educational, and other social positions (cf. M.J. Cohen 1991, Chapter 7). The disadvantages that aborigines have suffered are related to the manner of their increasing incorporation into the wider society since the sixteenth century.

5. Here 'Han-Chinese' includes (1) descendants of those who came mainly from Southeast China since the seventeenth century and respectively spoke the 'Hokkien' or 'Hakka' dialects, and (2) 'mainlanders' consisting of those who were born on mainland China and came to Taiwan mainly in the late 1940s or early 1950s after the defeat of the Nationalist government by the Chinese communists, and their subsequent offspring. Partly because of the historical experience of Taiwan due to the Japanese occupation (1895-1945), the issue of 'national identity' has been initiated and hotly debated among the 'Han-Chinese', see Wachman (1994).

Before 1895⁶

As an island off the mainland, Taiwan was a mythic place and a frontier from the viewpoint of the mainland regimes. In spite of the fact that scattered reports on the island and its indigenous inhabitants existed as early as the seventh century (Ino 1985 [1928]: 25 ff; Ts'ao 1979: 71 ff), Taiwan did not constitute a part of the empire in administrative terms until 1683 when the last Ming loyalist forces on the island (1662-1683) surrendered to the Ch'ing government.

No matter that it had the image of a 'Chinese frontier' (Shepherd 1985), the island of Taiwan occupied a crucial position in the competition among the mercantile European sea-going countries, like Portugal, Spain, and Holland, as early as the sixteenth century (see S-L. Chuang 1959: 1-2; Y-C. Chuang 1993: 138-9; Ino 1975 [1904]; Nakamura 1990; Shepherd 1993, esp. Ch. 3; Ts'ao 1979: 26 ff; Y-C. Yang 1992). As it was an important entrepot for trade in Oriental areas, the occupation or loss of the island had an impact on the policies applied by the European imperialist powers to their other colonies.⁷ In other words, since its

6. The periodization of history is very controversial and depends on the particular interests of researchers. For instance, as I shall mention later in the main text, some anthropologists suggest that the 1860s was a watershed in the history of Taiwan; namely, a 'nativization' of Han-Chinese immigrants on this island was in process (cf. L-C. Chang 1991: 20 ff). Interesting as these viewpoints are, it is obvious that they put the Han-Chinese in the center, but leave the aborigines as subordinate subjects, rather than as agents, as recent studies argue (C-K. Ch'en 1994; Shepherd 1993; see also Y-K. Huang 1997a). However, a periodization that focuses mainly on aborigines also seems problematic. Not only were most aborigines illiterate until this century. Such perspective also tends to deal with aborigines as peoples isolated from the history unfolding on the island, which has been shaped by the non-aboriginal regimes and forces. I feel my following descriptions can be justified as an attempt to give a more balanced picture which will also shed some light on the issues which will preoccupy me throughout this thesis. No doubt, a more satisfactory framework will be possible only when more studies on this island have been undertaken. For another attempt to outline the history of the island in terms of ethnic relations, see Y-Y. Li (1989).

7. For example, as Ts'ao (1979: 389-396) has indicated, an important consequence of the Dutch recession from Taiwan after their defeat by Cheng Ch'eng-kung (Koxinga) in 1662, was that they invested their sugar cultivation in Java instead.

occupation by the Dutch in 1624, Taiwan was no longer an island isolated from the world scene.

It was also during Dutch rule that Han-Chinese immigrants from southeast China lacking food under the Dutch regime began a long-term settlement on this 'frontier island'. As a consequence, there was an increase in the population of Han-Chinese immigrants (Ferrell 1969: 14; C-H. Chen 1959: 23; S-H. Chen 1979: 29; Y-C. Yang 1992: 162-163). A significant sociological implication of this settlement is that the island of Taiwan was being transformed from a 'tribal society' to a 'folk society', as some scholars mention (S-H. Chen 1979: 26-28; cf. Ts'ao 1979: 257).⁸

For aborigines who lived on the southwestern plains, however, the settlement of Han-Chinese on Taiwan meant both the emergence on a wider scale of contacts and conflicts with the Dutch and Han-Chinese, and the beginning of great transformations for themselves (Campbell 1903 [1967]; Nakamura 1974, 1993; Ts'ao 1979; see also Shepherd 1993). For example, for the sake of economic interests the Dutch not only pacified those aborigines who had invaded Han-Chinese settlements, but also imposed a chieftainship system on the aborigines, which had not been instituted by the aborigines themselves (Ferrell 1969: 16). Moreover, from 1636, when the neighbouring aboriginal settlements on the southwest plains were pacified, the Dutch convened a meeting of village delegates to request the aborigines to receive instructions from the Dutch authorities. In return, each delegate present was offered by the Governor his symbols of office (Shepherd 1993: 54-55; see also Campbell 1967 [1903]: 130-132). This assembly of delegates, or *landdag*, was then expanded to the island in terms of four regions, and was held annually; to wit, villages north of today's Tainan, south of Tainan, Tan-shui (including today's Taipei plain, Keelung and I-lan) and the east coast (today's Taitung) (Nakamura 1974:

8. These two terms were used by the late sociologist S-H. Chen. In his definition, 'tribal society' was characterized by its lower productivity and social closure, and could not attract immigrants. By contrast, 'folk society' was characterized by its higher productivity and its capacity to maintain a larger number of inhabitants, including immigrants.

33-34).⁹ In addition, in order efficiently to control the island and to increase income from taxation, from 1647 the Dutch regime undertook several household censuses (1647, 1650, 1654, 1655 and 1656, respectively) (ibid.: 34). Accompanying forced pacification and the local deputy system were missionary work and the establishment of schools in aboriginal villages.

Throughout the period that they occupied Taiwan, the Dutch had their control confined to today's southwest plain areas and, to some extent, the northern part of the island (they forced the Spanish out of these areas after 1642) (cf. S-L. Chuang 1959: 24; Shepherd 1993: 72). While they seemed to be unable to extend their control to the aborigines living in the impassable mountainous areas in the way that they did to the aborigines living on the southwest plain areas, the Dutch had some contacts in eastern Taiwan.

As early as 1637 the Dutch arrived in eastern Taiwan with an interest in mining gold. In this area a well-documented indigenous people with whom the Dutch had good relations were the natives of Pimaba--- who were assumed to be ancestors of the present Puyuma of Nan-wang (Nakamura 1993: 160, note 1). Reports about their intimate relations were similar to the quotations beginning this chapter. It was reported that the natives of Pimaba and the Dutch supported each other to subjugate the neighbouring aborigines for each other's mutual benefit (S-L. Chuang 1959: 21-22). For instance, in 1642, some 225 Dutch soldiers, along with 110 Chinese immigrants and 18 Javanese, arrived at Pimaba to take revenge against the natives of Tammalocou and Nicabon (i.e., today's two Puyuma settlements, Tamalakao and Rikavon), who had killed the Dutch representatives. Supported by the natives of Pimaba, the Dutch forces conquered and destroyed the village of Tammalocou (ibid.: 22). Later, in seeking peace with the Dutch, the natives of Tammalocou promised to be

9. The delegates assembly in eastern Taiwan was not held until 1652, due to widespread small pox that caused high mortality among aboriginal settlements (Nakamura 1993: 167).

subordinate to the Pimaba from then on (Blusse et al 1986: 220).¹⁰ Some Pimaba natives, it was said, even asked for the Dutch authority's support in dealing with their internal affairs.¹¹ It might be due to the good relations forged between the Pimaba and the Dutch, that the meeting of the delegates in the eastern region was held in Pimaba.

These Dutch documents might be the earliest ever on the Puyuma. In a record of the delegates assembly, the names of today's Puyuma settlements were reported: these included Pimaba (Puyuma, Nan-wang), Nicobon (Rikavon), Sabican (Kasavakan), Tijpol (Katipol), Tammalocou (Tamalakao) and, plausibly, Lywelijwe (Murivurivuk) (Nakamura 1993: 163-164).¹²

Although the extent to which the aborigines in eastern Taiwan were efficiently controlled by the Dutch regime was not clear, these documents suggest that their relations with the Dutch authorities certainly had consequences for the aborigines themselves.¹³ Nevertheless, apart from the period of Dutch rule, further steps in the development of both eastern Taiwan and the mountainous areas would not be taken until the mid-nineteenth century (see Map 2-2). This delay was plausibly attributed

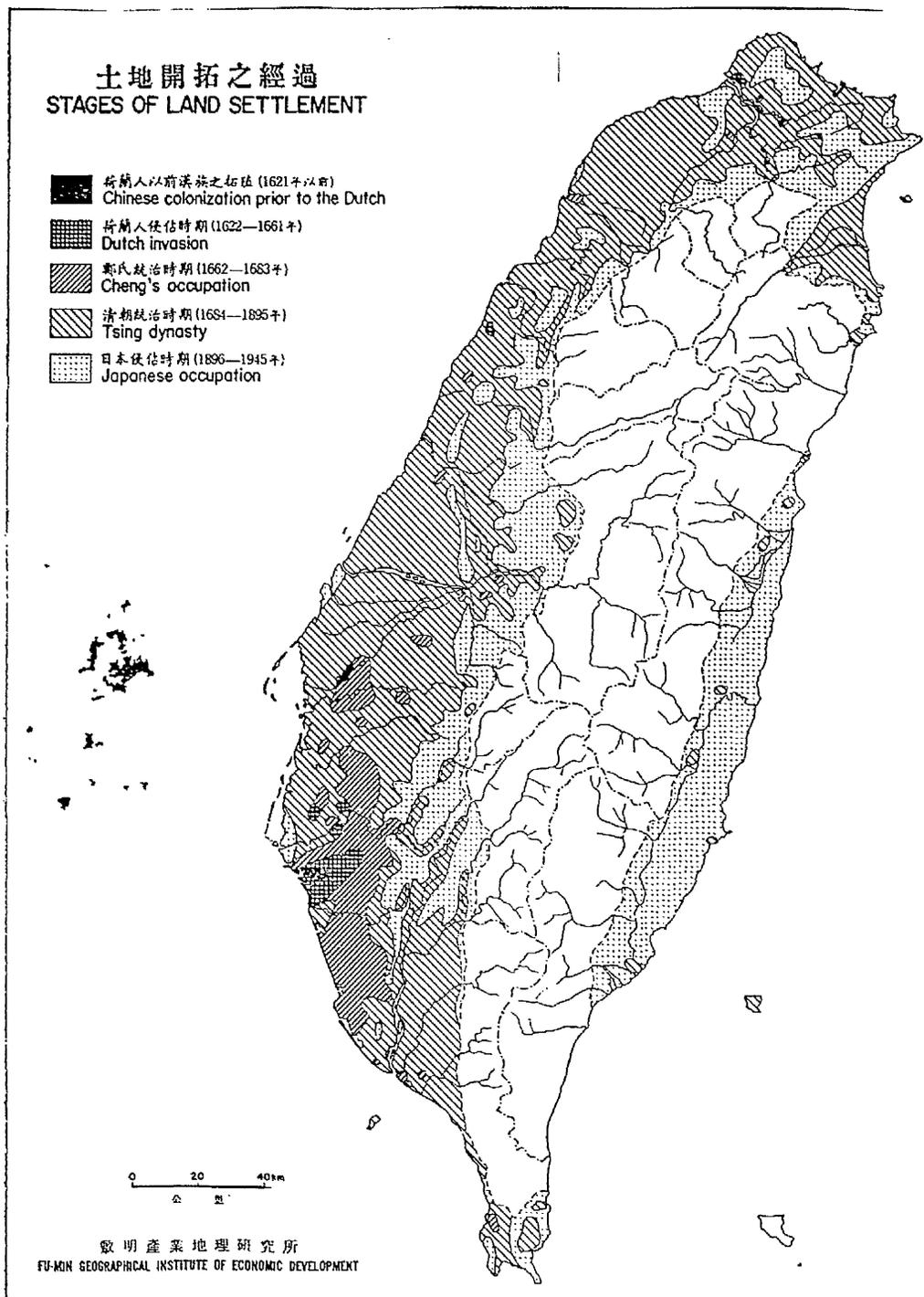
10. I thank Mr. Chia-yin Weng for his kind help in translating some Dutch documents that are related to the Puyuma.

11. For instance, in June 1639 a Dutch deputy brought a noble named Peremoniji from the village of Pimaba to Tainan to see the Dutch Governor of the island. Peremoniji wanted to ask the latter if he could establish a village on the land that had been occupied by his younger brother, Radouth, who had visited Tainan, the place where the Dutch office was located, several times (Blusse et al 1986: 466).

12. On the part of the Puyuma themselves, there are some oral reports alluding either to the arrival of *valaka* (the 'westerners'), or to the introduction of tobacco by the 'westerners', see Utsurikawa et al (1935: 344, 365).

13. In June 1644 after the death of a chief representative of the Dutch authorities, who was based in Pimaba and was responsible for collecting local products, the village of Pimaba was destroyed by fire. All dwellings and items awaiting exchange for hides that belonged to the Dutch East India Company were destroyed too. Moreover, at the end of the same year, the hostility of some aboriginal villages towards those allied with the Dutch authorities was increasing (S-L. Chuang 1959: 22).

Map 2-2 Stages of Land Settlement on the Island of Taiwan



Source: C-S. Chen (1963: 52)

to the then impassable topographical features and geographical conditions that restricted the settlers' approach and residence,¹⁴ which were further compounded by resistance from the aborigines living in the area (C-H. Chen 1959: 27 ff). Since the second half of the nineteenth century, however, the plains areas in the western Taiwan had been overpopulated. Moreover, problems had risen in east (and southeast) Taiwan--- some foreign countries (e.g. America and Japan) had attempted to land militarily on Taiwan citing the fact that some of their citizens had been killed by aborigines when they were shipwrecked on southeast Taiwan (H-H. Meng 1988: 52 ff). Therefore, from 1874, the Ch'ing government started a policy called *k'ai shan fu fan* (which literally meant 'opening the mountains and pacifying the aborigines'), to put the aborigines under their control, and simultaneously to develop eastern Taiwan for the resettlement of the Han-Chinese (cf. Meng 1988: 52 ff; Shepherd 1993: 3600). In the following year, the first administrative office was established in today's Taitung city (cf. C-H. Cheng 1993: 3, Table 1).

In other words, the eastern plain areas were less cultivated, and scarcely inhabited by Chinese immigrants until the second half of the nineteenth century. In this sense, *hou shan* (literally meaning 'behind the Central Range'), a term referring to eastern Taiwan, did not just mean geographical isolation from the viewpoints of both the Ch'ing authority and the Han-Chinese settlers. It also indicated a sort of marginality with regard to the political, economic and socio-cultural backwardness of this area in contrast with other parts of the island, except for the impassable mountainous areas (Slater 1970; see also Y-C. Chang 1986; C-H. Chen 1959: 1215-1230; C-P. Chen 1959; C-H. Cheng 1993; Meng 1988).

While most of the mountainous and eastern areas were still largely inhabited by aborigines, the expansion of Han-Chinese immigrants into western plain areas began from the late seventeenth century through to

14. The area of plains and basins in eastern Taiwan is very limited. For instance, some 47% of the total area (3811 km²) has an elevation above 1,000 meters, while only 10% is below 100 meters (Quoted from H-H. Meng 1988: 15). In addition, there are other environmental restrictions for agriculture, like rainfall, soil, climate, and so on (cf. C-S. Chen 1963, Chapter IV).

the eighteenth century. Partly because of the repulsion from southeast China where food was scarce, partly because of the attraction of the west side of Taiwan, where there was enough food to provide for a larger population (see Ts'ao 1979: 262-293), a flow of Han-Chinese subsequently arrived on the island, legally or illegally (cf. Shepherd 1993: 143, Table 6-2). Consequently, the population of the island rose rapidly: from 100,000 in 1650, 200,000 in 1680, 660,000 in 1756, some 840,000 in 1777, to 1.7 million souls in 1824 (S-H. Chen 1979: 18-20; Shepherd 1993: 161, Table 6-4). The rapid expansion of Han-Chinese was vividly demonstrated in an increase in the number of both villages and markets, particularly in central and northern Taiwan, and of villages in which aborigines lived together with Han-Chinese (Shepherd 1993: 171-173). However, possibly due to the rapid increase in the population of Han-Chinese residents, serious feuds were occurring among Han-Chinese settlers for land and resources, particularly from the second half of the eighteenth century; to wit, *fen lei hsieh tou* (literally meaning 'armed-combat based on a classificatory division'). In other words, Han-Chinese immigrants whose origins on the mainland differed were feuding with each other (Y-Y. Li 1989: 108; Shepherd 1993: 308 ff).

Although mostly occurring among the Han-Chinese themselves, these feuds also suggested that the rapid expansion of the Han-Chinese had their serious consequences for the aborigines. Relations between aborigines and the Han-Chinese were becoming more tense (cf. C-K. Ch'en 1994: 224 ff). Sometimes even the aborigines living in the mountainous areas near the plains were involved (Shepherd 1993: 323, 326, 514, note 97).

As some studies (e.g. Shepherd 1993: 308) indicate, however, once the Han-Chinese immigrants were established, the aborigines of the plain areas lost their ability to compete with these 'new-comers', and gradually became marginal in their importance to the historical processes unfolding in these areas. That decrees were ruled by the Ch'ing government throughout the eighteenth century to protect the land rights of 'plain' aborigines (or more properly, to keep order in this 'frontier island'), and that a special office (subprefecture for aborigine affairs) was established in 1767, illustrates the disadvantages aborigines were suffering (Shepherd

1993: 288-289, 302, 305-306; see also C-K. Ch'en 1994). With the rapid expansion of the Han-Chinese immigrants, the aborigines either remained in their villages and were incorporated, or left for other places free from Han-Chinese domination, like the interior areas of central and eastern Taiwan (Ferrell 1969: 20; Shepherd 1993: 358; see also Mabuchi 1974: 426-428; Pan 1992).

The disadvantaged position occupied by aborigines of the plain area was exacerbated, I would suggest, by the policies carried out under the Ch'ing regime. Under Ch'ing rule the aborigines in Taiwan were classified into two categories, namely, *shu fan* (*shu* means 'cooked', *fan* 'barbarian'; the term literally meant 'sinicized aborigines') and *sheng fan* (*sheng* means 'raw'), depending on whether or not they were subordinate to the regime (Ino 1904 [1975]: 1). According to this scheme, most of the aborigines who lived in the western plain areas and had encountered the Dutch in earlier stages, were *shu fan*; the aborigines living both in the mountainous areas and in eastern Taiwan were *sheng fan*. Transformation from the role of *sheng fan* to that of *shu fan* meant not just that the aborigines concerned were incorporated into the wider society more than before. It also entailed more constraints--- like taxation and labour services--- that were imposed on recently sinicized aborigines by the regime (see C-K. Ch'en 1994; Ino 1975 [1904]: 64 ff).

The situation of the island seemed to enter a new phase in the nineteenth century, particularly in the beginning of the second half. Since the 1860s feuding among the Han-Chinese themselves subsided; moreover, they put an increased emphasis both on their founding ancestors in Taiwan and on territorial relations in their human groupings, instead of their places of origin on the mainland. Effectively, a sort of 'nativization' of Han-Chinese immigrants seemed to be emerging, as some scholars would argue (e.g. C-N. Chen; quoted from Y-K. Huang 1984: 122-123; see also L-C. Chang 1991: 20 ff; S-H. Chen 1979; Ong 1979: 82-83; Shepherd 1993: 359). Some attempts by the Han-Chinese to settle in eastern Taiwan also began during this period: for instance, it was said that ca. 1855, a Han-Chinese named Cheng Shan arrived in Taitung and taught the Puyuma to cultivate the grains he brought. In addition, previously continuous movements among the aborigines, including those

living in the mountainous areas, had almost ended by the late nineteenth century (C-H. Chen 1959: 253).

To sum up, from the early seventeenth century to the late nineteenth century a great transformation was occurring on the island of Taiwan: it was changing from a place whose residents mostly consisted of aborigines, one that the European powers had competed for, to a place that constituted a part of the empire in administrative terms, and one which was mostly inhabited by Han-Chinese immigrants. This historical process has had serious consequences both for Taiwan's inhabitants and for the formation of its society. For Han-Chinese immigrants, as time wore on a sort of 'nativization' was in train. Aborigines, however, were involved in a process that was incorporating them into and subordinating them to the wider society and the ruling regime, in contrast with the important roles that they had performed in earlier times.¹⁵

From 1895 on

A new phase both in the history of Taiwan and the fate of its inhabitants was launched in 1895 when the island was ceded to the Japanese regime with the Treaty of Shimonoseki. In contrast with previous regimes, the Japanese colonial regime instituted island-wide control and tried to build up a modernized, capitalist economy in its first colony. Its most ambitious aim was to make the island into an important base for future expansion into East and Southeast Asia (H-Y. Chang and Myers 1962: 423; Myers and Peattie 1984; Yanaihara 1985 [1929]). Although there were some changes in emphasis through time, these practices basically consisted of the establishment of a pervasive administrative system, the widespread construction of schools on the island, rigid and surveillant household registration, several island-wide censuses, and so on (S-H. Chen 1979: 108; W-Y. Chou 1994; Tsurumi 1977; S-L. Wang 1980:

15. Based on previous studies, for instance, Shepherd (1993: 309) estimates that between 1736 and 1795 aborigines living in the western plain areas were called up twelve times by the Ch'ing government to help counter rebels. Four *of each* these campaigns were against Han-Chinese, aborigines living in the mountainous areas, and other aborigines living in the plain areas (cf. C-K. Ch'en 1994: 43 ff).



11, 118-120). As a consequence, Japanese influence was widespread in economy (Yanaihara 1985 [1929]; cf. Ka 1995), in education (Chou 1995; Sugimoto 1971; Tsurumi 1977), in sanitary institutions (S-H. Chen 1979; Fann 1995), and in other social spheres (I-T. Chen 1970, 1984; Ide 1956 [1936]; Myers and Peattie 1984; Peattie 1984; C-C. Yang 1993).

The existence of the aborigines on the island certainly was a problem that the regime had never confronted (Nagata 1995: 76); the Han-Chinese were regarded as being of the same race as the Japanese, and used the same script (I-T. Chen 1984: 250-251, note 17; see also Ino 1991 [1928], vol 1: 17). However, a systematic attempt to deal with the aborigines was put into practice when the pacification of the Han-Chinese rebels in the plain areas temporarily came to an end (ca. 1905) (see Fujii 1989; Nagata 1995; Government of Formosa 1911; Ino 1975 [1904]). The shifting of the target to the aborigines, particularly those living in the mountainous areas, was understandable if we consider the fact that a great deal of the island of Taiwan was mountainous, and that such precious natural resources as camphor and timber were widely grown in these areas. To pursue the aim of establishing Taiwan as a modernized society, the regime obviously needed to develop those places that had potential either for cultivation or for inhabitation, for instance the mountainous areas and the eastern plain. Regarding the former, a wider scale of resettlement of aboriginal villages from mountainous areas to places of lower altitude, accompanied by the paddy cultivation that replaced the former swidden agriculture, was put into practice, particularly after 1930 (C-H. Chen 1959: 253; Nagata 1995: 85, 89; J-Y. Wang 1967: 32). This resettlement also made it easier for the regime to get these 'mountain' aborigines under their control. Apart from these strategies, a distinctive feature was the widespread police system instituted to deal with aboriginal affairs. From the mid-1910s onwards, policemen performed important roles in aboriginal settlements both in the maintenance of law and social order and in regulating 'welfare, education, trade and public works': they were like teachers, leaders and doctors, depending on the situation (Miyamoto et al 1954: 182;

Nagata 1995: 78).¹⁶

Apart from this island-wide control, the accumulation of knowledge based on the studies of modern social science was another important feature that differentiated the Japanese regime from previous ones (cf. Thompson 1964, 1969). In 1901 a Special Research Committee on Old Formosan Customs was established under the Government of Formosa (Ide 1956 [1936]: 433-438). Although it was a handmaid to the ruling regime, the career of this research committee was hailed as the beginning of social anthropology in Taiwan (Mabuchi 1974: 443). Regarding the aborigines in particular, the plans and practices of this research committee were thought of as second to none, even when compared with Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia; eight volumes each of the *Report of Research on Customs of the Formosan Aborigines* and of the *Report of Research on the Formosan Aborigines* constitute the basic reference books on aborigines up to the present day (Mabuchi 1974: 460; see also C-L. Chen 1974; Liu 1975; Passin 1947). It was also under Japanese rule that academic classification of aborigines in terms of their legends, customs, languages, physical characteristics, and so on, appeared for the first time (see the following section). Nowadays, all the studies undertaken during the Japanese period are still referred to and consulted by researchers on aborigines.

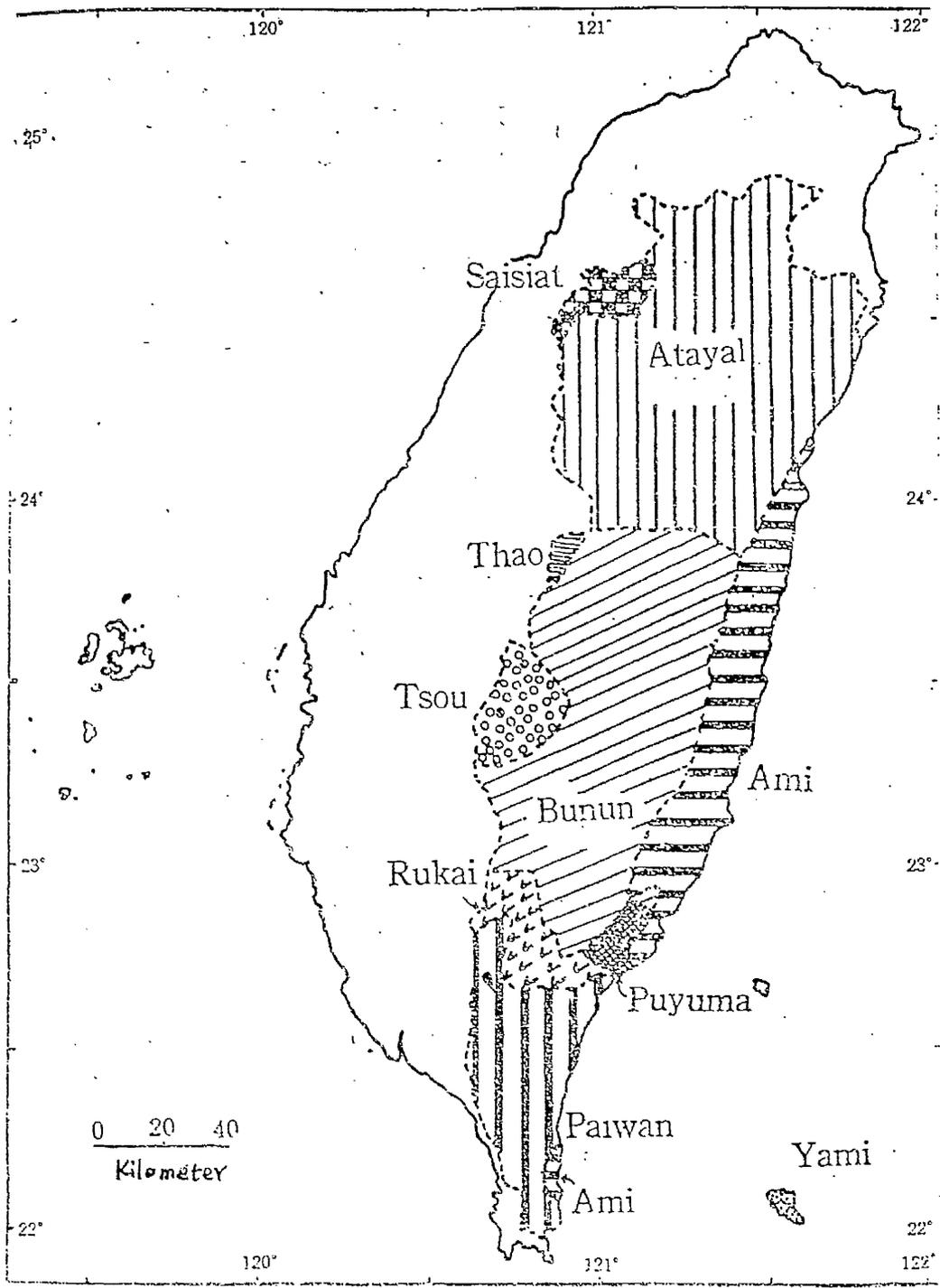
From 1950s on, after the Nationalist government took over Taiwan, a more efficient island-wide incorporation was on the way. Under the Nationalist regime, all residents, including aborigines, were treated equally as fellow citizens. Under this principle, the government has carried out a series of policies regarding the aborigines, whose ultimate aims are to improve the aborigines' living standards, and to incorporate them gradually into the wider society consisting mainly of Han-Chinese (cf. Institute of Ethnology 1983). Aborigines on the island are addressed ^{by} the familistic term *t'ung pao* ('same womb'; it literally means 'compatriot'), replacing the notorious term *fan* ('barbarian') that had been used before. Moreover, based on and following the studies by Japanese scholars, nine

16. It is not surprising that since earlier this century some aborigines sought jobs as policemen (Tsurumi 1977: 234).

aboriginal groups were recognized officially (Map 2-3). On the whole they were addressed by the generic terms *kao shan tsu* ('mountain people') or *shan ti t'ung pao* ('brethren in the mountains'); in 1994 the term *shan ti t'ung pao* was replaced by *yuan chu min* (literally meaning 'original dwellers'), the result of a near ten-year protest movement promulgated by aboriginal elites. Nine groups of aborigines are further sub-grouped into two main categories: (1) *p'ing ti shan pao* ('mountain brethren living in plain areas'), consisting of most of the Puyuma and the Ami living in the plain areas, and some branches of the Saisiat; and (2) *shan ti shan pao* ('mountain brethren living in mountain areas'), consisting of the other groups who live in mountainous areas (but including the Yami on Orchid island!). Both of them have their respective representatives from local councils to the national Congress. These nine groups mostly corresponded to the category of *sheng fan* during the Ch'ing rule. In other words, those aborigines who previously lived in the plain areas and had been the targets of pacification or sinicization since the Dutch period, were not further internally differentiated, but were all called *p'ing p'u tsu* (literally meaning 'plain aborigines').

Under the Nationalist regime, different kinds of policy have been applied to these two groups of aborigines, without referring to *p'ing p'u tsu*. The aborigines classified into the category of *shan ti shan pao* are entitled to a reservation area, within which they select rural township chiefs from their people. Han-Chinese cannot enter these areas without permission, much less be selected as local leaders. By contrast, the aborigines called *p'ing ti shan pao*, who have lived in the same settlements as the Han-Chinese since Japanese rule, have not been given all these rights. So the second group of aborigines--- let alone the *p'ing p'u tsu*--- are often not able to compete successfully for resources with the Han-Chinese. In spite of these internal differences regarding the rights and protection given them, the aborigines' situation as a whole has been worsening with time (cf. Institute of Ethnology 1983; Y-K. Huang 1976; Y-Y. Li 1989: 113-114). Confronted by this worsening situation, a cluster of aboriginal elites in the urban setting began a series of protests in the early 1980s, and were supported by Presbyterian church organizations and political dissenters (cf. Hsieh 1987, 1994). Since the

Map 2-3 The Geographical Distribution of Taiwanese Aborigines



Source: J-Y. Wang (1967: 19)

early 1990s, these protests have become more diversified. Apart from politico-economic claims, there is an emphasis on aboriginal culture in essential terms and a demand for its realization in the aborigines' 'mother villages' (Chiu 1994: 106-107). Associated with these demands is an attempt to found an organization that consists only of 'Taiwanese aborigines', including *p'ing p'u tsu*, in contrast with 'non-Taiwanese aborigines', regardless of internal discords within the latter category in terms of 'Taiwanese', 'mainlanders', 'Hakka' and so on (cf. W-T. Chen n.d.).

If the stress on aborigines and their 'cultures' is an unintended consequence of the classification system adopted since the Japanese regime, then essentializing these features as 'culture' (including the attempt to reconstruct and re-inhabit the 'mother villages' that they previously lived in but were forced to leave due to the resettlement policy) seems to be a powerful weapon for aborigines nowadays with which to counter both the regime's minority policies and the research being undertaken on them, and to ask for more resources to counter their minority.¹⁷ Even so, the emphasis on the 'authenticity and essence' of aboriginal culture has been reinforced, ironically, by the government's policies and some academic research programmes.

The major social science discipline on Taiwan that has been preoccupied with the aborigines is anthropology.¹⁸ Among previous studies, certain issues about the 'aborigines' themselves, such as identity (or ethnicity) were taken for granted. The focus was on aboriginal cultures in terms of their traits, on their relationship with the neighbouring Pacific and with Southeast Asia, or with the prehistoric

17. For instance, a specific committee regarding the aborigines of Taiwan was established in December 1996 under Executive Yuan in the central government. Recently, some aborigines have been opposing the research being undertaken on their people. I thank Dr. Ying-kuei Huang for providing information on this period, during which I was absent from Taiwan.

18. For instance, through 1949 (when a Department of Anthropology and Archaeology was established in National Taiwan University) to 1964, most anthropologists were preoccupied with aboriginal studies, and left their Han-Chinese counterparts to the sociologists and researchers from other disciplines (C-L. Chen 1989; Y-K. Huang 1984; Y-Y. Li 1993; cf. Hong and Murray 1994: 17-18).

stage in Chinese history. Otherwise, the main concern was with social organizations and institutions. Topics like the transformation and adaptation occurring in aboriginal villages (particularly since the late 1960s) were preoccupying anthropologists, while there was also some diversion towards study of the Han-Chinese beginning in 1965 (Y-Y. Li 1993: 347-350). However, with the lifting of martial law in 1987, some issues that had been politically sensitive but whose discussion was forbidden, like 'social movement', 'ethnicity', 'identity' and so on, suddenly came to the surface. Apart from these issues, studies on mainland China became possible too (cf. Y-K. Huang 1995). In this wider context, the 'authenticity' of the aborigines was stressed more than before. That is, reinforced both by so-called humanistic-cum-interpretative and humanitarian viewpoints (cf. Y-Y. Li 1993: 356), 'aboriginal socio-cultural features' were highly praised. In this way, an obvious shortcoming prevalent among previous studies--- confining a study to a 'community' that itself was taken for granted and treated as isolated --- became more obvious. Moreover, aboriginal 'cultures' were objectified and represented by one or just a few of their dimensions in some studies, such as 'traditional' rites, songs and dances, and other material performances. Consequently and ironically, 'aborigines' and their 'cultures' are displayed in the most romantic and exotic spirit that can be without reference to the contexts, within which these 'socio-cultural' features are being located and shaped. Recently, under a project like the National Festival of Culture and Arts, promulgated by an official organization, the Council for Cultural Planning and Development, these aforementioned situations have become more complicated. Local customs are not only highly praised, and the need to preserve and develop them recognized, but a sense of 'communalization' that should be shared and developed by the residents living in a specific locality is also stressed.

In this brief description of Taiwan and its development, I have emphasized that its aborigines have long been involved in the island's history. But this history, i.e., the development of the island, has been increasingly unfolding in a way not shaped and directed by the aborigines, the indigenous residents, but by 'outsiders'. With time, the

aborigines have been increasingly incorporated into and influenced by the wider society. Even if the movements promulgated by aboriginal elites since the early 1980s have seemed successful, they are intimately related to, and supported by, other forces on this island (and, to some extent, by international organizations). If the influences in this historical process of the aborigines are 'externally induced', though, the realization and significance of these influences is 'indigenously and locally orchestrated' (Sahlins 1985: vii-xi). Their specific expression is an issue that deserves further investigation: but it would be better to locate such a dichotomy in a process in which these influences overlap and are mutually implicated in a multiple (and even contradictory) way, than to see them as forces which are initially separate and which subsequently interact. Thus, with respect to the history of the island, I will try in the following chapters to disclose the complicated relations between 'external, outside' and 'indigenous, local' factors, basing this on a case study among the Puyuma of Nan-wang. Before that, though, a brief review of previous studies among the Puyuma is necessary. In this investigation I will point out some important issues that have not yet been fully addressed, and suggest what the implications of this case study will be.

The Puyuma: Classification and Study

We know that the Puyuma appeared in history--- historical documents and indigenous oral reports--- as early as the sixteenth century, and apparently had intimate contacts with the Dutch. Some of them even travelled as far as southwest Taiwan. However, partly because of delayed development in eastern Taiwan, reports about the Puyuma--- as well as about the area in general, and its other aboriginal residents--- are scattered and vague from the late seventeenth century through to the mid-nineteenth century. Even so, some reports regarding the Puyuma are interesting and deserve further attention here,¹⁹ in order to elucidate

19. However, some contradictions exist among these reports. For instance, the date of the arrival of the Han-Chinese businessman, Cheng Shang, in Taitung is reported in 1855 (Y-C. Chang 1986), or in 1861 (Taitung County Government 1963: 7), and even earlier (Meng 1988: 84, note 92).

their relations with the wider society. For instance, it was reported that in 1696 there were sixty-five aboriginal villages in east and southeast Taiwan, including the Puyuma, paying taxes to the Ch'ing authorities (cf. Meng 1988: 38). Even if these cash taxes were paid by Han-Chinese businessmen who expected in return to be allowed to trade with the aborigines in the vicinity (ibid.: 39), this report suggests something noteworthy. Firstly, it indicates that there had been some trade between Han-Chinese businessmen and the aborigines in this area long before the establishment of the government's office (in 1875) (cf. Ino 1991 [1928], vol 3: 149). Secondly, it suggests the ambiguous position that these aborigines occupied. Living in east Taiwan, an area beyond the ambit of the Ch'ing administrative system at that time, they should have been categorized as 'raw' aborigines. But they could also be seen as 'cooked' aborigines, because they paid taxes. They were in fact a sort of subordinate aborigine who came under the category of 'raw barbarian'.²⁰

It seems from these reports that the Puyuma were a well-known aboriginal people in this area, and that they had good relations with the Ch'ing regime (and even with later ones). In 1711 the Puyuma, as well as other neighbouring aborigines, expressed their obedience to the Ch'ing government (Y-C. Chang 1986: 39). Later, Emperor Ch'ing K'an-shi conferred ceremonial robes, shoes, hats and other items on the paramount leader of the Puyuma in recognition of his contribution in helping round up the last remnants of the rebels in 1722 (Ino 1991 [1928], vol 3: 163; Meng 1988: 42 ff). In the mid-eighteenth century (ca. 1764), the Puyuma had the distinction, in one official's view, of being a people who 'neither invaded nor rebelled, and acted as a primary barrier in the eastern part [of the territory]' (Ino ibid.: 163). They were categorized as *liang fan* ('good barbarian'), the best of the three kinds of aborigines who were the targets of the Ch'ing policy of 'opening the mountains and pacifying

20. In principle, the system of poll tax paid to the Ch'ing regime was carried out by the subordinate 'cooked aborigines'. But there were intermediate categories between the dichotomy of 'raw' and 'cooked'. They either 'paid only the aborigine poll tax but did not give labor service', or 'paid no tax at all yet could not be called wild or untamed' (cf. Shepherd 1993: 109, 473, note 12; see also Ino 1991 [1928], vol 3: 226).

the aborigines', which began in 1874. In other words, aborigines as they were, the Puyuma lived close to the Han-Chinese and learnt about the kind of behaviour characterizing civilized society (Ino 1991 [1928], vol 1:155). Furthermore, just prior to the Ch'ing forces' advance on eastern Taiwan, a Ch'ing official went to Taitung and obtained the assurance from an aboriginal leader that aborigines in the vicinity would be willingly subordinate to the regime. This aborigine was a Puyuma of Nan-wang (Ino 1991 [1928], vol 1: 211; vol 3: 86 ff, 120).

This last case vividly displays another characteristic of the Puyuma often referred to in these documents, which is that the Puyuma, specifically today's Puyuma of Nan-wang, held sovereignty over some seventy-two aboriginal villages in the vicinity. The name *Pinami* (today's Nan-wang), the village-name in historical documents--- where the then paramount leader, *Pinalai* (an eponymous ancestor of the *Rara* family) lived--- was used to represent these subordinate aboriginal villages, and also to denote the place in the vicinity of Taitung where the aborigines lived (cf. Ino 1991 [1928], vol 3: 150, 162-164). This sovereignty was reported by other aboriginal peoples.²¹ Two leading families, the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara*, also held the right to levy taxes on these subordinate aboriginal villages; this right was later terminated by the Japanese regime around 1908/1909 (Kono 1915: 416, 454).

To sum up: although they lived in an area which was not inhabited by many Han-Chinese settlers until the late nineteenth century, the Puyuma were reported to have pursued various activities beyond this area (See Quack 1981; C-T. Tseng 1993, 1994). Under Japanese rule, the Puyuma, as well as the Ami--- both of whom lived mostly on the eastern plain--- were regarded as superior to other aborigines in terms of their living standards and the extent of their domestication, and were considered similar to the Han-Chinese (Ino 1975 [1904]: 689).

21. It was said that some Ami 'tribes' in today's Hualien county, like *Vataan* and *Tavalong*, did not admit that their counterparts in today's *Valangao*, a village near Taitung city, were 'the Ami', because of their subordination to the Puyuma of Nan-wang. Oral legends from the former 'tribes' also reported that the Puyuma even extended their forces to the area south of the former's villages (Sayama 1914).

The Puyuma are still regarded as one of the most sinicized aboriginal groups (C-L. Chen et al 1955; Kano n.d.): due to their long-term interactions with the Han-Chinese, they are thought of as having lost their traditional culture (C-H. Chen 1959: 965). Paradoxically, the Puyuma, particularly the Puyuma of Nan-wang, are also reported as being people who have continued to adhere to their traditional customs right up to the present day. Thus various issues become interesting and demand further investigation: What do these seemingly contradictory descriptions mean? Why does the case of Nan-wang display such remarkable features? And how can we conceptualize these phenomena? Before I come to these issues I will first describe the people known as the Puyuma, giving a brief account of the classification system used for the aborigines, in respect of which the Puyuma (including the Puyuma of Nan-wang) constitute a complicated case.

Problems in Classifying the Puyuma As an 'Ethnic Group'

Just after the Japanese regime took possession of Taiwan, some Japanese scholars began to undertake individual studies among the aborigines (Mabuchi 1974: 447-450; Ino 1991 [1928], vol 1: 16 ff). Their research notes were published in *The Journal of the Anthropological Association of Tokyo*, an official publication of the Japanese Anthropological Association, which was founded in Tokyo in 1884. Nevertheless, systematic and planned investigations of the aborigines only started in 1909 when an aboriginal section was established under the Special Research Committee on Old Formosan Customs (1901). Studies on aborigines were further expanded through 1928 to 1945, particularly with the establishment of a research room regarding aborigines within Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University (C-L. Chen 1974: 7-9).

The classification of aborigines in terms of their customs, languages, physical features and so forth was a significant issue for these studies; such a task had never been undertaken before.²² However, the classifica-

22. Before that, aborigines were described either in generic terms (such as 'raw' or 'cooked', 'sinicized' or 'not sinicized') or each 'tribe' was

tory system itself changed through time (J-Y. Wang 1967: 6). Sometimes it reflected the extent to which Japanese forces had infiltrated the areas in which aborigines lived (cf. Fujii 1989).²³ It was not until 1935, with the publication of a monumental and epoch-making work, *The Formosan Native Tribes: A Genealogical and Classificatory Study* (Utsurikawa et al. 1935) (cf. Map 2-3), that a classification system categorizing the aborigines of Taiwan into nine main groups was standardized, which is still followed even now.²⁴

The people classified as the Puyuma

Before the publication of *The Formosan Native Tribes: A Genealogical and Classificatory Study*, opinion about the position of the Puyuma was not unanimous. On the one hand, the Puyuma, as well as the Rukai (formerly called the Tsarisien), used to be classified as a sub-group of the Paiwan--- partly because there were some cultural similarities (e.g. ranked status and the emphasis on the position of the eldest child), and partly because intermarriages often existed among these three aboriginal peoples. But on the other hand, the Puyuma were also considered to have a close relationship with the Ami; both of them were characterized by age organization and by the predominant proportion of uxori-local marriage (cf. Mabuchi 1974, vol 2: 396; Sayama 1913).²⁵

referred to by its own tribal name (cf. Ino 1991 [1928], vol 2: 271).

23. I thank Ms. I-yih Cheng for this suggestion from her study in Saisiat.

24. In this work the aborigines of Taiwan were called *Takasago zoku* (*Takasago* is an old term used by the Japanese to refer to the island of Taiwan in the sixteenth century; *zoku* means 'race, people') (see Ino 1991 [1928], vol 1: 75), replacing the former notorious terms, like *banzoku* or *banjin* ('barbarians').

25. In a book published in 1900, *Taiwanese Aboriginal Affairs*, the two Japanese ethnologists K. Ino and A. Denojo classified aborigines into eight main groups, excepting the Saisiat, who were considered a sub-group of sinicized 'plain aborigines' (Liu 1976: 6 ff). Later, an official classification was published in 1911, in which today's nine-group division was used for the first time (Government of Formosa 1911). Nevertheless, following a suggestion from another ethnologist, U. Mori, the colonial government replaced this nine-group classification system with a seven-group one

The complexities bedevilling the Puyuma were certainly recognized by scholars of these classification systems. When Utsurikawa et al (1935) dealt in each chapter of their epochal work with one of nine aboriginal groups, for instance, they intentionally chose the word *Panapanayan* instead of 'Puyuma' as the chapter title for this people. At the beginning of this chapter, they explained why the term *Panapanayan* was chosen as follows (Utsurikawa et al. 1935: 333; my translation):

....[T]his people (as a whole) does not have a term for self-reference (as other aborigines do). The terms with which they sometimes address themselves are Hala-hala and Mada-hadayan. But both of these are inappropriate to be the names for an 'ethnic group': while the former term is an Ami word meaning 'the guest', the latter is probably a Paiwan one that means 'the other people'. Also inappropriate is another term often used to refer to this people, viz., *Hashia vang* (*Hashia* literally means 'eight tribes', *vang* 'barbarians'), which describes the people in terms of the number of tribes constituting it. Furthermore, the term 'Puyuma' cannot be representative even if this is the most powerful tribe among them, as it narrowly confines all of them to this single tribe. Apart from this, there are variations of language and legend between this tribe (viz., the Puyuma) and other tribes of the *Hashia vang*. Thus *Panapanayan*, a name for the place at which the common ancestors of this people supposedly landed on the island, is thought to be more appropriate to address them.

It may seem that the term *Panapanayan* has solved the problem. Under this 'neutral' term, the people concerned can be classified in terms of their common features--- of which *karumaan* ('ritual house' or 'original stem household'), *takoban* (boys' house) and *parakwan* (men's house) are frequently mentioned. By means of these characteristics the Puyuma can also be distinguished from other neighbouring peoples, like the Paiwan, the Rukai, the Ami, and so on. But does this really solve the problem? Or are more important issues concealed while some 'common denominators' are

through 1913 to 1935. Under this new system, the Puyuma, as well as the Rukai, were combined into the Paiwan as the latter's local sub-groups. But the places where the Puyuma and the Ami lived were categorized as common precinct in administrative terms, and were distinguished from specific precincts where other aborigines (including the Paiwan and the Rukai) lived. Thus, when reports were confined to the aborigines living in specific precincts, both the Paiwan and the Rukai were mentioned, but the Puyuma were not included.

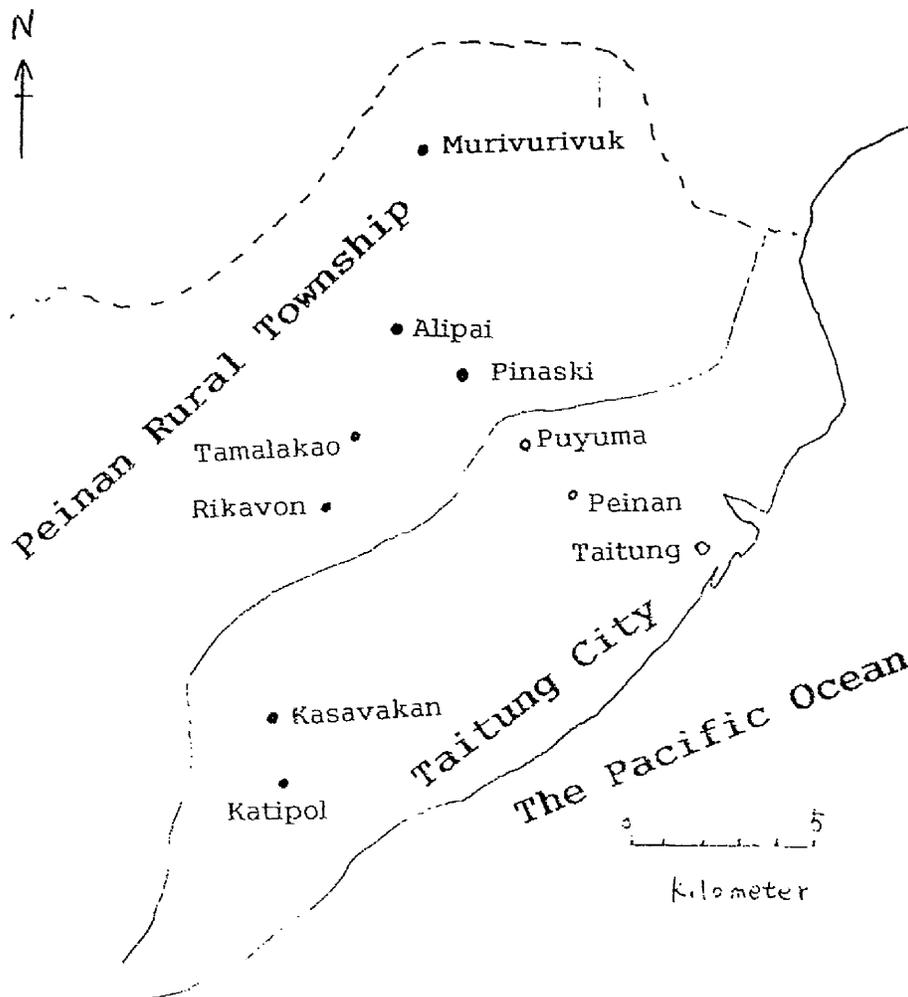
stressed? In my view, diverse as these classification systems were, they presupposed certain points, viz., that the aborigines in question can be categorized either as a group or as a sub-group, and remain separate from other 'groups' in terms of certain common features, like cultural traits, language, and so on. In this way, variations within the 'group' or 'sub-group' are at best noted but left unanalyzed. At worst, important differences are overlooked and disguised in terms of several 'seemingly common factors'.²⁶

Let us begin with the legendary place of origin, *Panapanayan*. Although debatable,²⁷ these eight main Puyuma settlements (see Map 2-4) are grouped into two categories based on legends and myths. One group, related by their origin legend as 'stone-born', is composed of six settlements; to wit, Katipol, Kasavakan, Rikavon, Tamalakao, Alipai, and Murivurivuk. The other group, 'bamboo-born', consists of Nan-wang and Pinaski (Utsurikawa et al. 1935; Wei et al 1965). Even so, the variations among this 'people' are remarkable.²⁸ Moreover, it is noteworthy that while the Puyuma of Nan-wang call the place of origin *Panapanayan*, their counterparts among other settlements like Katipol use the term *Revoagan*

26. Studies by Suenari in Rikavon, a Puyuma settlement southwest of Nan-wang, demonstrate this problem well. Sometimes Suenari generalizes his studies in Rikavon to the whole Puyuma; for instance, with the installing of ancestral tablets for both partners of a couple inside their house (Suenari 1994: 213; cf. 1983: 126). But as I will discuss in this thesis, in the case of Nan-wang this phenomenon does not exist except in some Catholic families. Such a contrast perhaps suggests the differences between the two settlements with respect to the constitution of the *karumaan*.

27. For instance, it is suggested that four main settlements constitute the main body of the Puyuma--- Katipol, Kasavakan, Rikavon and Nan-wang. The other four settlements seem to have branched off from these, and the inhabitants to be mixed with other aboriginal peoples (Mabuchi 1974, vol 2: 395). To my knowledge, many native residents of Pinaski, who are its earlier inhabitants, have relations with the other settlements rather than with Nan-wang. Some linguistic studies suggest that while leading families may have lived in a settlement for a long time, common households may be continuously migrating and mixing with the residents of new settlements (cf. Tsuchida 1979; see also Schroder 1967: 12).

28. To my knowledge, the dances and melodies of ritual songs are almost completely different in each settlement.

Map 2-4 The Geographical Locations of the Puyuma Settlements*

*

Apapolo is a settlement near the center of Taitung city, whose inhabitants consist of Han-Chinese and some thirty Puyuma households. Instead of following the example of the Puyuma who in 1929 resettled in today's Nan-wang, these Puyuma settled in Apapolo. It is reported that this division was due to internal discords. Nowadays, some of these settlements constitute part of an administrative unit (e.g. both Alipai and Pinaski belong to Pin-lang village). Some are divided into parts and are respectively incorporated into different units (e.g. Katipol and Murivurivuk). Some still maintain themselves as a whole, though Han-Chinese inhabitants may be the majority or occupy a greater proportion within the same administrative unit (e.g. Kasavakan, Rikavon, Tamalakao, and Nan-wang). In addition, Dadanao is a unit which has branched off from Murivurivuk.

(literally meaning 'the place of origin') (cf. Schroder 1967: 11-12). As Mabuchi (1974: 394) also points out, the Puyuma are not the only people concerned with *Panapanayan*. It is a place of origin in an 'international or intertribal' sense; in other words, it is also a place of origin for neighbouring peoples like the Ami and the Rukai (cf. Utsurikawa et al. 1935: 347).

Considering this complicated situation, then, how can these variations be dealt with? Unfortunately, accepting a 'group' or 'sub-group' classification as their starting point, most Japanese and Han-Chinese researchers leave unaddressed some important issues which might have been raised by the remarkable variations that they have observed. Does this categorization mean, in effect, that indigenes such as the Puyuma recognize themselves as a group, and share some kind of identity, as certain students of aborigines assume (e.g. Hsieh 1994: 404)? Does this classification actually reveal the internal constitution of this 'people' in each case? Moreover, do people living in the same settlement think of themselves as constituting a 'community'; and if so, how is this sense of 'community' expressed, in particular as the residents are of different origins? And what relations subsist between 'the established' and 'the newcomers', particularly where issues like leadership are concerned? In a nutshell, when a categorization of 'group' or 'sub-group' is presumed, the notion of 'community' and its internal constitution are rendered superfluous and need no further investigation. Likewise, the wider context in which the Puyuma are involved is taken for granted and treated as a background, rather than being dealt with as an important factor, crucial to the constitution of aboriginal 'communities' or 'cultures'.

Keeping these issues in mind, I would suggest an alternative, in which the aforementioned variations among the Puyuma can be taken into serious consideration, and their implications elucidated. That is, based on my studies in Nan-wang (and also in Pinaski), I will point out how a concern with the construction of 'community' can shed light on some important issues that have not yet been satisfactorily discussed, or have even been totally neglected, in previous studies. For the former questions, the most important issues are the *karumaan* and the *takoban* (boys' house). For the latter, they are the relations between the

individual, the household, the *karumaan* and the 'community'. With reference to these issues, both the unique qualities and the general implications of the case of Nan-wang will be illuminated.

Previous studies of the Puyuma

Researchers since the turn of the century have accumulated a lot of knowledge about the Puyuma,²⁹ usually based on fieldwork within a settlement (See Bibliography). The range of topics is wide, covering language, music, weaving techniques, social institutions (e.g. kinship and men's house), rites (including specialists), and so on. Nevertheless, some shortcomings begin to appear once these publications are scrutinized closely. For instance, no single ethnographic monograph about the Puyuma has been published (except for the reports published by the Aboriginal Section, First Department, Special Research Committee on Old Formosan Customs, Office of Governor-General). Consequently, diverse as these research issues are, they are let down by a lack of reference to their relevant contexts. And within these publications, some descriptions are self-evidently products of occasional visits and rely heavily on a few informants. Some articles are so short that their data is obscure, let alone their arguments. Moreover, even if they concern themselves with one or more of the aforementioned topics, many studies treat these issues as separate domains, such as 'kinship', 'age organization', 'rites' and so on.³⁰

29. For instance, Schroder suggests, 'Since the culture of the Puyuma shows local variations, a systematic study of the different locales is needed, before any attempt can be made to define any common factors' (Schroder 1967: 13; see also Chiao 1961: 6). In the part of my bibliography that is concerned with the Puyuma, I categorize these previous studies according to the settlement where the research was undertaken. At first sight, this categorization may reinforce a sense of the individuality of each settlement, a criticism which I myself have raised. Nevertheless, dealing with the documents in this way, I am trying to locate these seemingly common, but decontextualized factors (e.g. the *karumaan*) in their own specific contexts, and to emphasize both their differences and implications.

30. Although confining herself to publications written in Chinese between 1945 and the late 1980s, Ms. Y-L. Huang (1994: 190-192) succinctly raises similar problems. But I would disagree with her view that the value of studies among the Puyuma is seriously limited, due to the wide-spread

These shortcomings partly reflect some of the general, theoretical problems which have afflicted Taiwanese anthropologists (see C-N. Chen 1976; Y-K. Huang 1984, 1995; Y-Y. Li 1993). In addition, particularly in the early period (ca. 1949-1965), studies were mainly preoccupied with the 'reconstruction' of 'traditional' customs among the Puyuma and other aboriginal peoples, and relied a great deal on a few informants' reports, rather than on long-term fieldwork.

Let us examine a paragraph in which the primary purpose--- to undertake a study among the Puyuma--- was stated by some pioneer anthropologists among the aborigines, as follows (Wei et al. 1954: 14; my translation):

....There are various reasons for choosing the Puyuma as our subject for study: (1) Up to now the position of the Puyuma in the classification system [of Taiwanese aborigines] is not yet definite; (2) many questions regarding their cultural traits remain unanswered; (3) up to now there have been no detailed reports about some of their important extant cultural features; and (4) if research is not undertaken soon, we fear that some important traits will disappear [before they have been recorded].

This quote makes it clear that 'culture' was defined in terms of 'traits', 'features' or something else which had existed from time immemorial, and which would change or disappear once contact with other peoples increased. In this sense, the idea of 'cultural borrowings' seems to carry a negative connotation, indicating that the people concerned were losing their 'culture'. This way of thinking not only implies a dichotomy between 'change' and 'continuity', defined in terms of the amount of cultural 'traits' or 'features' which are observable and measurable: it also presupposes that things from without cannot be reappropriated if required, can constitute part of an indigenous people's notion of 'themselves'. Some ethnographical studies have provided good counter-examples to these assumptions (e.g. Errington and Gewertz 1986). In contradistinction both to this method of conceptualization, and to the argument that the Puyuma do not have their own cultural specificities

scale of sinicization, the rapid disappearance of traditional culture, and 'the higher degree of homogeneity' among the Puyuma (ibid.: 188).

due to their contact with and acceptance of Han-Chinese culture (Y-L. Huang 1994: 188), I would argue that these seemingly changing features will become significant for our understanding of the Puyuma socio-cultural phenomena, once the assumption of a 'traditional' culture, and its corollary of 'acculturation', has been seriously reconsidered (cf. Gow 1991). Likewise, the significance of 'community' will come to the fore if both the 'wider context' in which the Puyuma are involved and the internal constitution of 'the community' are taken into consideration in the same framework.

In retrospect, it is surprising to see that the issue of 'community' has not drawn the attention that it deserves from researchers. Either it has been taken for granted as the locale within which a study has been undertaken, or it has been discussed in terms of social organizations like kin group and/or age organization (Wei et al. 1954: 14-17). Kinship has certainly been the predominant concern in previous studies of the Puyuma, being as it is an important topic in Taiwanese aboriginal studies in general. Partly due to the influence of lineage theory, anthropologists in Taiwan have been primarily concerned with the issue of kinship organizations, particularly from the late 1940s through to the early 1970s (cf. C-N. Chen 1976; Y-K. Huang 1984, 1995). In the case of the Puyuma, this tendency has been well demonstrated in studies and debates about the *karumaan*.³¹

Etymologically, *karumaan* means an 'original stem family' (*ka* means 'real', *rumah* 'house', and *an* 'place'). But it also refers to a 'ritual house' (Suenari 1970: 99; cf. Chiao 1961: 12; Lacademe Imperiale 1941: 39; Mabuchi 1974, vol 2: 395).³² It is reported in these studies that there are two kinds of *karumaan*. One of them provide the locale in which rites concerned with the 'community' or with members related to it (e.g.

31. More details about *karumaan* will be discussed in Chapter 4.

32. To my knowledge, these two references are recognized in Nan-wang, although the word *karumaan* is often used to mean a 'ritual house'. The distinction is expressed in the accent. That is, when the accent is put on '*rumah*', *karumaan* refers to 'the original stem household' to which one belongs when asked (here often phrased as *karumarumaan*). However, it refers to a ritual locale when the accent is on '*an*'.

members of the men's house) are held, and is associated with a men's house. This sort of *karumaan* is superintended by a leading family. The second kind is more the personal concern of a family, however, and does not share these features (cf. Chiao 1961: 14, 31; Mabuchi 1974, vol 2: 396; Schroder 1967: 22 ff; Suenari 1970: 99; Sung 1965; Wei et al. 1954).

This distinction suggests that the first kind of *karumaan* can at least be investigated in terms of its relationship to the 'community'. But we find in previous studies that the *karumaan* was a domain almost exclusively concerned with questions of kinship, and where the characteristics of the Puyuma kinship system were discussed and hotly debated (i.e., whether it was matrilineal, bilateral or of other kinds). In other words, the *karumaan* was considered either as a sort of kin group beyond the individual family which held communal ritual activities (Chiao 1961: 13; 1989; cf. Suenari 1970), or as a ritual house belonging to a (matri-) clan where rites related to this clan were held (Sung 1964: 68). While the latter view took the *karumaan's* character as a ritual house for granted, the former one paid more heed to the grouping of people (i.e., to the 'kin relations' among them) than to the *karumaan* itself (cf. Mabuchi 1974, vol 2: 396; Shih 1985). Thus except for a few brief reports about rites conducted in a *karumaan* (Hung 1981: 78-80; Sung 1995), most studies have not told us what sorts of rites were actually carried out in the *karumaan*, if they were important, or whether they were related to other social features. Neither have we been told about the *karumaan's* relationship to the 'community', or even whether the rites were the 'community's' concern. Likewise, the *karumaan's* function as an important means by which relations between leading families within a 'community' could be defined and 'forces from without' reappropriated, was completely overlooked.

A similar situation is found in the case of age organization. Except for a few studies (cf. Cauquelin 1995), age organization was dealt with as if it was an institution isolated from other social spheres. Instead, the concern was mostly with disciplinary functions (cf. Sung 1965b). Thus, individual household and age organization were treated as separate and opposite domains of social life, in which the male Puyuma (rather than their female counterparts) moved from their own families of orientation to

the boys' houses or men's houses when they reach the suitable age. In this description, we were at best told a little of what occurred during these stages; at worst, we were left with the feeling that this institution was too general to be socio-culturally specific. Associated with this discussion, analysis of the rites carried out by age organization were confined to various 'functions', such as role expectation, increase in solidarity, the reintegration of the mourner, and so on (Hung 1978: 82; 1981; see also 1976). Even if some aspects were interesting--- for instance, the methods used for the reintegration of mourners--- they should have been understood in a different way; to wit, by reference to the issue of 'community' itself (cf. George 1996). In some studies (e.g. H-T. Lin 1994), these rites were investigated in terms of 'Hermeneutical discourse'. But they were dealt with in such a way that the rites became a sort of 'philosophical' game, and were taken out of their historical and social contexts. I would suggest that the problems these studies display can be avoided, and that more interesting things will be revealed if we take serious account of the relations of age organization to other social spheres, and particularly to the 'community' and its construction.

To sum up: many previous studies of the Puyuma have tended to deal with the social institutions within a 'community' as separate domains, and have thus failed to offer us a clear view of the features characterizing the individual 'community' (Y-L. Huang 1994: 191). However, taking the 'community' for granted is also problematic. It leaves almost unaddressed several important issues that can be raised about a people like the Puyuma, who have been involved in complicated relations with neighbouring peoples and 'invasive regimes', and who are considered both extremely 'sinicized' (C-L. Chen et al. 1955; C-S. Chen 1959, vol 3: 965) and--- simultaneously and paradoxically--- still 'traditional'. This neglect of the issue of 'community' has not only created a dichotomy between 'the indigenes' and 'the outsiders', but has also limited the development of a more dynamic approach.³³

33. In an earlier publication, Dr. Chiao noted the complex relationships in which the Puyuma of Rikavon were involved, and considered the importance of a dynamic study (1961: 7, 76-78). Nevertheless, even in a recent paper (Chiao 1985) he does not offer us a more satisfactory

I would like to draw attention to this issue of 'community', and to suggest that when more heed is paid both to the construction of 'community' and to its relationship with other social aspects, some seemingly unconnected ethnographical reports (on subjects like weaving and music, for instance) will come to the fore and prove beneficial for our understanding of the Puyuma from different perspectives. Furthermore, some variations (and debates) relating to the *karumaan* can also be resolved by investigating the constitution of the household, and its relationship to the 'original stem family' and the 'community', and by researching the rites which are held in the *karumaan* and which concern the 'community'. It is with reference to these issues that the specificity and the implications of the constitution of Nan-wang will become clear in contrast with, and in comparison to, other Puyuma settlements.

As I state above, Nan-wang is a specific case among Puyuma settlements. Its specificity is not only demonstrated by a certain linguistic distance between it and other Puyuma settlements (Y-C. Lin 1984; Ting 1978), by musical melodies (I-T. Lo 1988), and by legends regarding *Panapanayan*: Nan-wang is also frequently paralleled with the Ami, while the other main Puyuma settlements are reported to be closer to the Paiwan and the Rukai.³⁴ Apart from this, one remarkable phenomenon intrinsic to the internal constitution of Nan-wang is the existence of a sort of dual-section system. This characteristic is displayed both by the existence of two *takoban* (boys' houses) and by the relations between leading families. While some Puyuma settlements had only one *takoban* and others none at all (cf. Chiao 1961; Kasahara 1980), two *takoban* existed in

approach. For instance, while he points out various reference groups with whom the Puyuma of Rikavon have been concerned in different periods, he does not tell us which aspects of the older reference framework are active, or how they can be replaced, let alone their implications. He seems primarily to be concerned with individual (i.e. ego-centred) options and flexibility (Chiao 1973: 7; 1985: 1439-1441).

34. For instance, in the reports published under the Special Research Committee on Old Custom, Nan-wang (i.e., Pei-nan) was separated and compiled along with the Ami (See Kono 1915; Sayama 1913). By contrast, the reports on Katipol or Rikavon were put into the single volume on the Paiwan (see Sayama 1920).

Nan-wang and were not combined together until the late 1950s: each one was associated with a particular 'section'. A similar division is found in leading families and their relationships. As with other Puyuma settlements, there were several leading families in Nan-wang: each was associated with a *karumaan* and a named men's house (Utsurikawa et al. 1935; see also Mabuchi 1974, vol 2: 397). Among these (older) leading families, one (usually the oldest) was the most powerful. However, unlike its counterparts, Nan-wang was reported to lack a certain specialist called *rahan*,³⁵ who was usually responsible for affairs regarding the 'community', and was thought to be descended from the leading family concerned (cf. Suenari 1970: 99). Furthermore, while there was normally no rigid distinction between 'political' and 'ritual' privilege--- both of which were enjoyed by the oldest leading family--- such a differentiation was marked in the case of Nan-wang. That is, while the oldest family still held a privileged position regarding the rites, another leading family was recognized as *ayawan*, and as the paramount leader in the vicinity (i.e., *Pei nan ta wang*, see the quote in the beginning of this chapter). In addition to these differences, when the new millet was harvested, the leading families in Nan-wang respectively officiated facing in different directions, excepting *Panapanayan*. By contrast, the other Puyuma settlements did not share Nan-wang's varied pattern of officiations: they all included *Panapanayan* in their officiations (Utsurikawa et al. 1935).

If the leading family in the south was a 'later-arriver', and did not originate from *Panapanayan*, as some earlier studies suggested (Mabuchi *ibid*; Utsurikawa et al. *ibid.*: 358-364), then what do the 'dual-like' and other differing features³⁶ which distinguish Nan-wang from other Puyuma

35. Instead of *rahan*, the term *ragan* is used in Nan-wang. But it is used in the stage of *takovakoban* (boyhood age group), see Chapter 5.

36. Dr. Chiao (1961: 29-31) notes that in the case of Rikavon, one leading family was the paramount leader regarding the 'community's' affairs, while another one had the monopoly on rites regarding the grain. However, both these families were the oldest ones and were related to *Panapanayan* (Utsurikawa et al. 1935: 347). As Chiao says, even if a division like this existed, Rikavon's did not constitute a 'dual-like' system like the one which Nan-wang had (Chiao 1961: 76; cf. Wei 1956).

settlements indicate? I would suggest that the case of Nan-wang epitomizes the complicated ways in which aboriginal villages in this area have been constituted. But in another aspect, this case embodies a variant of the pan-Austronesian concern with 'the relations of natives and strangers, of autonomous and foreign' (Jolly 1994: 389). That is, (as I shall analyze in the following chapters), the maintenance of the superiority of the established (i.e., the older) family over its newer counterpart is not just related to the land, *alup*³⁷ (cf. Douglas 1994: 180 ff), but, more importantly, is related to the constitution of a 'community'. In other words, the concern with 'community' becomes a battlefield, in which forces, 'the indigenous' and 'the outside', are articulated. It is here that the *karumaan* (a ritual locale) constitutes an important resource on the indigenous side. Unlike the reports from other Puyuma settlements (e.g. Rikavon, see Chiao 1961, 1989; Suenari 1970), in Nan-wang only an 'original stem family' could hold a *karumaan*. Furthermore, a remarkable distinction between leading families rising from the late Ch'ing period through to the time of Japanese rule and those which arose before (although a further distinction between 'the older' and 'the newer' can be made), is that no *karumaan* was established in the former cases. Important rites regarding the 'community' are carried out in the leading *karumaan*.

These features--- somewhat in contrast with the argument favouring a 'dynamic historical process' that is contended by some studies among the Austronesian peoples and is thought to be applicable to the Austronesians in general (cf. Douglas 1994; Reuter 1992: 492)--- suggest that while some changes can occur in the status of families, there are also limitations to this process. Meanwhile, accompanying these changes in status are conflicts and contradictions, even if a sense of 'community' is retained. I will return to these general issues in the conclusion, building upon ethnographical descriptions in the following chapters about

37. *Alup* means 'hunting field' (L'academe Imperiale 1941: 6). But as a part of the word *mialup* (literally meaning 'the spirit overseeing the land', a very important spirit that is always the first one mentioned in ritual invocation), it indicates every type of land.

the case of Nan-wang. But before that, a depiction of the settlement of Nan-wang is necessary, and this brings us to the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 NAN-WANG: A SETTLEMENT AND A 'COMMUNITY'¹

The locus of study is not the object of study. Anthropologists don't study villages (tribes, towns, neighborhoods...), they study *in* villages.

(Geertz 1973: 22; emphasis in origin)

What makes representation challenging and a focus of experimentation is the perception that the "outside forces" in fact are an integral part of the construction and constitution of the "inside," the cultural unit itself, and must be so registered, even at the most intimate levels of cultural process....

(Marcus and Fischer 1986: 77)

As I have mentioned in the last chapter, there are various features that characterize Nan-wang and distinguish it from other Puyuma settlements. The most remarkable of these is the existence of a 'dual-like' division: a sort of ranked, but simultaneously competitive and complementary relationship between the two leading families (the *Pasaraat* in the north, and the *Rara* in the south). Nan-wang has also been characterized as an important aboriginal 'tribe' in previous reports (which refer to it by its former name, *Pei-nan*). The two leading families even had the right to request an annual tribute from subordinate aboriginal peoples in the vicinity, a right which was withdrawn by the Japanese authorities around 1908-1909 (Kono 1915). Even now, the Puyuma of Nan-wang have a reputation among the Puyuma as a people who continue to observe a great many 'traditional' customs and rites.²

1. Throughout this thesis the term 'settlement' refers either to a village or to a similar unit under the administrative system. Conversely, the word 'community' is meant to indicate a congregation of people who not only live in a specific location, but also establish among themselves 'a particular quality of relationship' (Williams 1983: 75-76). Using this term in quotation marks suggests that it is defined in indigenous terms. It also suggests that its referents are not fixed but are changing due to changing historical situations.

2. The Puyuma themselves often express a high degree of regard for their customs. For instance, I once heard a male Puyuma in his late fifties make fun of Mr. Sun's lament that Taiwanese aboriginal cultures are in decline, and that aborigines as a whole are in the process of becoming 'twilight people' (meaning 'dying'). In his view, such laments were

During the period of Japanese rule the former leading families of the Nanwang-based Puyuma were deprived of their privileged position, which demonstrates that changes were in train for this people. While other aspects of these changes will be discussed in their relevant contexts (e.g. the emergence of certain well-known families at the turn of the century, see Chapter 6), I will be concerned in this chapter with an important colonial legacy affecting the Puyuma of Nan-wang.

In 1929 the Japanese regime resettled the Puyuma in an ordered way on a new territory, which contrasted with their scattered configuration in the Peinan area. The new settlement was characterized by its remarkable spatial arrangement, and was decreed by the Japanese authorities as a place which the Han-Chinese were forbidden to inhabit (This remained the case until the late 1940s, when the island was taken over by the Nationalist government). In this sense, the territory that the Puyuma inhabited was a colonial creation.

However, the issues I would raise here are: how can such an invented settlement be conceptualized as a 'community' in indigenous terms--- in other words, how are the 'externally induced' features re-appropriated by the Puyuma themselves? And what would the implications be for the Puyuma, who were formerly characterized by a dual-like internal constitution? In the light of these issues I would modify Geertz's view (quoted above) and suggest that while an anthropologist may not study a settlement in itself, the 'community' in indigenous terms can be an important issue that deserves further investigation. I will also indicate how such a 'construction and constitution' can be illustrated by reference to the question of 'community' in the case of the Nanwang-based Puyuma,

applicable to cases like Pinaski, but definitely not to Nan-wang. Mr. Sun is a Puyuma from Pinaski; he is in his mid-forties, is a PhD candidate in a Belgian university, and has studied philosophical ideas in the pre-Ch'in dynasty. Sun is now teaching philosophy in a university near Taipei City, and is responsible for the publication of a magazine particularly concerned with Taiwanese aborigines, *San hai wen hua shuang yueh kan* (Taiwan Indigenous Voice, Bimonthly). Since the late 1980s he has endeavored to resume some ceremonies in Pinaski which have not been held for a long time. Recently, Mr. Sun was assigned an honorable position as a deputy director of a newly established committee in the central government concerning the aborigines of Taiwan.

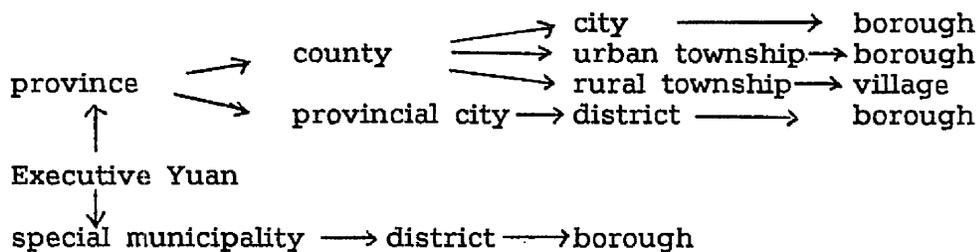
rather than by reference to the question of representation (as argued by Marcus and Fischer).

The Development of the Nan-wang Settlement: a Brief History

The contemporary settlement of Nan-wang is a basic administrative unit under the Nationalist bureaucratic system: one of 46 *li* (boroughs) of Taitung *shih* (city), Taitung *hsien* (county).³ Before October 1974 Nan-wang was only a *t'sun* (village) of Peinan *hsiang* (rural township). Since then, together with some villages that were also categorized within the Peinan rural township, Nan-wang has been annexed to what was at that time Taitung *chen* (urban township), of which it constituted a borough (With this territorial expansion, Taitung *chen* was up-graded to the level of *shih* in the following year). Today, the journey from Nan-wang to the city centre takes only ten minutes by local bus or motor bike. In addition, a provincial highway passes through the settlement and separates it into two sections.

Topographically, the Nan-wang settlement is composed of a plain that is less than 500 meters above sea level. Around this area, several important cash crops have been planted, such as sweet apple, betel leaf, and rice. The settlement itself is divided into three residential zones, all of which are along the main road: they are Lower Nan-wang, Nan-wang and Upper Nan-wang, from eastwards to westwards (hereafter Nan-wang, underlined, refers to the former territory into which the Puyuma were resettled, and is distinguished from Nan-wang, the whole settlement) (see

3. The contemporary administrative system on the island of Taiwan is as follows:



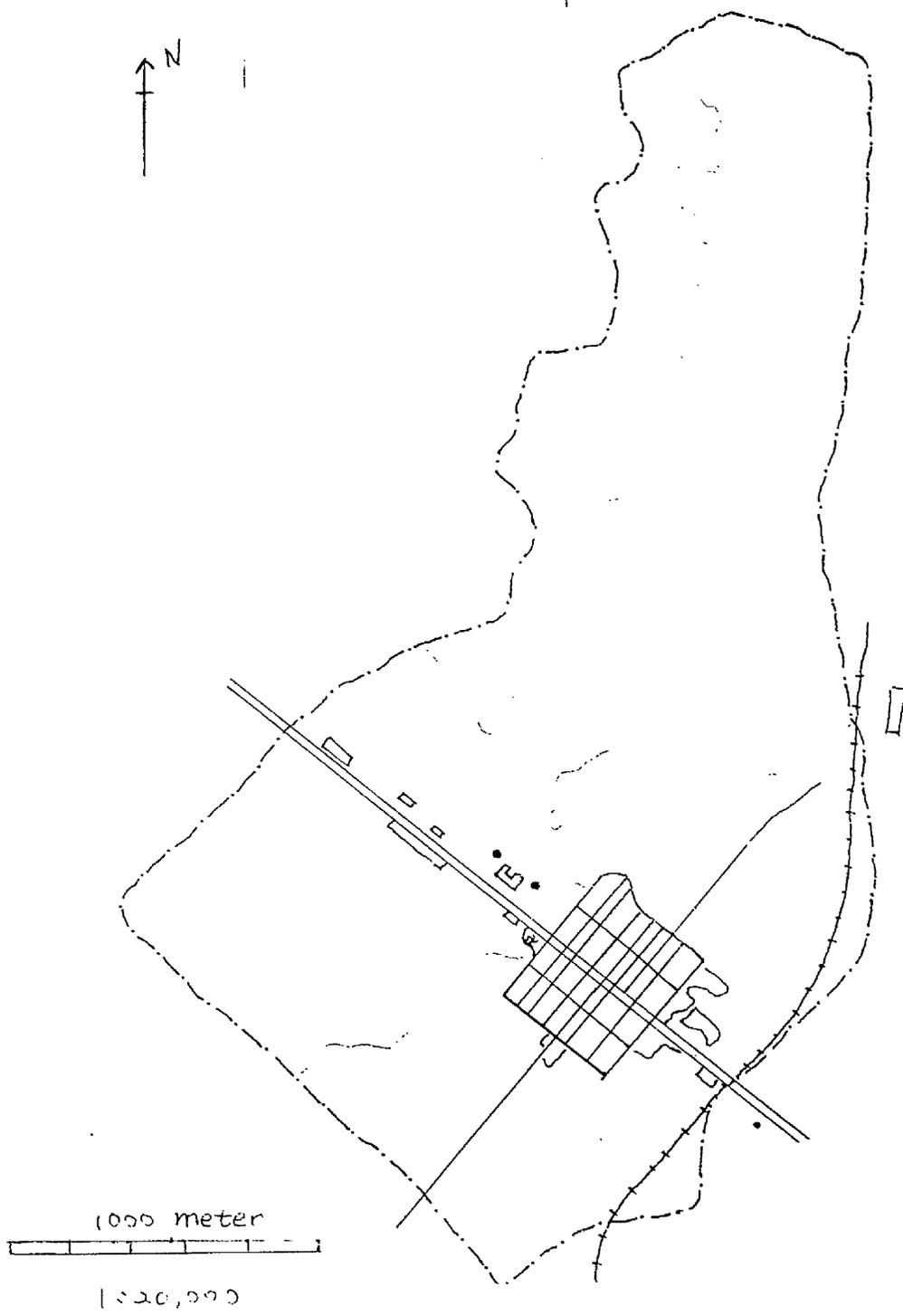
Map 3-1, 3-2). Among these three segments, Nan-wang, an area about 400 meters square, is situated in the centre, where many Puyuma households are located. Although the Han-Chinese are the newcomers, arriving in the late 1940s, they now constitute more than half of the settlement's inhabitants. By contrast, the Puyuma, the original settlers, are becoming the minority (See Table 3-1). The changing population ratio suggests that the bounded settlement created by the Japanese authorities and primarily inhabited by the Puyuma has become a settlement whose residents are of multi-ethnic origin. But simultaneously with this population change a significant process was occurring in which the resettled Puyuma tried to demarcate, expand and re-create a 'community' in their own terms, shaped by their confrontation with the changing situation.

Nan-wang--- The Settlement Established Under Japanese rule

Around 1929 and 1930 the predecessors of today's Nanwang-based Puyuma moved, under the Japanese authorities' orders, to Nan-wang. The reason given for the move was the widespread malaria which had resulted in high mortality in the Peinan area where they had lived (C-M. Tseng 1983: 21-22).⁴ As reported in previous studies and confirmed by elders whom I have interviewed, when they lived in the Peinan area the Puyuma had been distributed sporadically in three main fragments: *tatimor* (south), *tutuule* (north) and *pupuule* (west) (Sung 1965b: 119; see also Koizumi 1929: 17). In contrast with this dispersed pattern, the resettlement in Nan-wang presented a totally different picture; an organized and demarcated settlement was created, with reference to the

4. This was confirmed in a hand-written note made by an educated female Puyuma, who was a primary school teacher at that time. I am grateful to Ms. Chou-mei Wang for lending me the note and other relevant data left by her late mother. Concerning the resettlement, however, Dr. Sung, who undertook M.A. fieldwork in Nan-wang between 1963 and 1964, indicated other possible reasons for the resettlement. Even when the Puyuma lived in the Peinan area, there were already a lot of Han-Chinese present. Conflicts between the Puyuma and the Han-Chinese were unavoidable. Meanwhile, the Puyuma households were sporadically distributed. Thus, resettlement seemed to be a good method for the Puyuma to re-build their own 'community' in an integrated way (Sung 1965b: 120).

Map 3-1 The Geographical Distribution of Nan-wang *Li* (Borough)



Map 3-2 The Geographical Distribution of Lower Nan-wang, Nan-wang,
and Upper Nan-wang

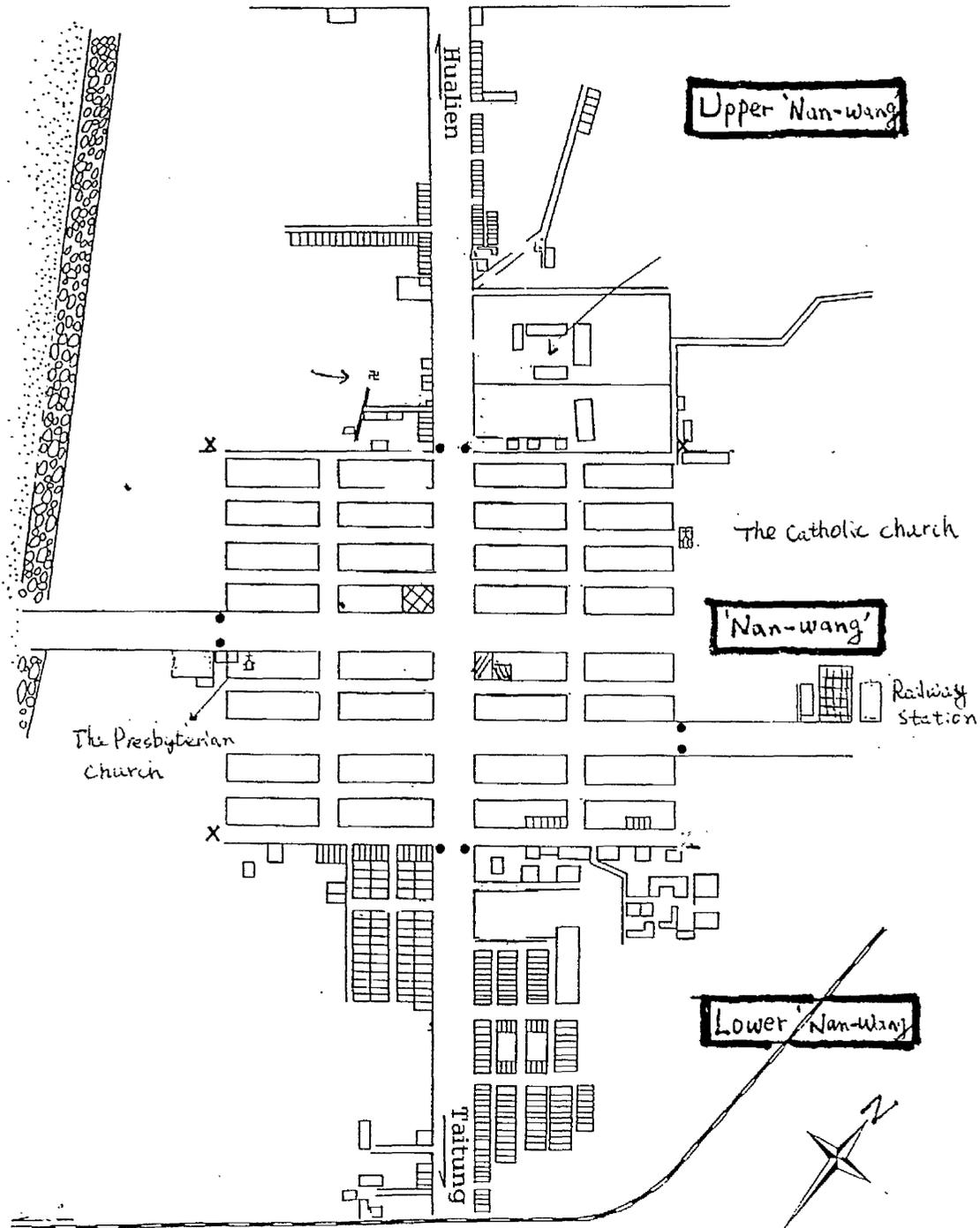


Table 3-1 The Change in Population Ratio Between Non-Han¹
and Han-Chinese

Year	Total Number		Non-Han ^a		Han ^b		%	
	Ho	Po	Ho	Po	Ho	Po	a	b
1963	316	1842	180	1158	136	684	62.87	37.13
1968	371	2116	204	1220	167	896	57.66	42.34
1969	390	2254	206	1266	184	988	56.17	43.83
1970	399	2308	211	1262	188	1046	54.68	45.32
1971	395	2285	204	1126	191	1159	49.28	50.72
1972	432	2372	218	1136	214	1236	47.89	52.11
1973 ²	442	2424	224	1149	218	1275	47.40	52.60
1974 ³	457	2382	219	1110	238	1272	46.60	53.40
1975 ³	455	2426	212	1204	243	1222	49.63	50.37
1976	470	2545	237	1326	233	1219	52.10	47.90
1977	485	2564	239	1273	246	1291	49.65	50.35
1978	543	2835	244	1290	299	1545	45.50	54.50
1979	614	3065	261	1358	353	1707	44.31	55.69
1980	639	3025	270	1357	369	1668	44.86	55.14
1981 ²	648	3011	275	1362	373	1649	45.23	54.77
1982	645	3011	275	1367	370	1644	45.40	54.60
1983	644	3044	279	1379	365	1665	45.30	54.70
1984	682	3104	282	1163	400	1941	37.47	62.53
1985	685	2996	284	1366	401	1630	45.59	54.41
1986	703	3014	292	1353	411	1661	44.89	55.11
1987	699	2937	275	1281	424	1656	43.62	56.38
1988	795	2923	281	1212	514	1711	41.46	58.54
1989	704	2908	272	1190	432	1718	40.92	59.08
1990	714	2948	287	1210	427	1738	41.04	58.96
1991	735	2982	289	1246	446	1736	41.78	58.22
1992	771	3087	301	1255	470	1832	40.65	59.35
1993	784	3108	313	1300	471	1808	41.83	58.17
1994	814	3155	322	1326	492	1829	42.03	57.97

Source: With the exception of 1963 which is quoted from Sung (1965: 17), the data was provided both by the Peinan rural township and the Taitung city registration office. It is a pity that I cannot find data from 1964 to 1968, or earlier than 1963. (Ho: Household; Po: Population).

1. The term used in official documents is *shan pao* ('brethren in the mountains'), within which a further division is made; *ping ti shan pao* ('mountain brethren living in plain areas'), and *shan ti shan pao* ('mountain brethren living in mountainous areas'). Although the category of *shan pao* in the case of Nan-wang consists of the Puyuma and other aboriginal peoples, the Puyuma are in the majority.
2. C-M. Tseng (1983: 26) lists the population in the settlement through 1970 to 1981, but there were some mistakes regarding the data of 1973 and 1981. I give the correct numbers in this Table.
3. Since 1974 Nan-wang, with other villages in the same precinct of the Peinan rural township, constituted a part of the then Taitung town.

reference to the construction of both the individual households and the settlement as a whole.

The new settlement was carefully devised by the colonial authorities. Once resettled in the new territory (or *Sakupang* in the Puyuma term), one hundred or more Puyuma households⁵ and some ten Ami households were each given (by the colonial authorities) a portion of land of equal size (0.097 hectare).⁶ Under the regime's mandate, every household had to build its house in an orderly way, all on an east-west axis.⁷ Furthermore, due to the decree that vertically located houses had to be

5. In 1932 it was reported in a publication that the new settlement consisted of one hundred and eight households, and 817 souls (Tsutsui 1932: 60). But no further information on the composition of the residents was given; neither had this been mentioned in previous studies (e.g. Sung 1965b; C-M. Tseng 1983). The information about the Ami was told to me by some elders during my fieldwork. They also told me that some of the Puyuma never went to Nan-wang. Instead, they moved towards the city centre, and today constitute a small Puyuma compound, Apapolo. I was told that this separation was due to discords between certain powerful Puyuma. Thus one antagonist led his family, near kin and some followers to Taitung city. Some other elders gave another explanation: that is, afraid of the enforced corvee system, these Puyuma went to the city centre which had been inhabited by the Han-Chinese. The compulsory labor service was only put into practice by the Japanese authorities among aboriginal settlements in the plain areas. This sort of labor recruitment occupied a lot of the aborigines' time (about six months out of a year), and they were paid much less than their labor deserved. A lack of agricultural labor, accompanied by the levy in cash and the exorbitant rate of interest on the money they borrowed from the Han-Chinese finally impelled many aborigines who were in debt to sell their land to the Han-Chinese (T-Y. Cheng 1968: 31).

6. Primarily because the Japanese authorities did not solve the problem of land rights in this territory, many lawsuits occurred later among the Puyuma themselves. Otherwise, a great deal of the land in Nan-wang was registered in the name of the above-mentioned Puyuma-run commissary, which caused problems for the Puyuma when they applied for planning permission to rebuild their houses (cf. C-M. Tseng 1983: 22).

7. Some elders told me that when they lived in the Peinan area not all their houses were built in this direction: some households' front doors faced the road, regardless of the direction. However, it is certain that with the exception of a men's house (i.e., *KinutuI*), all important houses, such as *karumaan*, *takoban*, *parakwan* and *lalauinan* (female specialists' houses) were built eastwards (cf. Sung 1965b: 115). In addition, I was told that the ordinary households were built eastwards if possible.

built in a straight line, the residents (particularly those living in the rear lanes) could see what their counterparts living in the front lanes were doing, once both the back and front doors of their houses were opened (Nowadays this circumstance is often recollected by the elders in a humorous way). Accompanying this remarkable residential arrangement, the cattle raised by the individual Puyuma households were penned at both ends (northward and southward) of the new settlement; in other words, concentrated in the *puagungan* (*gung* is the term for 'cattle'), rather than within the territory.

Like the strictly-ordered individual households, the locations of several official buildings showed the colonial regime's imprint. These buildings were of two kinds: those located in the central part of Nan-wang were basically concerned with the Puyuma themselves; by contrast, the buildings that would also be used by neighbouring aboriginal peoples (including the Puyuma) were located outside the boundaries of Nan-wang. Included in the first category were a police station, its associated fire station, and the meeting square, *wakasayan*,⁸ ('togetherness': this literally means 'the place where the people are all brought together'. In this square stand the settlement's present meeting house, *Nan-wang sheh ch'u huo tung chung hsin*, and both the boys' and the men's houses). At one time, there were also two (now demolished) official departments in the vicinity: a clinic for healing and preventing malaria, and an association-like commissary. The former was the charge of a male Han-Chinese, who lived nearby the clinic with his Puyuma wife. The commissary was organized by the Puyuma themselves as an economic cooperative immediately after they resettled in Nan-wang. Its main function was to provide the Puyuma with cheap, necessary facilities, and thereby stave off the need to sell their land to the Han-Chinese, to whom they had

8. Such a meeting place was first introduced under the Japanese colonial authorities when the Puyuma lived in the Peinan area. After the Puyuma resettled in Nan-wang, *wakasayan* was built north of the police station. A few years later, it was rebuilt in today's location. In turn, the household formerly occupying this land moved to a place across a lane from this square (cf. Map 3-3). Unlike the boys' and men's houses, *wakasayan* was a place which Puyuma of both sexes could visit.

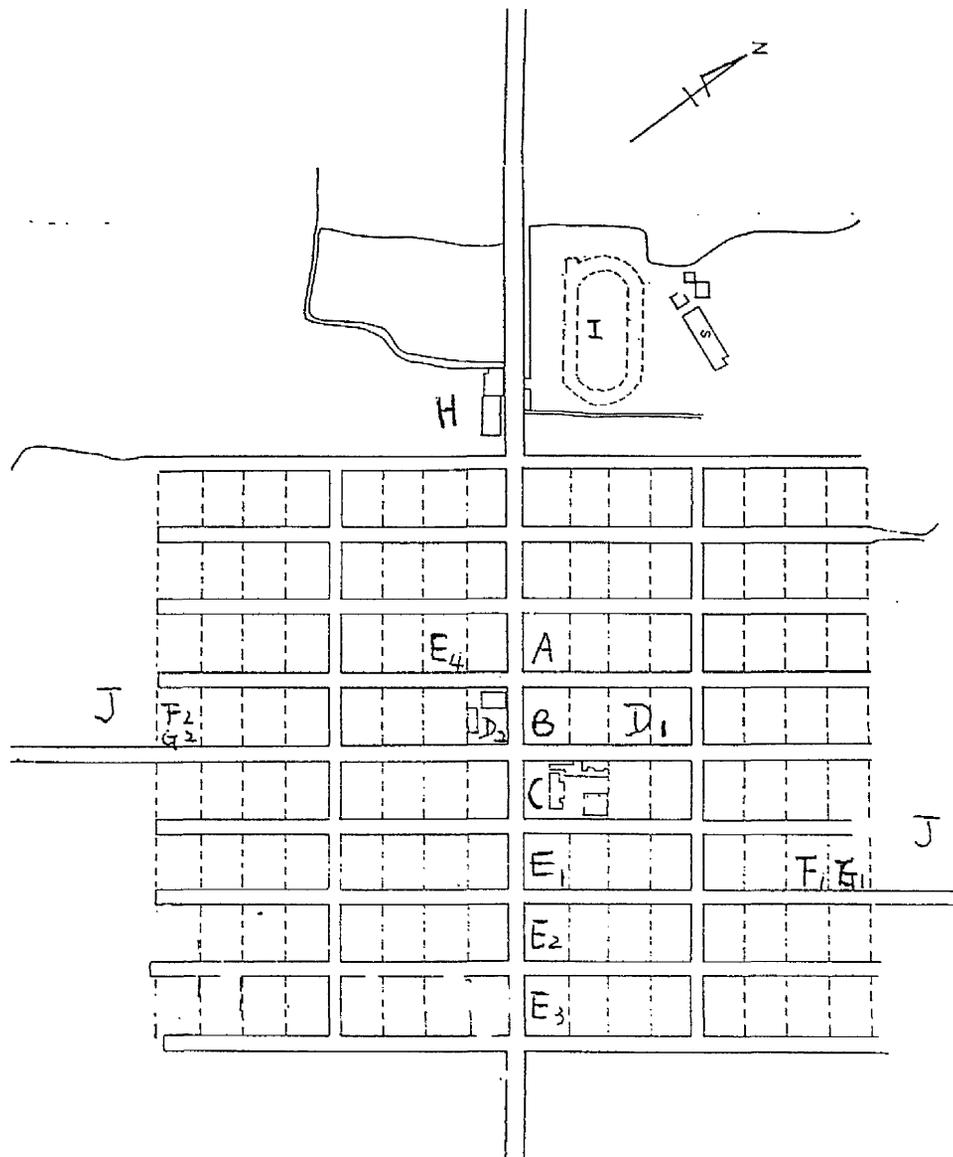
accumulated substantial debts due to an exorbitant rate of interest (T-Y. Cheng 1968: 31-32; Shidehara 1931: 9; C-M. Tseng 1983: 22).

In contrast with these buildings in the centre are those built just outside the territory of Nan-wang: a primary school, whose predecessor was the Peinan Aboriginal Public School; and a junior high school that was built in 1968 and is adjacent to the primary school in the west. Over the main road, opposite the primary school, there was once a large meeting house, the *kaikan*, now also demolished. Purpose-built by the Japanese authorities, the *kaikan* was a meeting place for the Puyuma of Nan-wang, the Puyuma, and other aboriginal peoples in the vicinity, whenever the regime felt it necessary to bring all these aborigines together to give them instructions.

Accompanying the orderly individual households and the well-designed official buildings in the new settlement were the re-location places of several well-known families, such as the *Konkwang* and the *Masikat*, families which came to prominence around the turn of the century. All of these were given land near the centre of the new settlement or the main road (Map 3-3). Their locations, and those of the official buildings concerning the Puyuma themselves (e.g. the police station and *wakasayan*), illustrated the colonist's efforts to create a new method of organization which would keep the Puyuma under their control. We can appreciate the significance of this spatial design if we compare these colonial buildings and their deputies' with the indigenous ones, viz., those of the indigenous leading families (the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara*), the *karumaan* they have superintended, the *takoban* and the *parakwan*--- all of them located in the entrances of the new territory.

If the colonial regime's interventions concerning the interior of the new settlement were expressed in a centre-oriented spatial design,⁹ then the creation of a settlement isolated and bounded in its external expression was another aspect. The Han-Chinese were forbidden to live in Nan-wang, with the sole exception of the man in charge of the clinic and his Puyuma wife. The non-Puyuma serving in the local school and

9. Some cases reported by a male Puyuma indicated interventions by the local police officers, see T-Y. Cheng (1968).

Map 3-3 The Spatial Design of Nan-wang Under Japanese Rule

- | | |
|---|---|
| A: Association-like commissary | E4: The <i>Punapunan</i> (<i>Mororon</i>) |
| B: Clinic | F1: The <i>Pasaraat</i> and <i>Karumaan</i> |
| C: Police Station and Fire Department | F2: The <i>Rara</i> and <i>Karumaan</i> |
| D1: The Former Meeting House (<i>Wakasayan</i>) | G1: Boys' and Men's Houses |
| D2: The Later Meeting House (<i>wakasayan</i>) | G2: Boys' and Men's Houses |
| E1: The <i>Konkwang</i> (<i>Pakiwaya</i>) | H: Big Meeting Place (<i>Kaikan</i>) |
| E2: The <i>Masikat</i> (<i>Kerarao</i>) | I: Aboriginal Public School |
| E3: The <i>Masikat</i> (<i>Smaliao</i>) | J: Cattle byre |

other offices were distributed around the dormitories that were built outside, rather than inside, the 400-meters-square territory. Even female Puyuma who had married into Han-Chinese families and tried to return to Nan-wang with their families of procreation were forbidden from living in Nan-wang, but built their houses beyond this ambit: so we can see that Nan-wang was created by the colonial authorities as an orderly, closed and bounded settlement. When the Ami later moved out of the area,¹⁰ Nan-wang became a settlement that consisted exclusively of Puyuma households (except for the above Han-Chinese case). It was around the late 1940s and the early 1950s that Nan-wang began to open to Han-Chinese residents.

The Openness of Nan-wang to Han-Chinese since 1945

During my fieldwork I was well acquainted with several Han-Chinese who had lived in Nan-wang for a long time. I was informed in conversation with them that only a few Han-Chinese had lived in Nan-wang between 1945 and 1950. One of them was a secretary of the rural town government: he received his land from the younger brother of the then village head, who had owed him a debt. Cases like this, however, were later prevented by a native representative. This representative (I was informed by my Han-Chinese acquaintances) was very concerned about the increasing trend of selling land to the Han-Chinese, and tried to counteract it.¹¹ 'If the representative knew that this sort of trade was being negotiated,' reported a Han-Chinese informant, 'the Puyuma family concerned would be fined, and the trade would be called off. Therefore,

10. As explained to me by some elders, the main factor impelling the Ami to leave was fear of the compulsory labor service put into practice by the Japanese authorities in Nan-wang. The elders added that another factor might have been the Ami's difficulties in adapting to the customs observed by the Puyuma, the majority. Even today I often hear complaints from marrying-in Puyuma that there are a great many regulations for behaviour in Nan-wang, in contrast with their native settlements.

11. According to a pamphlet specifically compiled in 1994 when the Puyuma's two annual rites, the *Vasivas* and the *Mangayau*, constituted part of a National Festival of Culture and Arts, the Puyuma had planned to move away from Nan-wang (ca. 1958), because of the influences increasingly introduced from outside at that time.

the land was often sold by the Puyuma to the Han-Chinese in secret'. However, this prohibition was not useful to Puyuma who were in debt and needed money: so a feasible alternative was adopted. A Puyuma in his early sixties told me: 'once the news is out that a Puyuma household is preparing to sell its land to the Han-Chinese, the representative would tell any other Puyuma in need of land to contact the Puyuma landowner. In this way, it was expected that the number of Han-Chinese residents in Nan-wang could be limited'. The following instance is my informant's own experience and vividly exemplifies the strategy,

Although my father is a Han-Chinese, my mother is a Puyuma. We lived in Taitung, and when we tried to return to Nan-wang, we were prevented from doing so by the Japanese authorities: so we moved to a place just outside the first lane lying on the eastern side of Nan-wang. Around 1952-1953, my parents were told by the representative that a Puyuma family was preparing to sell their land. In order to prevent the land from being bought by the Han-Chinese, the representative told us this news. Thus, my parents bought this land and built our house on it.

A report from a Han-Chinese tells of the same situation but from the opposite side, showing us how the Han-Chinese lived in Nan-wang in the early 1950s. This middle-aged Han-Chinese runs a grocery store. As he says,

My father was a civil servant in the rural town government until the early 1950s. Due to the fact that he would be retiring in a couple of years, my father considered buying a piece of land in Nan-wang. But at that time the plans had firstly to be accepted by the Puyuma committee, consisting of the head and some elders. In order to persuade them, my father bought a great deal of food and wine, and had asked them for permission several times. Finally, the committee allowed my father to buy the land so that he could live within Nan-wang. Since then, we have resided here (i.e., the place where the former Puyuma-run commissary was built).

However, the efforts made by the representative ultimately proved to be in vain. 'Due to the fact that the Puyuma were increasingly in debt, the land-trade could not be halted, particularly after the death of the representative in the early 1960s', I was told by a Han-Chinese. As a result, the Puyuma either sold all their distributed land and moved out of Nan-wang, or sold a portion of it and kept the rest for themselves.

If Nan-wang was a territory which the Japanese authorities (and later the indigenous leader) had tried to shield from the incursion of Han-Chinese residents, both Lower Nan-wang and Upper Nan-wang were places where no such limitation was imposed on the Han-Chinese residents, particularly from the mid-1940s onwards. Today, both segments are almost exclusively occupied by Han-Chinese. Some younger Puyuma (who have recently left their parents' homes) also buy houses there, if they want to stay in the vicinity.

In time, the expansion of the Han-Chinese increasingly extended to Nan-wang itself, particularly after the death of the representative. Nowadays, Han-Chinese residents not only occupy the main areas along both sides of the main road: they, rather than the Puyuma themselves, run the businesses that provide various daily necessities for the settlement's residents, such as electric implements, breakfast staples, stationery goods, fruit, vegetable, meat, and so on.

Recently, some Puyuma in Nan-wang have extended their older one-storey houses into two-or-three storey ones. And due mainly to the large expenditure incurred in their construction, some of them have cooperated with the Han-Chinese. That is, once finished, these new buildings are often equally divided between the Puyuma (the land owners) and the Han-Chinese (who have paid for their rebuilding). The latter often re-sell their shares to other Han-Chinese, or other new-comers. Because the new houses are often multi-storey, the same area of land now has the capacity for three or more houses than it was possible to build before. So, while the Puyuma still live in Nan-wang, not only are their living spaces narrower (though they may be higher if their new houses are two-or-three-storey), more of the newly built houses close to theirs are likely to be occupied by non-Puyuma residents.

To sum up: in 1929 Nan-wang was founded by the colonial regime as a sort of bounded and closed settlement. However, this closure has not operated since the early 1950s, particularly since the death of a certain native representative. As a result, the later-arriving Han-Chinese not only developed both the Upper Nan-wang and the Lower Nan-wang segments, but also occupied a lot of land in Nan-wang. But what are the implications of this movement 'from closure to openness' for the Puyuma themselves?

Furthermore, what have the consequences of the 'closure' created by the colonial regime been for the Puyuma, who have been characterized by their internal 'dual-like' constitution? In other words, the issues are: How is a settlement that has been imposed from above conceptualized and re-appropriated by the Puyuma as a 'community' of some sort? And, once formed, what were the repercussions for the Puyuma when various aspects of it continued to change? Nan-wang itself not only constitutes part of a settlement under the Nationalist government's administrative system, but also ^{consists} of a great many Han-Chinese residents.

Some studies among the Puyuma have certainly mentioned the establishment of the settlement during the period of Japanese rule, but they take the closure of the new territory for granted, and leave unsaid its implications for the Puyuma. Instead, they suppose that any significant changes began in the 1960s. For instance, in his research on the Puyuma's migration, C-M. Tseng notes that 'In the process of its changing position in the administrative system, we may discern that Nan-wang where the Puyuma have lived is being transformed from an *isolated indigenous village* into a unit that constitutes part of a peasant society. Recently, it has become part of an urban society [because it was annexed by the then Taitung urban township, which was later upgraded to Taitung city]. The process itself provides an important case for research into the modernization of aboriginal societies' (C-M. Tseng 1983: 25; emphasis added). Although he provides some interesting information about the Puyuma during this period, Tseng has dealt with the conditions before the resettlement in 1929) as if they were merely background.¹² Worse than that are the arguments that presuppose a dichotomy between tradition and modernization. In contrast with Tseng's, Sung's studies (1964, 1965a, b) pay more attention to describing the changes that had happened to the Puyuma before they resettled in Nan-wang. For instance, Sung mentions that the relationship between the two greatest leading

12. Apart from this, Tseng scarcely mentions how the indigenes dealt with the migration. In other words, he discusses the repercussions of the migration on the Puyuma of Nan-wang in a way that is too general to enable us to understand its real significance (cf. C-M. Tseng 1983: 39-41).

families, the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara* (exemplifying the 'dualistic' division), had been occurring before the Puyuma ever came to Nan-wang. But Sung also depicts the changes as background, rather than analyzing them in terms of themes that can cast light both on the nature of these changes and their implications for the Puyuma. In contrast to these viewpoints, I would argue that the significance of the aforementioned 'background', viz., the creation of a settlement, will come to the fore once the issue of the construction of 'community' is taken into consideration.

Nan-wang--- A 'Community' Recognized, Expanded, and Re-created

Quite apart from the change to a more regimented dwelling-place from their earlier, dispersed distribution, other alterations were on the way for the Puyuma. For instance, various customs were changed or modified after they took up residence in the new settlement. One example is the indoor burial custom. As some elders recollect, this custom was still observed in the Peinan area even though the Japanese authorities had decreed in 1904 that the dead should be buried in the graveyard (cf. Fann 1995). But it was unequivocally prohibited when the Puyuma came to live in Nan-wang; instead, the Puyuma were to undertake burials in the public cemetery. In addition, there were some changes regarding the distribution of households. To take the *Pasaraat* families as an example; while in the Peinan area they were all on the north side of the main road, only the house of the original stem household that was (and is) in charge of the *karumaan* was built near the northern entrance when the Puyuma lived in Nan-wang. The rest were distributed around the land on the south side.

However, in my view a more significant consequence of the resettlement in Nan-wang concerns the formation of a 'community' in indigenous terms. In other words, Nan-wang was not just a geographical and social referent created by the colonial regime. It was also made sense of by the Puyuma as a 'community', which in turn had its consequences for other indigenous notions and acts (cf. A.P. Cohen 1985). In other words, while the decree forbidding the Han-Chinese from living within the new settlement certainly reinforced a sense of difference by which the

Puyuma distinguished themselves from the Han-Chinese, and while the clear-cut territory provided the Puyuma with a clearer geographical reference for the *saliki* ('boundary') than they had in the Peinan area,¹³ it was also through their notion(s) of *zekal* ('community'), *saliki*, and the associated rules for behaviour that the Puyuma differentiated the new territory from the other Puyuma settlements.

A 'Community' Recognized and Delimited

Boundaries..., once conceptualized, are given meaning and sentiment by those who reside within them. They acquire a life of their own. Conceived as culturally distinct, these social constructions persist and therefore shape and influence people's behavior and daily practices. They are also available to be reformulated and/or politicized according to specific politically and economically generated circumstances.

(Basch, Schiller and Blanc 1994:33)

As I mention above, the orderly spatial arrangement, the clear-cut, closed boundary, and in particular the locations of the well-known families which emerged at the turn of the century, all characterized Nanwang as a colonial creation. However, the fact that the Puyuma re-built their *karumaan*, *takoban*, *parakwan* and *dirwazekal* ('the sacred stone representing the *zekal* "community"') in the new territory also demonstrated that the new settlement was also a *zekal* ('community') in the Puyuma's view.

For the Puyuma, *zekal*--- the Puyuma word comparable to 'community' in the sense I have defined above (see note 1)--- means a territory within which the Puyuma live. This connotation is suggested by two other words that are derived from and intimately related to it: *dirwazekal* and *sazekalan*. *Dirwazekal* means a sacred stone that should be installed near

13. The existence of this boundary was dubious when the Puyuma lived in the Peinan area. During my fieldwork I have asked the elders about the *saliki* in this area, but they cannot clearly indicate its status. Such responses seem reasonable when we consider that the predecessors of the Nanwang-based Puyuma had moved several times before they arrived in the Peinan area (ca. 1870-1880) (Sung 1965b).

both the boys' and men's houses.¹⁴ *Sazekalan* consists of the prefix *sa* (meaning 'one') and the suffix *an* (meaning 'location'). In other words, *sazekalan* refers to a congregation of people who constitute the same 'community'. In addition, *sazekalan* is a word often used to underline the fact that it is only by belonging to the same 'community' that people are invested with certain shared characteristics. As a corollary, it is emphasized that people should follow various rules governing their behaviour or there will be serious repercussions for the 'community'. Thus a line is drawn between 'us' and 'them'. In a nutshell, a 'community' in Puyuma terms demonstrates interconnected relationships between people (both living and dead) and their dwelling-place. On the other hand, while the *dirwazekal* represents a key constituent of the *zekal*, the *zekal* itself is also clearly demonstrated by and associated with the notion of *saliki* ('boundary'), by which any malevolent force is prevented from entering the *zekal* to menace the inhabitants.

The Puyuma to my knowledge often express their concerns with the place where they live, viz., the *zekal*, in terms of its *saliki* even if the emphasis is only on potential negative repercussions. In a way, the *saliki* provides a referent by which the Puyuma delimit the place where they live and differentiate it from the outside. However, the *saliki* does not simply provide clarification of mental attitudes: it also entails a good many rules for behaviour. For instance, the geographical referents of the *saliki* must not only be purified annually when the new year is approaching; the *saliki* is also the boundary beyond which all potentially polluted

14. Some Puyuma tried to explain to me what the word meant. They told me that *dirwa*, the prefix of the word, means 'making it as if'. It seems to refer only to male Puyuma, considering its location (near both the men's and the boys' houses), and the fact that the rite is carried out there (when the date of both the *Vasivas* and the *Mangayau* is approaching) (see Chapter 7). However, the rite carried out for the stones is also a part of a series of ritual practices in which the Puyuma (particularly the specialists) annually purify the 'community' and mark the coming of the new year. Thus, it suggests that the *dirwazekal* is also the concern of the 'community'. This feature indicates the significance of the age organization: while it does not refer to the 'community' as a whole (excluding the female members), it certainly constitutes an important aspect of the 'community' (many important affairs related to the 'community' were discussed here).

objects should be prevented from entering. For instance, when bereaved families return from the riverside where they have been purged of the pollution caused by the death of a family member--- or, more appropriately, a household member--- certain acts must be undertaken on arrival at the *saliki*, by which malevolent forces are believed to be prevented from following them into the *zekal*. Preventive acts such as these are particularly and remarkably demonstrated in cases of bad death (e.g. car accidents, suicides, and so on), in which the bereaved families and the accompanying people cannot re-enter the *zekal* unless a series of rites have been conducted by specialists at a place that is some distance from the boundary of the 'community'. Even during the three-day purificatory 'wandering' through uninhabited areas, during which the bereaved families are obliged to spend each night in a different place, they cannot pass through other 'communities' (see Chapter 7).

The notion of the *saliki* with reference to the *zekal* not only displays an analogy between the *zekal* and the *rumah* ('house, household'), but also suggests the important role occupied by the *rumah* in defining a person as a *sazekalan* ('a member of community').

In a way the *zekal* is the *rumah* ('house') writ large; conversely, the latter is an epitome of the former. For instance, when I have tried to determine the kin relations among a congregation of people on occasions such as marriage celebrations, the replies from the Puyuma are often expressed in the following way: 'There are no differences between us. All the Puyuma of Nan-wang (or of the same *zekal*) belong to the same family (*sarumanan*).' This analogy also appears in the annual rites in which the specialists bless the *zekal* for the coming new year, preventing misfortune and malevolent forces from entering it. Included in their spell are the paired phrases, '*muki savakan, muki rumaan*', spoken as they stand at the boundary of the 'community'. Etymologically, *muki* means 'entering', and *savak* 'inside'. When the phrases refer to the *rumah*, they actually mean the *zekal*.

The case of marriage provides another remarkable instance revealing the analogy between *rumah* and *zekal*. If a person from another place marries into a Puyuma household in the *zekal*, for instance, the place from which the marrying-in person comes will be verbally invoked before

the ancestral tablets, whether or not this person is a Puyuma (or a Puyuma). On such an occasion, the phrase used before the place-name is *sirumaan* ('not the same house'; literally meaning 'not the same *zekal*'). This expression is not necessary, however, if the person is from the same *zekal*. These instances suggest that living within the same territory--- that is, having a house there--- constitutes a basic criterion by which people can be identified as *sazekalan* or not.¹⁵

Do these indigenous notions about the *zekal* and *saliki* and their associations with *rumah*, *sazekalan*, and rules for behaviour help us to understand how the Puyuma have constructed a 'community' from a settlement imposed on them by the Japanese regime? In a way, the new settlement manifests the indigenous notions of *zekal* and, in particular, that of *saliki*. Following Basch et al (1994: 33), I would suggest that once a *zekal* or a *saliki* is conceptualized, its plainly geographical referent acquires 'a life' of its own, shaping and influencing people's behaviour and daily practices, and is 'available to be reformulated and/or politicized according to specific politically and economically generated circumstances'. In this sense, far from being a universal notion, the *saliki* or the *zekal* is realized and displayed in a specific form both in a certain historical context (e.g. the period of Japanese rule) and a specific socio-cultural milieu (i.e., relating to indigenous notions and acts in other spheres). If so, the Puyuma's notions about the *zekal*, the *saliki*, and so on would have been re-shaped and re-conceptualized to address the changing conditions--- for instance, the expansion of Nan-wang to constitute a part of the whole Nan-wang settlement, the increasing migration of the younger generation, and so on.

15. Here the cases of 'bad death' shed light on the intimate connections between *rumah* and *zekal*. In former times, when corpses were usually buried under one's house, the corpse of the person who had died a bad death was buried outside. If such a misfortune occurred, a regulation was imposed on the *sazekalan*, whether or not they were kin, forbidding them from going to the land or to work. Instead, once they heard the news, they would prepare a store of firewood, water and rice, and so on. Moreover, the *zekal* concerned was isolated from any communication with others during the three-day observance (see Kono 1915).

An Expanded 'community'

The relationship between a settlement created from outside by the regime and a 'community' defined in indigenous terms is complicated. That is, when the Puyuma shaped Nan-wang as a *zekal* and re-appropriated the imposed circumstances in their own ways,¹⁶ a significant, if implicit, transformation for the Puyuma's construction of a *zekal* in the new settlement was simultaneously occurring. In my view, the latter feature deserves our attention, because it will shed light on the problems that have confronted the Puyuma in their efforts to build a *zekal*. In other words, while the former dual-like divisions have become blurred, and have even been obliterated in some respects, these characteristics simultaneously make it problematic for the Puyuma to attempt to construct a *zekal* in a manner that the inherent dual-like differentiations will disappear.

Let me further describe this complicated situation. Based on previous studies (see Sung 1965b; Utsurikawa et al 1936: 358-360; Wei 1956) and my own fieldwork in Nan-wang since 1986, the features characterizing the dual-like division can be summarized as follows:

(1) According to legend, the ancestors of the three leading families in the north section (*ya-ami*)--- the *Pasaraat*, the *Balangato*, and the *Sapayan*--- were siblings, and were (particularly the *Pasaraat*) the first residents of *Tongtongan* (a place located on Nan-wang's northeastern side). Conversely, the other three leading families in the south section (*ya-timul*), namely, the *Rara*, the *Arasis* and the *Longatan*, were late-comers.

16. Take the example of the official buildings--- during my fieldwork I often observed how the Puyuma appropriated or made use of them. For instance, due to the installment of a *pinamuder* ('talisman') inside one's house, a person cannot immediately re-enter his (her) house when visiting a bereaved family, or problems might ensue for the person or his (her) family, so the government's buildings became shelters where the Puyuma could stay for a time, even for a night. As they explained, no *pinamuder* were installed there (see Chapter 4). Between 1993 and 1995, the government's new meeting house was believed to be related to a series of misfortunes which happened to the younger Puyuma. The new building had been rebuilt and expanded from the former men's house, whose ground floor is still used as a men's house. 'It is too grand--- it frightens our ancestors, unlike the simpler, older type of men's house', some Puyuma explained. On other occasions, it was argued that both men's and boys' houses should be built at the entrances to the 'community', and not in the central place as they are today.

Not only were they not related to their counterparts in the north, they were also not related to each other. The above complexity was also demonstrated by the fact that they officiated in different directions after the millet harvest. Each leading family had its own *karumaan*, and was associated with one named *parakwan* (men's house) (Utsurikawa et al. 1935: 360-362; see Table 3-1);

(2) It seems that the three families in each section had their own ranked relations. That is, the *Pasaraat* family was (and is) the greatest in the northern section, whereas the *Rara* was (and is) its southern counterpart. Demonstrating the two-section division, there were two *takoban* (boys' houses): one in the northern section, the other in the south.¹⁷ Although nameless, they were often addressed as *takoban i-ami* and *takoban i-timul*, if necessary. In contrast with the case of Nan-wang, in other *Puyuma* settlements there was only one *takoban* or none at all, while there were a number of men's houses respectively associated with each leading family. The 'dual-like' division was (and is) also demonstrated in the erection of two *dirwazekal*. One is now erected in a spot where the men's house of *Patabang* and the boys' house in the north section once stood. The other is near the men's house of *Karunun* and the boys' house in the south section. The co-existence of two *dirwazekal* is significant, because there was (and is) only one *dirawzekal* in all the other *Puyuma* settlements. Furthermore, the *karumaan* respectively held by the two greatest families were the main ritual locales, where the rites with respect to the 'community' were conducted. In this respect, they co-existed, and neither encompassed the other;

(3) A ranked relationship exists between the two greatest families (the *Pasaraat* in the north and the *Rara* in the south): the *Pasaraat* family, especially in terms of the *karumaan*, being greater than its southern counterpart. In other words, the *Rara* family, though prominent, is still second to the *Pasaraat*, particularly with respect to the rites concerned with millet, the 'community' and other occasions (see Chapters 4, 6 and 7).

Considering the above features, the dual-like division suggests the coexistence of ranked relations with the complementary and competitive ones.¹⁸ This characteristic is clearly manifested in the case of

17. The *takoban* were built close to the greatest *parakwan* on each side; the *Patabang* in the north, and the *Karunun* in the south. By contrast, the other four *parakwan* stood alone.

18. The dual-like division is also displayed in a territorial aspect. For instance, as recollected by some elders, during the *Mangayau* rite, if members of men's houses went to the mountains in the north, the *miyaputan* (the initiated grade of the men's houses) of the northern side (viz., *Patabang*) could kick the cooking implements and put out the fires, if they found that their counterparts of the southern section had cooked before they had. If the male *Puyuma* went southwards, the *miyaputan* of

Table 3-2 The Constitution of Leading Families in Nan-wang and Their Associated Features

Location	Leading Families	Men's House	Direction of Officiation	Boys' House	The Greater Family
Ya Ami	<i>Pasaraat</i>	<i>Patabang</i>	<i>Tu-luan-shan</i>	<i>takoban i ami</i>	<i>Pasaraat</i>
	<i>Balangato</i>	<i>Kinutul</i>	<i>Tu-luan-shan</i>		
	<i>Sapayan</i>	<i>Balubalu</i>	Orchid Is.		
Ya Timul	<i>Rara</i>	<i>Karunun</i>	Orchid Is.	<i>takoban i timul</i>	<i>Rara</i>
	<i>Arasis</i>	<i>Gamogamot</i>	Green Is.		
	<i>Longatan</i>	<i>Kinaburao</i>	not clearly		

Source: Utsurikawa et al (1935), Sung (1965b).

takovakoban (the boyhood age group). As some elders told me (see Sung 1965b), in former times when boys belonging to the boys' houses of two sides crossed the road during the *Vasivas* rite, they wrestled with and chased after each other. Usually the boys' house of the defeated side was destroyed, and would be rebuilt or repaired in the following year. The

the men's house in the south (i.e., the extant *Karunun*) would do the same thing to their northern counterparts if the latter had cooked before they did. Although this situation does not occur today, the case of the initiation of a *tamalamao* ('shaman') and its practices still demonstrate this territorial division. That is, before starting her (his) career the newly initiated *tamalamao* must visit one of the two greatest leading families in which, helped by her (his) tutor and accompanied by other *tamalamao*, s/he practices the invocation and some associated procedures. Whichever leading family s/he must visit depends on where s/he lives. That is, s/he will go to the *Pasaraat* family that is in charge of the *karumaan* if s/he lives in the north side. On the contrary, s/he will go to the *Rara* family if s/he lives in the south. Likewise, where s/he gets the bamboo and installs it inside her/his small and separate house, *lalauinanan*, depends on which section s/he lives. As I have been told by some *tamalamao*, sometimes they will use a specific kind of grass used in the purification rites which is seldom found in urban areas. If the clients live south of Nan-wang (referring to the whole island), the grass is collected in the southern part of Nan-wang. It will be collected in the north if they live in the northern sector.

elders explained that the wrestling had ritual implications (*zegiyan*), signifying that the millet would grow straight and well, and an expectation that a good harvest would ensue in the following year.

The dual-like features seem to have been blurred when the Puyuma lived in the Peinan area, as Sung notes. Not only were some men's houses in decline; the formerly demarcated geographical distribution of households (i.e., a dual division) and other social aspects were also changing (Sung 1965b: 119-120).¹⁹ Nevertheless, the dual-like division seems to have been deep-seated.

Nowadays the Puyuma call the Peinan area *Pinirumaan* (literally meaning 'the place which they once inhabited'), or sometimes *Hinan* (the pronunciation of the word 'Peinan' in Japanese). But it is *Vanlang* that requires our attention. *Vanlang* (which lies within the precincts of today's Peinan borough, east of Lower Nan-wang) is the place where the Puyuma lived before they left for the Peinan area to escape the malaria rampant there at that time. It is the place where the Puyuma are reported to have developed their 'dual-like' division, including the institutionalization of the boys' and men's houses. It was also during the period when they lived in *Vanlang* that the Puyuma established themselves as the paramount sovereigns of the vicinity (Sung 1965b: 117-119). Furthermore, the significance of this place is implied in the pair of words, *Vaiwan* and *Vanlang*, that are used in ritual invocations by the specialists when they go to certain places outside the *zekaL*. During these rituals they mention that they are from Puyuma, and that their spells refer to *Vaiwan* and *Vanlang*.

19. Take the example of the constitution of the men's house. Sung argues that members of a men's house had been composed of male adult Puyuma who were of the same 'matri-clan', and that in the Peinan area, however, different considerations were added. In other words, a man would have his own option, or have followed in his father's footsteps and participated in his father's (rather than his mother's brother's) men's house (Sung 1965b: 120, 127). During my fieldwork I tried to clarify this position, but I heard from the elders that the decisions (including those in their own cases) were made by the youth's parents (See Chapter 5). Due to scanty data, I suspect that it is possible for later researchers to verify Sung's argument, itself based on the view that the Puyuma kinship system was a matrilineal one and was characterized by a series of encompassed units: clan, lineage and family (or household) (Sung 1964: 68 ff; see Chapter 4).

So what will the implications of this dual-like differentiation be for the Puyuma in constructing a *zekal* when living in an assembled settlement, and vice versa? It seems that while a *zekal* has been constructed by increasingly blurring the inherently dual-like differentiations, these still condition the formation of a 'community' that emphasizes internal uniformity in opposition to 'outsiders'.

Some changes have occurred. They are recognized by the elders, in particular by those who were initiated into the boys' or the men's houses in the Peinan area. They say that in former times, for instance, members of different men's houses went hunting separately in the mountains to carry out the *Mangayau* rite. By contrast, nowadays they go hunting together. A report from the president of the association for elderly Puyuma, who was born in 1926, displays the changes that have occurred in his time. As he says,

Members of men's houses in the north and south go to the mountains together during the *Mangayau*. However, I remember that one year both sides separated and each held their own *Mangayau* rite. It occurred nearly forty years ago. The reason for the separation was discord between the elders of the two sides. Although we went to the mountains separately, we celebrated together when we returned to the *wakasayan*. The following year, we went to the mountains together again.

This theme of the uniformity of the *zekal* beyond the internal divisions is also emphasized by some middle-aged Puyuma, who are anxious about the disadvantaged position that the Puyuma occupy today. They believe that the Puyuma will lose their competitiveness with the Han-Chinese if they cannot cooperate in transcending the internal distinctions and divisions of the 'community' they now constitute. The expression of this sort of anxiety is one thing: but it is quite another to indicate the existence of the internal division, which, though increasingly blurred, still persists. The following cases illustrate this paradox.

During the *Vasivas* rite, the assembled *takovakoban* ('boyhood age group') visit every Puyuma household. They always go to the *Pasaraat* family first, which is in charge of the greatest *karumaan* in the

'community'.²⁰ Then they visit the *Rara* family, which is in charge of the greatest *karumaan* on the south side, second to the *Pasaraat*'s. After that, they visit the rest of the Puyuma households along the lanes which cut across the 'community'. But the procedure was different during the Peinan period, according to the reports of the elders who entered the boy's houses there. The *takovakoban* of two sides were separate: the *takovakoban* in the north did not visit the *Rara* family when they left the *Pasaraat* family; likewise, their southern counterparts only visited the *Rara* family.

Another case is the visit of the *vansalang*. (These are marriageable younger Puyuma who have graduated from a three-year period of hard, ascetic training in the men's houses--- the stage of *miyaputan*). Some elders mentioned that the sequential order in which the youths visited the Puyuma households was unlike that was followed by the *takovakoban*. Instead, they were introduced to various households at random by some experienced married male Puyuma. Nowadays they go first to the *Pasaraat* family, then to the *Rara*, then to the rest of the Puyuma households. All these contrasts reflect the changes that have occurred since the Puyuma resettled in *Nan-wang*.

The 'united' activity became more marked, particularly when the former two boys' and two men's houses in *Nan-wang* were rebuilt in the early 1960s in *wakasayan*: at that time, there was only one boys' and one men's house (cf. Sung 1965b: 121). All these alterations suggest that with the ordered ground plan and demarcated territory came a development of the notion of 'community' which obliterated internal differentiations and was expressed in a relatively seamless with respect to 'outsiders'. Accompanying this feature, the privileged position occupied by the *Pasaraat* family was much more clearly displayed than before.

Nevertheless, dual-like differentiations exist even now in certain characteristics, such as the installation of two *dirwazekal* and the existence of the two greatest *karumaan* presided over by the *Pasaraat*

20. But since 1995 there has been another change under orders from some of the elders: That is, the *takovakoban* visited a different household from the former one. I will come to this issue and its implications in Chapter 8.

and the *Rara* families. Apart from this, a sort of ranked relationship between these two sections is still observed which is expressed in place-names and internal composition. For example, under Japanese rule *Nan-wang* was internally subdivided into four *kumi* ('section' in Japanese). The subdivisions, from the first to the fourth, were ordered from the northern section to the southern one. That is, facing eastwards it went from the left-hand side (i.e., the northern section) in a counter-clockwise direction.²¹ The names of two lanes passing vertically through both the northern and the southern sections and parallel to the main road offer another illuminating case. Whilst the vertical lane through the northern section is named *Nan-wang tung chieh* (Nan-wang East Street), its southern counterpart is called *Nan-wang hsi chieh* (Nan-wang West Street). For the Puyuma, the east, *laud*, is superior to the west, *daya*.²²

Paradoxically, the ranked relationship between these two sections, and between the two greatest families, both associated with their own *karumaan*, presupposes each other's independence. So how do the Puyuma regard the emergence of a 'united and expanded' *zekal* that would obliterate this internal division?

21. On the whole, the spatial direction of the new settlement is like that of a house. When the front door faced eastward, its left-hand side was the prominent place where *vini* (the seed of the millet) and the *pinamuder* (talismans for a house) were put. By contrast, the right-hand side (viz., the south) is the place where the coffin is nowadays temporarily be put. The southwestern corner under a house was in former times the place where the corpses of the household were buried. In this sense, the ranked relationship between the two greatest families, a 'community's' concern, is also displayed in the individual household (cf. Turton 1978).

22. These two terms, *laud* and *daya*, are widespread among peoples of the Austronesian linguistic family. Among aborigines on the island of Taiwan, this usage is also found in the cases of the Paiwan (Ferrell 1982) and the Yami (Kuan 1989), although some variations exist in spelling. With regard to the cases of Southeast Asia, see Hobart (1978). Briefly reviewing the usage in these studies, however, it is difficult to discern an 'exact' meaning. Nevertheless, the translation of *laud* and *daya* respectively as 'east' and 'west' corresponds to the directions in which Puyuma households face: *laud* is the direction of the sunrise, and *daya* of the sunset (see also Ting 1978: 386).

In 1957,²³ a significant event occurred. The Puyuma followed the then leader (a county representative) to their legendary 'place of origin' (i.e., *Panapanayan*), fetched a bundle of bamboo, and planted it on a hill west of the primary school. Dr. Sung (1965b: 121) interpreted this obviously planned act as a sort of 'nativistic movement'. However, what I heard during my fieldwork was mostly contradictory to Sung's opinion: the leader was seriously criticized for his actions. For instance, he asked some households to demolish their own *karumaan* (i.e., *karumaan* that had been superintended by some original stem households, but were not associated with the men's houses, as were the former six main leading families), including his own.²⁴ He was also reported to have abandoned many Puyuma customs, including the annual rites.²⁵

In retrospect, some Puyuma express sympathy with this leader and what he did: he had tried to overcome the divisions inherent in the 'community', because he thought it was vital for the Puyuma to minimize any internal competition and to present a united front to the increasing challenges that were confronting them. 'At that time this leader left behind the customs which he thought were hindering the continued

23. The event, I am convinced, occurred in 1957 rather than in 1958 as Sung (1965b: 121) stated--- my claim is based both on a pamphlet compiled and disseminated by a late retired civil servant in 1993 (see Chapter 6), and on a song composed by the late well-known folk musician, Mr. Sen-pao Lu (*Baliwakes* was his Puyuma name) in memory of the event.

24. But--- interestingly--- I was told by the female Puyuma superintendent of the *Rara* family's *karumaan* that this leader had said her she could not abandon her *karumaan* because it belonged to the *zekal*, and was not privately owned. This instance demonstrates that the role of the *Rara* family's *karumaan* constitutes part of the 'community', characteristic of the dual-like division.

25. It seemed to me that some of the criticisms I heard misrepresented what had occurred. For instance, some Puyuma told me that annual rites such as *Kiaamian* or *Muraliyavan*, *Vasivas* and *Mangayau*, had been abolished, and that the male adult Puyuma instead went to the hill where the bundle of bamboo had been inserted, and officiated towards it. But these reports were completely rejected by other Puyuma who had stayed and participated in these activities at that time. They said that they did actually visit the hill, but only after they had come back from the seashore or the mountains. That is, they still carried out the annual rites.

development of the Puyuma's standard of living', they say.

Others feel ambivalent about what this leader did to the 'community' as a whole, particularly about the establishment of the united boys' and men's houses in the *wakasayan*. The following report is from a middle-aged woman, the daughter-in-law of an elder well-respected in those days:

....At that time, as the eldest daughter-in-law, I usually stayed at home and had the chance to hear what the elders, including my father-in-law, were saying about what this leader did. Some elders often came to visit my father-in-law, and expressed their dismay about the leader's attempts to combine the men's and the boys' houses, formerly separated and built in the northern and the southern entrances. The elders, including some *kankankal* (male indigenous specialists), asked 'How is it possible to combine two different kinds of *zegiyan* ('rites')? The north (*ya-ami*) is different from the south (*ya-timul*)!'... Why did the elders not discuss this issue directly with the representative? They could only complain in private about this leader's action because he was so powerful at that time (he was a former police director in Taitung county, and later a representative of the county council).

Both the negative and the positive opinions about this leader's actions indicate the underlying paradox, and the problematics: How to build a sense of 'community' which goes beyond the dual-like distinction, but does not simultaneously obliterate the inherent differentiations?

In my view, the implications of the dual-like division for the construction of an indigenous 'community' have not been well analyzed in previous studies, even if they are reported in one aspect or another (e.g., Hung 1976, 1978, 1981; Sung 1964, 1965a, b). In the course of my fieldwork in Nan-wang since 1986, however, I have learnt that under the disguise of a united boys' and a united men's houses in the *wakasayan*, the distinctions and ranked relationships between the two greatest families are recognized and well demonstrated in the rites that refer to these houses. That is, a two-part rite is held representing the two former boys' and two men's houses of the northern and southern sections.

This characteristic is much more remarkably demonstrated in the rites held for a modern two-storey cement building, established in 1993. Partly funded through a grant from the local government, and partly through contributions from the Puyuma themselves, the new building was

established on the site where the united men's house formerly stood. The ground floor of this new building, where a sunken square stove has been installed, is used as a men's house. It also doubles as the settlement's polling station, however, when the ground floor can be entered by electors of both sexes. The first floor is a meeting room, now being used as the headquarters of the youth association which was established in March 1995. In December 1994, when the annual rites for the *zekal* were being undertaken, the male specialists prepared two sets of betel nuts which represented a former men's house in the north (i.e., the *Patabang*) and its southern counterpart (the *Karunun*): after spells had been cast these two sets of betel nuts were respectively put into two wooden boxes hanging against the wall inside this new men's house. Then the male specialists put two betel nuts in front of a stone²⁶ which was set before the ladder connecting to the entrance of the elevated boys' house. In my experience (since 1986), even if there have been variations in some ritual procedures regarding the *Vasivas* and the *Mangayau*, the aforementioned division is always noted. The neglect of this division (between the north and the south) is even said to be one of the factors contributing to a series of misfortunes which have occurred to the Puyuma. The following statement from a male specialist illustrates this point:

A couple of years ago, I suggested to the elders that the series of misfortunes occurring to the younger Puyuma was probably happening because we had forgotten that there used to be two boys' houses. I thought that the place where the *takovakoban* 'kill the monkey' (today it is an effigy made of grass rather than a live one) should be established this year in the north and the west (representing the southern section) in the next one. The elders adopted my suggestion in the next *Vasivas*As a result, you see, fewer Puyuma died in the following year....

Briefly, I have tried to indicate in this section that while the formation of a 'community' beyond the inherent 'dual-like' division is under way, it is problematic to obliterate this differentiation completely. Perhaps we

26. As some elders explain, if in former times a boy who was of the correct age happened to touch this stone (whether deliberately or not), he had to become a member of the boys' house, even if he himself or his family were unwilling.

can now understand why the name of the *zekal* mentioned by the *tamalamao* in their invocations is not *Sakupan* (Nan-wang), nor *Pinirumaan* (the Peinan area), but *Vaiwan*, *Vanlang*, a place in which the 'dual-like' system had been well institutionalized. The implications of maintaining the division will become significant, I would suggest, if we do not conceptualize the *zekal* (the 'community') as something essentialized, without reference to its historical development. In other words, the maintenance of the division sheds light on how the indigenes have articulated, and been articulated by, the forces beyond them. I will return to this issue in Chapter 6 on the leading families, particularly with respect to the emergence of the leading family in the south, the *Rara*. From the indigenous viewpoint, the *Rara*'s ascension suggests how the 'newcomers' gained power, though limited in some respects.²⁷

But my main theme here is that the *Rara* family were 'newcomers' and came to power by virtue of their articulation with the forces from outside, and that they were opposed to the 'established' *Pasaraat* family. In time, however, the *Rara* and the *Pasaraat* family constituted a 'community' together, which became clearer when the Puyuma resettled in Nan-wang. This 'community', represented by the combination of the two greatest families with their *karumaan*, contrasted with the settlement imposed by the regimes, which were represented by the well-known families that came to power at the turn of the century, but did not have their *karumaan* as the ritual locales for the 'community'. In other words, the persistence of the dual-like division suggests the dynamics of this construction and contrast. The combination of the boys' and the men's houses, the *wakasayan* (the former meeting house that was introduced under the Japanese regime) and the settlement's meeting house (established under the Nationalist government) in the same central square

27. For instance, it is reported that both the Dutch and the Ch'ing government drew their local deputies from the *Rara* family. And it is in the *karumaan* of this family that the rites with regard to the introduced millet originated. Furthermore, before it came to power, it was this family that had been responsible for dealing with both the heads of enemies and the bodies of Puyuma who had been head-hunted. The name of the men's house associated with this family, viz., *Karunun*, is even interpreted to address 'outsiders', like me.

vividly demonstrates this complexity. That is, rebuilding the formerly separate men's and boys' houses in the central square blurs the distinction not only between the indigenous boys' and men's houses and the *wakasayan*, but also between these three kinds of house and the settlement's meeting house. Differentiation between them depends on the contexts within which they are viewed. However, recognition of this difference exposes the problematics of making an 'indigenous community' which differentiates the Puyuma from the non-Puyuma, when the Puyuma itself (in its denotation as a people living in a place) consists of people with different origins.

Obviously, these issues have become more complicated--- but simultaneously clearer--- now that many Han-Chinese live in Nan-wang. Now that the Nan-wang segment is no longer exclusively occupied by the Puyuma and their households, and (together with Lower Nan-wang and Upper Nan-wang) constitutes part of a settlement in today's administrative system, then an appropriate question to ask is how the Puyuma can re-create a 'community', a problem that becomes more complicated once the increasing out-migration of younger Puyuma is taken into account.

A 'Community' Re-created

The identities of place are always unfixed, contested and multiple. And the particularity of any place is,.., constructed not by placing boundaries around it and defining its identity through counter-position to the other which lies beyond, but precisely (in part) through the specificity of the mix of links and interconnections to that 'beyond'....The concept of place...is a concept which depends crucially on the notion of articulation.

(Massey 1994: 5, 8; emphasis in original)

Since the mid-1980s, areas both in the vicinity of Nan-wang and near Taitung city have become targets of land speculation by local and metropolitan business consortia, particularly after various restrictions on building on farm land were lifted. Within the ambit of the Nan-wang settlement, the trend was reinforced by the establishment in 1991 of a new railway station a few minutes north of Nan-wang by motorized means

of transport (See Map 3-2). This is a transit station that connects Hualien, a big city in eastern Taiwan and north of Taitung county, with Kaohsiung, the biggest metropolitan city in southern Taiwan. With the construction of the new station, a great deal of uninhabited land in the vicinity (including registered farm land) became attractive to the consortia. As a result, the price of land rose dramatically. For instance, as I was told by some Puyuma, the price of land in Nan-wang in the late 1980s was about NT\$ 40,000 (1 pound = about Nt\$ 44) per *pin* (about six feet square), and rose to about NT\$ 80,000 in the early 1990s. Associated with this development on the outskirts, the Han-Chinese have been buying more land from the Puyuma within Nan-wang, and the younger Puyuma are increasingly moving out of Nan-wang.

Considering that the Han-Chinese not only live both in Lower Nan-wang and Upper Nan-wang but also in Nan-wang, how can the Puyuma construct their own *zekal*, if this is their concern? Apparently, by means of a series of formal institutions, social groupings and other activities the Puyuma discern themselves and maintain a sort of indigenous 'community', distinct from the Han-Chinese with whom they share the same settlement. For instance, although the Puyuma are becoming a minority in Nan-wang, the position of the head of the settlement has almost always been occupied by a Puyuma rather than by one of the Han-Chinese, ever since local elections were instituted in the early 1950s:²⁸ and all twenty heads of the neighbourhood (*lin chang*) of the Nan-wang settlement (a non-salary position appointed by the head of the settlement) also consist of Puyuma.

The composition of the voluntary settlement association, The Association for the Development of Nan-wang Settlement (*Nan-wang she chu fa chan hsieh hui*), established in October 1993, provides another interesting example. This kind of voluntary grouping is also found in other settlements where the Puyuma live. In the case of Nan-wang, however, the main positions (such as the Chairman, the Board of Directors and the Board of Supervisors of the Association) are all occupied by Puyuma. By

28. An exceptional case was that between 1960 and 1964, the village head was an Ami, who had married into a Puyuma household.

contrast, their counterparts in other Puyuma settlements consist of both Puyuma and Han-Chinese. Furthermore, in the case of Nan-wang all the Association's members are Puyuma. This exclusion to the Han-Chinese who live in Nan-wang from membership is also found in the local voluntary fire brigade and the savings association.

The voluntary fire brigade in Nan-wang (usually referred to by the Puyuma using the Japanese word *shefutai*) is associated with and supervised by the government's local fire department. The main function of the brigade is as an auxiliary to the local fire department, when needed. It is characterized by its composition: with the exception of some positions in the counsellorship that are occupied by Han-Chinese and Puyuma from other settlements, all of its (thirty five or so) members are (male) Puyuma. The brigade is sometimes regarded as equivalent to a male youth association (*shelienkai* in Japanese) established under Japanese rule. Nowadays, the brigade is recognized by the Puyuma as an important source of manpower for local elections--- if agreed by the head of the settlement (a Puyuma), a deputy captain of the fire brigade (a Puyuma), and some elders--- although they are also seen to favour certain Puyuma candidates against their folk opponents.

Another association from which the Han-Chinese are completely excluded is The Nan-wang Savings Association for Mutual-Help.²⁹ Today, the savings association is founded from two formerly separate savings associations, respectively established by the Catholics and the Presbyterians with the support of the foreign priests, in the late 1970s. Partly because the savings were very low due to a lack of members, and partly because the operation of the associations was ineffective, the members decided to combine the two formerly separate associations in

29. This kind of mutual-help association exists island-wide, especially among aboriginal and certain rural Han-Chinese settlements. Each local savings association is affiliated to and supervised by a regional headquarters, which in turn is supervised by the head office. The association has certainly made significant contributions to people whose patronage is often declined by banks and other financial agencies due to their poverty. With the funds generated people can run their businesses, construct their houses, and so on. In spite of its many functions, this kind of association has not yet been legalized by the authorities.

1985. At the end of 1993 the association consisted of 461 members, and its savings amounted to NT\$ 32,000,000. Although established by the two local Western churches, the saving association is composed of Puyuma of varying religious affiliations, Puyuma from other settlements, and even other aboriginal groups. However, the Han-Chinese are excluded, even if they live in Nan-wang.³⁰

In addition to these groupings, a series of customs are observed by the Puyuma: but it seems that these customs and their regulations apply only to the Puyuma residents. For instance, nowadays the Puyuma still observe a custom called *mazgeza*. Once the news is heard that a Puyuma has died (of natural causes), apart from the kin and other acquaintances some female Puyuma visit the bereaved household. Although they may not be related either to the dead person or to the bereaved household, they are people who have also recently experienced the death of a household member. Accompanied by some of their own near kin, they console the bereaved household. During this process, they will also ask the spirit of the person who has died to convey some news about them to their recently deceased relative. The Puyuma have often explained to me that this is a Puyuma custom observed by people of the same 'community'. This custom, significantly, also illustrates the fact that there is a correspondence and connection between the living world and the world inhabited by the dead (of natural causes) (See Chapter 7).³¹

This custom (particularly with respect to deaths from natural causes) implies the distinction between 'inside' and 'outside' the 'community'. This differentiation is also clearly demonstrated in customs regarding the boundary, by which the Puyuma distinguish themselves both from the

30. Considering its internal composition, the local savings association is obviously an organization which goes beyond the 'boundary' of the 'community' of Nan-wang. In addition, some of the Puyuma who belong to the Nan-wang savings association are also Western religious followers. I shall discuss the implications of such an extension beyond the 'community' for the Puyuma, particularly in the case of the Puyuma who accept Western religions, see Chapters 7 and 8.

31. The world inhabited by the spirits of the deceased is called *virwarwa* (*virwa* meaning 'spirit'), in contrast with *tinabawan*, the soul of a living person.

Han-Chinese living in the same territory, and from the Puyuma of other settlements. However, the construction of a 'boundary' in terms of its geographical referents is changing with time. Its significance 'depends crucially on the notion of articulation', as Massy argues--- with insight --- about the concept of place. Something I heard during my early fieldwork in Nan-wang vividly illustrates this point.

An archaeological site which dates back almost five thousand years was found in 1980 when the aforementioned railway station north of Nan-wang was being built. Both academic archaeologists and local officials were concerned with preventing the remains from being damaged by the building of the new station, whereas the Puyuma of Nan-wang had their own concerns with the consequences of the excavation. The following report was abridged from a notebook written by a *tamalamao*.³²

It is now the fourth month since I was initiated [as a *tamalamao*], and today a purification rite is being carried out for the village [i.e., Nan-wang]. Due to the building of the railway, the tombs of an ancient Ami village located to the rear of Mr. Wang's house were excavated. People from other villages came and stole these ancient remains, and they entered or passed through our village carrying them. The spirits of the Ami feel uncomfortable and unhappy about it, and so do the spirits of our village. As a result, many Puyuma (including me) had a bad dream. [A couple of days ago] the male elders and *tamalamao* came together and tried to discern the reasons for this by means of bamboo divination. Last night some *tamalamao* had *yaulas* ('trances'). [Thus], today the male elders [i.e., *kankanka*] decided to carry out the purification rite, *benling*, at the square of the settlement's meeting house [i.e., *wakasayan*, the place where both the men's and the boys' houses are built]. Then they threw away [at an entrance of the 'community'] both the items used in this rite and the remains [brought into the village by some Puyuma]. No sooner was the rite finished than it began to rain....[The following day], the *tamalamao* searched for the charms that the Han-Chinese had made....[Firstly] we found one at the western entrance of the village, then one at the eastern side. Later we threw them in the southern direction [of the village].

32. This notebook is written in Chinese phonetic script, apart from a few words expressed in Chinese pronunciation. I would like to express my great thanks here to Ms. Hsiu-mei Wang and other *tamalamao* of my acquaintance who have helped me so much in learning about the complicated and abstruse ritual practices and their associated spells. In addition, I will thank my former colleague, Mr. Li-cheng Lu, who told me what he observed when he participated in the archaeological excavation at that time.

The above transcription suggests a number of interesting things. Firstly, the ritual purification is held in the place where the present boys' and men's houses are erected, and these two houses represent the 'community' in this instance, although the settlement's meeting house is located in the same place. Secondly, a distinction is made not only between Nan-wang and other villages, but also between the Puyuma, other aborigines (the Ami, in this case) and Han-Chinese living within the same territory. Finally, the territory referred to here is Nan-wang, a place demarcated by the Japanese authorities but defined by the Puyuma as their 'community'. This restriction to Nan-wang is also demonstrated by the annual rites, and clearly illuminated by the following instance from the viewpoint of the Han-Chinese living in Nan-wang:

In October 1994 a settlement conference was held in the meeting house, at which a Han-Chinese complained about a certain aspect of the settlement. This man, who had been an unsuccessful candidate in the mid-1994 local election for the position of the head of the settlement, lived in today's Lower Nan-wang, and ran a store situated on the main road. 'Only the nine roads within Nan-wang itself are being re-made,' he said, 'and the ones outside are not. It appears that these are not regarded as belonging to the settlement, *she ch'u*'. His complaints silenced the audience, particularly the then head of the settlement. But no applause was heard from the assembled people (most of whom were Puyuma) except from a few Han-Chinese. Contrary to this response, ~~shouts of excitement~~ were heard later when a middle-aged female Puyuma suggested that the government should offer a piece of land as a playground for the pupils of the primary school. The forerunner of this primary school was the Peinan Aboriginal Public School.

Even so, confining the 'community' to Nan-wang seems problematic considering that some Puyuma have moved to Upper Nan-wang, Lower Nan-wang, and other places outside but not far from the ambit of the Nan-wang settlement. In this way, contested and debatable though they may be, an expanded sense of the geographical referents of the 'boundary' and certain changes in defining whether or not a person is a Puyuma of the 'community' (not just a Puyuma) are beginning to emerge.

The Expansion of the Boundary of 'Community'

When I returned to Nan-wang in late 1994 after a two-year stay in London (between August 1991 and August 1993) to begin a further period

of fieldwork towards this thesis, I observed from the annual rites that the boundary, especially its eastern and western sides, had expanded into places that had previously been outside it: in fact, it had been extended eastwards to the border between the Nan-wang and Peinan boroughs to include all of Lower Nan-wang. When asked, some specialists explained to me that the change had occurred within the last couple of years, because some Puyuma had moved to Lower Nan-wang.

There was also some extension on the western side. The boundary has now been expanded to a place near the border between the primary school (formerly the Peinan Aboriginal Public School) and the junior high school. Thus, while on the western side it does not yet encompass Upper Nan-wang, it does include the space formerly occupied by the (now demolished) large meeting place (i.e., *kaikan*), and a house built during the Japanese period--- whose residents were forbidden to live within Nan-wang when they tried to return there from Taitung, due to the fact that the owner's father was a Han-Chinese--- even though his mother was a Puyuma.

Admittedly, some ambiguities exist regarding which spots are actually within the territory of the 'community' nowadays. For instance, the annual rites by which the 'community' is purified suggest that the extent of the territory is Nan-wang itself. However, in rites for preventing misfortunes and malevolent forces from entering the 'community'--- for instance, when the Puyuma return from the streams where they carry out the purification rites--- the boundary is represented in a way that is similar to the expanded version I mention above. In addition, when the elders visit bereaved families on the morning after they return from the mountains (i.e., the *Mangayau* rite), they often visit families living in Upper Nan-wang, in the Peinan area and in the vicinity of Pinan village near Upper Nan-wang.³³ The betel nuts representing the deceased within the year

33. Almost ten years ago, several male elders went to Taimali the morning after they came back from the *Mangayau* rite (i.e., 1 January). This was a rural township about one-and-half hour's bus drive south of Nan-wang. They visited a bereaved household whose owner's wife had died the previous year, and sang the *ilailao*, a song that could only be sung during this period, to console the family concerned. During their conversation, an elder said that they could not have sung such a song

usually include the cases from these areas. These variations suggest that the boundary in geographical terms is becoming more blurred and contested, even while the Puyuma still adhere to notions such as *zeka* ('community') and *saliki* ('boundary'). Similar ambiguities and contests, reflecting the changing situations confronted by the Puyuma, are also indicated in cases such as the households in Nan-wang that consist of Han-Chinese husbands and Puyuma wives, and Puyuma who now live in urban areas.

Ambiguity and Contest: From the Puyuma to a Puyuma of the 'Community'

The variations in the ideas of 'community' and 'boundary' that I have just dealt with suggest that increasing ambiguities are occurring not just about their geographical referents, but also about the component individuals and households within the 'community'. As I have mentioned, when they took up residence in Nan-wang in 1929, the Puyuma were not only in the majority in the new territory, but also constituted a 'community' in terms of a clear-cut boundary and other customs. In this sense, it seemed easier then than now to define the households and persons constituting the 'community'. However, the criteria are becoming even more blurred and problematic due to a number of changing circumstances: for instance, some Puyuma in Nan-wang are converting to Western religions, whose activities often extend beyond the precincts of Nan-wang; the younger Puyuma are increasingly moving to and dwelling in urban areas; some Puyuma have moved from Nan-wang and live in Lower Nan-wang, Upper Nan-wang, or in other places in the vicinity of but outside the precincts of the Nan-wang settlement; and nearly 30 households in Nan-wang are composed of non-Puyuma and their marrying-in Puyuma wives.

As I have mentioned above (and shall discuss throughout the following chapters), if notions about place and people are so intimately related---

outside the 'community', but that they did at this time to pay respect to a female elder (i.e., the dead woman's mother-in-law), who, having lived in Nan-wang, had made a great contribution to the 'community'.

demonstrated in the sphere of *rumah* ('house, household'), in age organization, and in affairs regarding the *zekal*--- then what sort of problems will be caused by these changes? In my view, a remarkable feature is the increasing distinction between 'a Puyuma' and 'a member of the "community"'. The following case shows the appearance of this distinction:

On March 7, 1993, the *Malapalapas* rite was being conducted by the *tamalamao* for female bereaved household members before the celebration of the *Mugamut*³⁴ on the morning. On this occasion, betel nuts representing those who died during the period since the previous *Mugamut* would usually be prepared. However, a discussion was raised as to whether or not a certain male Puyuma should be included. He, as well as his family of procreation, had lived in northern Taiwan for a long time, and had recently died there. His close kin (for instance, his parents, brothers, and cousins) still lived in Nan-wang. Finally, the present *tamalamao* decided not to include this man due to the fact that he did not live in Nan-wang. In December, the case was mentioned again before the annual rite for the purification of the 'community' was held, in which the dead of the year would be calculated (also represented by betel nuts). Inside the men's house, some elders discussed the question. Some of them mentioned that this man was a Presbyterian, some stated that he had not been living in Nan-wang. At last, the general decision was made: anyone who did not live in Nan-wang would not be included if a similar situation occurred. But on other occasions when I spoke informally with various Puyuma, some responses were contrary to the above decision: 'Of course he should be included, because he is a Puyuma!'.

Although there were no serious debates, the decision made in this case has implications for the Puyuma's confrontation with changing conditions. It clearly expresses the difference between 'a member of the "community"' and 'the Puyuma', in other words, between those living in the 'community' and those outside the 'community'. That there is a further division between Puyuma who have lived temporarily in cities (retaining their houses in the 'community') and Puyuma who live in urban areas but do not keep houses in the 'community', suggests how the Puyuma have dealt with changes such as migration and the necessity of making a living in

34. *Mugamut* is an annual celebration held mainly by the female Puyuma. In former times, it was celebrated after the grass growing around the millet had been weeded. see Chapter 7.

the city.³⁵ These different views also demonstrate that the construction of a 'community' is contested and ambiguous even for the members of that 'community'. Interestingly, the opinion that this male Puyuma should be included was contended by Puyuma who were Western religious followers, and whose activities often extended beyond Nan-wang. By contrast, the opinion that the deceased was a Christian, or *shinzia* (a Japanese word used by the natives to refer to Puyuma following Western religions), not only suggests a significant distinction between the Christian and the non-Christian, but also indicates the important role performed by specialists in demarcating a 'community' (see Chapters 7 and 8).

The above case also illuminates the significance of the connection which may be made between the immigrants and the 'community', in that the contributions made by these immigrants to the 'community' were taken into account. This consideration sheds some light on how households of miscegenation are dealt with. Nowadays, about 30 such households exist in Nan-wang--- of which only one is in Lower Nan-wang, and one is located on the opposite side of the last lane at the boundary of Nan-wang. Among these households, some Han-Chinese husbands (and/or their spouses) are actively involved in affairs concerning the Puyuma. They even have their adult sons initiated in the same way as their Puyuma counterparts. By contrast, some of them (and their children) seldom, if ever, participate in activities concerned with the Puyuma. It seems reasonable that the former rather than the latter should be considered part of the 'community'. Furthermore, if these people follow the Han-Chinese folk religion, it is possible that the specialists may feel more affinity with them than with Puyuma who are Western religious followers.

That is, if a 'community' is defined in terms of the observance of customs and ritual regulations, which in turn reveal the notions of

35. I use the phrase house rather than family: a family means a kinship group, while a house (household) refers to a residential unit (see Holy 1996: 52 ff). In this case, the dead person's close kin, even his parents and brothers, still live in Nan-wang, but this does not mean that all of them live in the same household. As I will discuss in the following chapter, while there are intimate relationships among the residents of a house (a building), the house itself has implications for the behaviour of people living in it.

'boundary', then the Puyuma Christians make such a 'community' problematic, not due just to the fact that they hold their activities beyond the borders of 'community', but also because they have abandoned many customs and regulations (see Chapters 7 and 8). Even so, the situations vary case by case, every case is different, and some continue to be controversial even when final decisions have been made. In my opinion, these controversies and debates should be taken into serious consideration rather than dealt with as deviant cases, since they shed light both on how the Puyuma have constructed a 'community' while confronting changing circumstances, and on the implications of this process for individual persons and households, and vice versa.

To sum up: from these contrasting cases, we see how a sense (or a kind of ideology) of 'community' has always been maintained and stressed in terms of residential intimacy or of contributions made to the 'community'. But, this sense of 'community' is full of debates, controversies and contradictions, even while it is being created and re-created.

Recently, it has been exposed to another development, a result of the government's policy in emphasizing the importance of the community for the people on the island. Accompanying this stance has been an emphasis on local cultures and an anxiety about their increasing disappearance under encroaching modernization and economic development. Thus, a series of activities have been promoted and put into practice by the government (both local and national) in a trickle-down procedure, even if the local residents' active participation and involvement are emphasized and encouraged. Both their performances of Puyuma music and dance in August 1992 in the National Theater of the Chiang-kai-shek Memorial Hall, and the inclusion of their 'traditional' culture (i.e., two annual rites, the *Vasivas* and the *Mangayau*) as part of the annual National Festival of Culture and Arts have had important consequences for the Puyuma. Not only have such themes as the quest for 'historical and cultural authenticity' been emphasized, but--- from an interesting though almost totally different perspective--- ideas regarding the formation of the 'community' have also been proposed, which in turn have raised passionate debates and caused more conflicts (see Chapter 8).

In conclusion, throughout this chapter I have been concerned with the general situation of the Nan-wang settlement, particularly with the development of the Nan-wang segment, the main area in which the Puyuma have lived. As a settlement it was a colonial creation, but as a 'community' it was shaped by the Puyuma in terms of their specific socio-cultural features. Nevertheless, the relationship between the settlement and the 'community' is changing and is full of debates and conflicts. It may seem that I have only been concerned with the theme of 'community' or settlement in this chapter. However, as I have indicated, the issue of 'community' is related to the people and their lives within this territory. In addition, in the light both of my discussion of Freeman's and Gibson's works in the Introduction, and of my review of previous studies (particularly about the role occupied by the *karumaan*) in the last chapter, I would suggest that the issue of 'community' cannot be dealt with as something isolated from its internal constitution. In other words, we should undertake research both on the constitution of individual Puyuma households and on their relationships with the original stem households (*karumarumaan*) and their superintended *karumaan*, by which the individual household's separation from, engagement with, and subsumption by their origin stem households will be elucidated. These characteristics will also provide us with important information for discovering and considering the changes that are related to the construction of 'community'. Furthermore, the importance of the 'community' to the branched and the original stem households will come to the fore, especially in the cases of the two leading families and their *karumaan*, the main ritual locales of the 'community'. I will explore these issues in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4 RUMAH (HOUSE, HOUSEHOLD) AND KARUMAAN (RITUAL HOUSE,
ORIGINAL STEM HOUSEHOD)

The idea of the kin-based society, the idiom of kinship, the idea that kinship and the family are the cornerstone of all social life, that kinship is a specially privileged system, that kinship was the earliest, or among the earliest forms of social life--- all of these make no sense without the fundamental assumption that "Blood is Thicker Than Water."

(Schneider 1984: 176)

The dilemmas we encounter in cross-cultural comparisons of the family and household stem not from our want of unambiguous, formal definitions of these units, but from the conviction that we can construct a precise, reduced definition for what are inherently complex, multi-functional institutions imbued with a diversity array of cultural principles and meanings.

(Yanagisako 1979: 200)

During my fieldwork in Nan-wang I often heard the Puyuma complain about errors made by the Han-Chinese officers in the local registration office, when I asked them to explain the relationships between the participants on certain occasions (e.g. marriage celebrations and mortuary rite). Due to the officers' ignorance, the Puyuma said, some Puyuma households whose relationship lay as close as that between a 'natal' family and its branched 'conjugal families' had been given different Han-Chinese surnames. On the other hand, some households were given the same Han-Chinese surnames--- as if their relationships were closer than was actually the case. In a way, these complaints are justified: but the situation may be more complicated than the Puyuma's claims suggest. For instance, not all Puyuma households have household names (cf. Sung 1964: 68); in addition, some household names have changed, and some were simply created at the beginning of this century (see Appendix 1). In other words, I would argue that these features suggest several important issues about the constitution of an individual household, including the significance of the house as a building; the relationship between the house and the people living in it; the relationships among the people as

a residential grouping; the relation-ship between a branched household and its natal one (and even with its 'original stem house', which is often --- but not necessarily--- associated with a *karumaan*); and the relationship between the individual household and the 'community' (which is represented here by the leading families supervising *karumaan*, the 'ritual houses' of the 'community').

At first sight, these issues may seem to be confined to the sphere of kinship (and so, indeed, they have been treated in previous studies of the Puyuma), particularly when concerning the important position of the *karumaan*. However, as I have indicated in Chapter 2, serious limitations are obvious in such discussions: not only is the issue of 'community' neglected due to the restriction of the *karumaan*'s significance to the sphere of kinship, the implication of the *karumaan* as a ritual locale for the 'community' as a whole is also seldom analyzed. Furthermore, little mention is made of the constitution of the individual household, let alone its relationship with the natal household and the 'community', no matter which characteristics of the Puyuma's kinship are at issue (matrilineal, cognatic, or other types). In other words, regardless of the differences in their arguments, these studies attempt to impose the rigid scheme of a descent-oriented approach on the case of the Puyuma, in which the constitution of the household is not only taken for granted, but the household is also treated as the basic unit and one which is automatically encompassed by the higher-level kin groups.

From a comparative perspective, the shortcomings and the serious consequences of these studies have become manifest due to a series of other studies recently undertaken among the Austronesian-speaking peoples in general, and the peoples in Southeast Asia in particular. These studies have shown that indigenous peoples within this widespread area not only give great prominence to the house (as a building) as a mechanism for social continuity and a representation of the cosmological order; it is also identified as an ancestral embodiment of the social group it represents (see Fox 1993a). The prevalence of important social groupings that are formed around houses offers us a new perspective on the previous debates on kinship study in Southeast Asia, and suggests further theoretical implications (see Carsten 1997; Carsten and Hugh-Jones

1995; Levi-Strauss 1983, 1987; Mckinnon 1991; Waterson 1990; cf. Husken and Kemp 1991). In the light of these studies and their provocative (but debatable) viewpoints--- to which I shall come back in my concluding chapter--- I will be concerned in this chapter with the constitution of the individual household (or *rumah*, a term which includes both the building itself and the persons living within it), and its independence not only from other households, but also from its natal one. Of its features, the installation of a *pinamuder* (or 'household amulet') in every house (in principle) is the most remarkable. However, every branched household has an intimate relationship with its natal household and with other households that have branched from it, due to one very important characteristic, viz., the *vini* ('seed of grain', particularly referring to millet). It is through the *vini* that the important position of the 'original stem households' that preside over their own *karumaan* can be elucidated. This characteristic is particularly prominent in the case of the two greatest *karumaan*, which are supervised by the two greatest leading families and represent the 'community' in its ritual significance (cf. Chapters 3 and 7).

The customs regarding the *vini* not only demonstrate the relationship between the individual household and the 'community', but through them the priority of the 'community' over the individual households and their residents is also recognized and legitimized. In other words, contrary to the argument that the household (or family) is encompassed under a higher-level kinship unit, and also to the dichotomy that stresses the individual household and the 'community', I would argue the independence of the household on the one hand, and its relationship to other households and to the 'community' on the other.

It is with regard to these characteristics that we can reconsider the controversial issues of the Puyuma and the Puyuma kinship system, and investigate more fully the changing constitution of an individual household (e.g. the installation of an ancestral tablet, or conversion to Christianity) and their implications for the construction of a 'community'. I will return to these themes in future chapters.

The Constitution of *Rumah*

*Rumah*¹ is a Puyuma word indicating both house (the building) and household (the residential group). Deriving from this key word are some usages which are often reported to be variants of kin groups. For instance, *sarumaanan* (*sa* means 'one', *an* means 'place, location') has often been translated as 'family' in previous studies (see Sung 1964: 68), and has been defined as the basic unit in daily life which constitutes part of a higher-level kin group, such as *saiamunan* ('matri-lineage') and *samauan* ('matri-clan') (ibid). Nevertheless, I would argue that this viewpoint not only displays a confusion in the distinction between family and household: it is also an approach (as both Schneider and Yanagisako have recognized) that is propounded by researchers as something universal and comparable, but which actually lacks indigenous specificities, and therefore cannot grasp the important features characterizing Puyuma social life.

Instead of making a general statement about the family (or household) as a unit that universally undertakes many functions relating to production, procreation, education and so on, we should begin by establishing what it is that constitutes a Puyuma household. During my earlier period of fieldwork I sometimes accompanied various Puyuma of my acquaintance in their visits to bereaved families, and--- being concerned with ritual practices--- even attended the subsequent funerals. I recall feeling a little confused when we came back from the bereaved families or from attending funerals when we did not immediately enter the house but stayed at the main gate for a while. When asked, my Puyuma friends explained that our bodies were contaminated by some sort of 'smell' transmitted from the bereaved family, and that the ancestors inside our houses did not like this smell, so we had to wait until it had dispersed.

1. *Rumah* is a word widely used among Austronesian-speaking peoples to refer to the house and, to some extent, to some kind of social grouping (Fox 1993b: 10 ff). However, this word is not widely used by Taiwanese aborigines: for instance, while the Bunun, the Ami and the Puyuma use *rumah*, it is *umaq* in the Paiwan, *dau'an* in the Saisiat, and *vahay* in the Yami.

They explained further that this prescription was due to the presence of the *pinamuder* inside the house; its main function was to protect the house from disasters such as earthquake, fire and so forth. Once a new building has been established, a *pinamuder* should be installed before the household members move in. The *pinamuder* also characterizes a building as a house (*rumah*), and distinguishes it from a building such as a hut (*taroan*) in the mountains or in farm land--- inside which there is no such talisman.

The longer I spent doing fieldwork in Nan-wang, the more I learnt about something related to this talisman and to the house. During my later period of fieldwork for this thesis, between 1993 and 1995, I conducted a survey about various characteristics of Puyuma households. The subjects covered included the distribution of *pinamuder* among them, and an investigation of the most important things constituting a house. With respect to the former question, I was told: 'Of course. If it is a Puyuma house, it should have a *pinamuder*'. The elders' answer to the latter question was always the same; *pinamuder* and *vini* were of primary importance, even if nowadays many of the Puyuma have installed 'ancestral tablets'² in the Han-Chinese style, and images of Chinese deities in their houses.³ However, despite the fact that *pinamuder* and *vini* are the two most important items thought to constitute a Puyuma house, they are distinguished from each other. That is, once branched off and building its own house, the newly divided household will install a *pinamuder* for the new house, and does not share it with or inherit it from its natal household. In addition, the *pinamuder* installed in the older

2. The indigenous word for the 'ancestral tablet' is *katazegiyan*. 'Ancestral tablet' is put in quotations here to denote that unlike Han-Chinese, the Puyuma do not often duplicate the ancestral tablets once they divide the household. This is related both to the characteristics of the household (exemplified in previous customs like indoor burial), and to the way in which the Puyuma worship their ancestors. It often happens that the Puyuma only start to install a tablet when a household member has died. See the discussion in the main text.

3. It is interesting to note the emphasis on the 'ancestral tablet' and the image of Chinese deities expressed by some younger Puyuma. I will come back to this issue and its implications in Chapter 8.

house is not re-installed in the new one, although it may be taken and buried somewhere if problems occurring to the household are discovered by the specialists to be related to the older *pinamuder* remaining in the previous house, which has now been sold or is standing empty. The latter case further illustrates the importance of the house itself. However, the Puyuma do inherit and receive the *vini* from their natal households. So, if the *pinamuder* signifies the exclusive and independent aspect of a household, the *vini* expresses both the extensive relationship between a branched household and its natal and original stem household (and even the relationship of people marrying out with their natal households), and the differentiation between the households not characterized by the same *vini*.

The House Has Its Own Life: The Significance of the *Pinamuder*

As stated above, one of the memorable aspects of my experience in Nan-wang was that whenever I asked an adult Puyuma if s/he had installed a *pinamuder* in his/her house, the answer was quite certain to be: 'Of course. If it is a "Puyuma" house, it should have a *pinamuder*'. My brief survey of the Puyuma households in Nan-wang confirmed these statements. Generally speaking, most Puyuma households in Nan-wang have a *pinamuder*, except those who have converted to western religion, the Catholics and the Presbyterians.⁴ If any Puyuma do not install the *pinamuder* in their newly built houses, this is usually explained by the inconveniences that ensue (e.g. the regulations for visiting bereaved families), which may cause trouble or misfortune if the members of the household are careless.⁵ Even this response testifies to the significance

4. To my knowledge, there are some exceptional instances: a Presbyterian household that does have the *pinamuder*; a Puyuma household that has re-converted from the Presbyterian faith, has installed the 'ancestral tablet', but has not re-installed the *pinamuder*; and a household which rents another Puyuma's house has not installed a *pinamuder*.

5. A similar situation is found in the *ruum* ('talismán') for a new car. Recently, some Puyuma did not ask the specialist to install a *ruum* for their cars, also due to the inconvenience it causes.

of the *pinamuder*, albeit in a negative way: that is, once a *pinamuder* has been installed in a house the residents are subject to certain proscriptions (e.g. they are forbidden to enter their own or others' houses immediately after visiting the bereaved family), lest misfortunes ensue either to themselves or to those households. The following case illuminates this thinking in an extreme way:

One day, I attended a funeral in Nan-wang with some Puyuma women. The deceased was an elderly female Puyuma. After the brief lunch prepared by the bereaved family for the visitors who were attending the funeral, I accompanied a female Puyuma in her early sixties, with whom I was well acquainted, back to her house. On the road, we had a chat. When arriving at the main gate of her house (we had not yet entered the yard, let alone the house itself), I heard her shout to her family inside the house to bring some chairs, on which we took a rest in the shade of a big tree which grew on the opposite side of the lane. Later, some Puyuma living nearby also returned from the bereaved family. They stopped and sat with us, and joined the conversation. The woman did not enter her house before I left, which was more than half an hour after we had returned. Later, when one of her second cousins died, she accompanied his family and slept at their house until the funeral. During this period, she did not come back to her house. The night after the funeral, I saw her ask her family to prepare some necessities. With these items she went to the house of her son-in-law (a mainlander) in the Peinan area, where she took a shower and slept overnight. It was only after the purification rite held on the following afternoon for the bereaved family, and the near kin and friends who had accompanied them during this period that she re-entered her house. As she explained to me, 'My son-in-law's house is a dormitory granted by the local government for which he works. Although an ancestral tablet for the parents of my son-in-law has been installed, there is no *pinamuder* inside the house where he and my daughter now live'.

The above case demonstrates that the *pinamuder* rather than the 'ancestral tablet' is the main concern. It was due to these associated regulations that during my fieldwork I often found myself riding my bicycle aimlessly around the main road and the lanes crossing the settlement, or taking a rest in the office of the local fire station,⁶ if I

6. The places in the vicinity where the Puyuma often temporarily stay include local government offices such as the fire station and the square of the settlement's meeting house (*wakasayan* in the indigenous terms)---all of these do not have the *pinamuder*. Apart from these places, houses inhabited by Puyuma who have converted to western religions, where the *pinamuder* has not been installed, would also be considered.

came back late from visiting a bereaved family with whom I had been well acquainted: a *pinamuder* had been installed in the house where I lived with the family of my landlord.

Indeed, quite a number of cases from my fieldnotes illustrate how deeply the Puyuma are concerned with the *pinamuder* and the consequences that can result from its neglect.

case 1:

A male Puyuma once told me of this personal experience. It occurred nearly two decades ago, when he participated in the funeral for his WZS. After the funeral, he said, he came back and slept that night in a room next to the kitchen. The kitchen was outside, but close to, the house where his family lived. He remembered that around midnight he had a bad dream, in which he felt his throat had been seized by two young men, and he could hardly breathe. Struggling because of this fright, he woke up. Next morning he asked a *tamalamao* to detect the dream's cause, and he was told by this *tamalamao* that a *pinamuder* had been installed in his bedroom. And he remembered that there was indeed a *pinamuder* in the room; something he had slipped from his memory.

case 2:

I heard from a *tamalamao* how she cured a male Puyuma who had toothache. She found that it was caused by some members of the bereaved family who had entered a shelter that this man had built in the mountains. This Puyuma often stayed and slept in his hut to take care of some poultry--- chickens, ducks and turkeys--- that he kept penned in the vicinity. Unusually, a *pinamuder* had been installed in his hut.

case 3:

As in the above case, some sicknesses and misfortunes are attributed to the ignorance of people from other households, rather than to the affected household residents themselves. In late 1994 a young Puyuma, who made a living by repairing the overhead electric wires in western Taiwan, fell from an electric post and died after he was carried back to his house in Nan-wang. When this unfortunate news was heard by his family in Nan-wang, his mother visited a bamboo diviner to detect the cause, and was informed by the diviner that some *zesis* ('uncleanness') had contaminated their house. At that time, the neighbour of this young man--- a branched household from his father's--- was in mourning for a female elder who had died a couple of days previously. One of this elder's sons was suspected of entering the young man's house and bringing the 'pollution' which had caused misfortune to it--- that is, to the *pinamuder*.

Obviously all these instances indicate the significance of the *pinamuder* for the persons living inside the house. More significantly, the third case

suggests the independence of a household once it is established, even if there is as close a relationship between two households as that between the natal household and one branching from it--- both having the same *vini*.

In other words, due to the installation of a *pinamuder*, a house acquires 'a life' of its own, which is not only independent of the occupants, but also entails some restrictions on the behaviour of its inhabitants. This characteristic becomes clearer when some of the processes involved in building a house are taken into account.

Building a House

Nowadays the Puyuma's houses are usually made of cement and steel bars (sometimes brick), rather than wood, bamboo and thatch as before. Even so, some of the old procedures for building a house are still discernable. The following description is based both on reports from the Puyuma (particularly from the specialists who are responsible for some ritual observances for new houses) and on some cases I have observed.⁷

To begin with, both the date and the location for building the new house will be seriously considered. Previously the Puyuma would rely mainly on bamboo divination (*lao*) by a sooth-sayer, on a trance-like manifestation (*yaulas*) by a *tamalamao*, or on a good omen (i.e., a dream, *tia*) by the household members. Nowadays, many Puyuma will also consult a Chinese lunar calendar⁸ in addition to the indications from bamboo divination:⁹ or they will put these affairs in the hands of Han-

7. Undoubtedly, the following accounts refer more to Puyuma households adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion than to their counterparts following western ones. Generally speaking, the Christian Puyuma do not bother to consider the date and location, although some Christian rites are usually held before the inhabitants move into new houses, see also Chapters 7 and 8:

8. This almanac can easily be bought from any ordinary stationery shop; but the Puyuma, particularly those who are members of the local agricultural association (consisting also of Han-Chinese), are often given this calendar by the association.

9. Nowadays even some diviners consult the available Chinese lunar calendar, for instance to determine the correct date. Knowledge of

Chinese architects and constructors.¹⁰ Once both the date and the location have been decided, the household concerned usually asks a *tamalamao* (or a *kankanka*) to carry out a rite in the afternoon just before the workers begin to dig the land.¹¹ This purification rite, or *smilap* ('clean-up'), is intended to drive away any bad force that may be associated with the location where the house will be built. It also provides a defence against malicious remarks made in secret by others; for instance, by near kin who may be disputing land rights and so on with the household concerned.

divination is exclusively possessed by men, who learn it either from elderly diviners or from near kin such as their fathers. As I was told by the diviners, the divination technique and its associated knowledge were introduced by the neighbouring Ami people. Therefore, when they hold the divination, they use the Ami language, although some 'younger' diviners who cannot speak the Ami language will use the Puyuma one. Some comparisons between the bamboo divinations that are held among the *Puyuma*, the Ami and some indigenous peoples in Borneo (e.g. the Kayan) have already been indicated by scholars (e.g. Utsurikawa 1938).

10. Even so, dreaming (*ma tia*) is still the main means by which the Puyuma make important decisions. For instance, whereas the location of ordinary houses will follow the suggestions of bamboo diviners and/or of Chinese geomancers, the (re-)building of the *karumaan* and the *lalauinan* (*tamalamao*'s house) will take dreams into serious account. In this process, a stick of bamboo is erected in the selected place, and whether this place is proper or not will be shown by the dream that night of the person who will be in charge of this house. Nowadays, the dream (*tia*) is still regarded as an omen that can influence the Puyuma in their decisions. It often happens that the Puyuma visit bamboo diviners or *tamalamao* to discern the reasons for their bad dreams (*kwatis na tia*), and if necessary ask the *tamalamao* to carry out a rite to prevent misfortunes from happening.

11. As I have been told both by the indigenous specialists and the ordinary Puyuma, all auspicious things should be done in the morning, particularly at dawn when the sun is rising--- for instance, installing a *pinamuder*; asking for a *ruum* ('talismán') for a person; initiating a young man (in the *takovakoban* stage) to be a *miyaputan* ('a novice of the men's house'); holding a *bwanan* for a newly born baby to inform the *pagtau* (the spirit who controls the fate of the human being, *tau*) of its birth, and so on. The purification rites should be carried out in the afternoon, including *smilap* (to purify a newly established building), *kiswap* (the purification rite for a bereaved family), *parugi* (removing the spirit of a person who has died a bad death from the place where s/he died to the place where s/he is buried), and so on.

Once the building of a house is under way, it is the custom (*kakway-anan*) that the household members are forbidden to attend a funeral or visit a bereaved family. If the deceased is of near kin and they are obliged to make the visit, the Puyuma have provided themselves with some alternatives. One possibility is temporarily to stop building their house and to visit the bereaved family, but not to come back until the *kiswap* rite has been carried out (a purification rite held after the funeral for both the bereaved family and the kinfolk or friends who have accompanied the bereaved family during this period). Or, more often, some representative family members visit the bereaved family. Likewise, they do not come back until the *kiswap* rite has been completed.¹²

When the building is nearly finished, the household will consider an auspicious date to move into it and begin living there--- nowadays many of the Puyuma will ask bamboo diviners to pick such a date, and/or consult a Chinese lunar calendar. Before they move in, however, two rites will be held for the building. The first one is *smilap*: a *tamalamao* (often chosen by bamboo divination) is asked to carry out a purification rite to purge all malevolent forces accompanying the materials that have been used to construct the building: here the *tamalamao* uses a small knife to cut some pieces of construction materials from the door, the window, and so on. Then, casting a spell, the *tamalamao* takes several betel nuts that respectively represent the territory of the building, the dead, malicious remarks, and so on, to an entrance of the 'community' (an entrance in the direction from which the construction materials were brought into the

12. Customarily, only after the *kiswap* rite is finished will the Puyuma consider that no further *zegiyan* ('ritual regulations') are necessary for the bereaved family. In other words, the Puyuma think that the *zesis* is then no longer with the bereaved family, and that their close kin, or those of the dead person, can invite the bereaved family to their own houses. But this custom, *pualangi*, only applies to cases of 'good death', such as sickness. If a person has died a 'bad death' (a car accident, a suicide and so on), even if the *kiswap* is finished--- it is not held inside the house, but in a temporary tent built at the rear of the house--- the near kin visit the bereaved family rather than inviting the latter to their houses. In this case, the custom is called *mualangi*. People who die a bad death are not just excluded from their own houses and from their near kin, but also from the 'community'. They do not even meet their dead kinfolk in the 'afterworld' (*virwarwa*), see Chapter 7.

'community'). At the *saliki* (boundary) of the 'community' the *tamalamao* casts another spell to drive away bad forces and prevent them from entering the 'community'. Early next morning, a *kankankal* ('male specialist') will be asked to install a *pinamuder* for the new building.¹³

13. There seems to be a sort of 'gender division of labour' among the indigenous specialists, between the *tamalamao*--- with some exceptional cases, all of whom are female--- and the *kankankal* (exclusively male). Generally speaking, the *tamalamao* are responsible for purification rites (e.g. *smilap* and *kiswap*), for healing the sick and breaking spells, and for invoking the souls of the sick. Becoming a *tamalamao* is a formal and public procedure, in which the initiate will be verified by being possessed by a dead *tamalamao* who, having a cognatic relationship to the person concerned, wants this person to succeed her as a *tamalamao*. All *tamalamao* must be present for the whole procedure. By means of their spiritual bells, *sinsingan*--- with which the *tamalamao* can invoke the souls of the sick and the spirits of the dead for their clients--- and of the songs of the *tamalamao*, this person will be possessed by the dead *tamalamao* (the *kinidalian* of the prospective *tamalamao*. *Dali* means 'line'; '*kidali, kidungu*' is a parallel expression that means to 'inherit something from the ancestral spirits). Apart from this formal procedure, the initiated *tamalamao* has her *avuku* ('tutor'; also referring to 'most experienced *tamalamao*') from whom they have received knowledge and learnt ritual practice. Two additional features characterize a *tamalamao*: an annually-replaced *aliut* ('spiritual bag'), and a *lalauiinan*. The *lalauiinan* is a small house where the *tamalamao* puts all important ritual apparatuses and sleeps by herself, and is built near the main house where her other family members live. However, none of the above features apply to the *kankankal*. The rites held by the *kankankal* seem mainly to be concerned with protection. For instance, it is their task to install the *pinamuder*, to ask for a *ruum* (in one of the two greatest *karumaan*) for male Puyuma who are undertaking dangerous jobs (e.g. military service or overseas fishing), and so on. Instead of carrying out the *kiswap* for the bereaved family, the *kankankal* are exclusively responsible for invoking the spirits of the dead who have died a bad death in the places where these misfortunes have occurred, viz., *parugi*. Nowadays, some elderly *tamalamao* are also asked to install the *pinamuder* in a new building, or to make a *ruum* for a client in their own *lalauiinan*. It is explained that they are so old that they are like their male counterparts. Even so, such instances are scarce. Moreover, while a *ruum* may be requested by a *tamalamao* for a client who is sitting an exam, the *ruum* for protecting a Puyuma from dangerous tasks must be undertaken by the *kankankal*, and will usually be held in one of the two leading *karumaan*. Even so, the annual rites and the rites for the bereaved family whose member has died a bad death and who want to re-enter the 'community' demonstrate a sort of complementary relation between these two specialists (see Chapter 7; cf. Sung 1995: 67, Table 5).

The *pinamuder* is always installed on the left side of the interior of the house (facing outwards), the same side on which the *vini* was (is) put. Only after installing a *pinamuder* will the household members move into and live in the new house. As some Puyuma will say, without a *pinamuder* they feel that something is wrong when they sleep.

In other words, with the installation of a *pinamuder* the building not only becomes a house in which the household members can dwell: it also acquires 'a life'. Therefore, it is noteworthy that the Puyuma will often consider replacing the former *pinamuder* with a new one installed by another *kankankal* if the *kankankal* who installed the first *pinamuder* should die.¹⁴ Sometimes the Puyuma will also ask a *kankankal* to take the *pinamuder* away from a house that they are selling if any misfortune is traced to this *pinamuder*: but an old *pinamuder* is not re-installed in a new house. This feature suggests the significance of the house itself, once built and inhabited.

The Spatial Arrangement of a House

In contrast with the cases of the *karumaan*, the *parakwan* (men's house') and the *takoban* ('boys' house'), there are few studies about the architectural structure of the ordinary Puyuma house, let alone its measurement and plan. This is mainly attributable to the fact that the Puyuma have had contact with the Han-Chinese for a long time, and are so deeply sinicized that their house pattern (as well as many other customs) has changed (cf. Y-Y. Li et al. 1982). As I have stated in the last chapter, some changes have also occurred to the Puyuma due to their resettlement in Nan-wang. Even so, some information about the houses built since 1929 (and before) is interesting and will shed some light on the discussion above.

14. Similarly, it is often that when a *kankankal* dies, the Puyuma who have asked him to make a *ruum* will go to this *kankankal*'s house and return the *ruum* with a bottle of wine and some money, expressing their thanks for the dead *kankankal*'s help when he was alive.

The Puyuma house is basically rectangular. In former times (until the 1940s in some cases), the granary (*alili*) and the kitchen (*saokah*) were located inside the house. But they were aligned in different directions: while the kitchen (the former pattern was to have a three-stone-stove; cf. Wei et al. 1965: 368)¹⁵ was erected on the right-hand side (*tarawalan*) of the interior of the house, the granary was on the left (*tarawiri*). It was also on the left-hand side that the *pinamuder* was (and is) installed, at a place near the *tulak* ('the main post under the central beam').¹⁶ When the Puyuma still observed the custom of burying members of their household underneath the house, the corpses were buried under the right-hand rear section of the house (i.e., at the southwestern corner if the house faced eastwards) (cf. Wei et al. 1964: 23). When the corpses began to approach the central beam the household members would abandon their house and build a new one in another place, because the central beam demarcated the line distinguishing the living from the dead (Kono 1915: 386).

Both the *tulak* and the *pinamuder* were usually situated in the bedroom on the left-hand side near the front door, and were therefore not easily visible to visitors even when they entered the house. It is noteworthy that--- even up to the present day--- this bedroom is almost inhabited by adults (i.e., married people), even up to the present day. The occupation of this bedroom also reflects the life course of the household members. If a couple (with their own 'family of procreation') have branched from one spouse's natal family and built their own house, for instance, the couple will sleep in this bedroom of their new house, while their children sleep in other bedrooms. In time, as the children grow up and marry, this bedroom will often (either immediately or some years later) be given to the newly married couple, and the parents will

15. This sort of stove is still found inside the *karumaan*. In addition, when the *tamalamao* carry out the *kiswap* rite at the rear of the house for the dead who have died in bad ways, the kitchen is represented by erecting three stones.

16. As some Puyuma told me, in former times the installation of the *tulak* was an important moment in the building of the house. Invocations were made to the spirits to avoid frightening them.

move to another bedroom. In other words, giving the bedroom with the *pinamuder* to the younger couple represents the succession of the generations in the house.

The *kiswap* rite for an (ordinary) death illustrates the significance of the house as a building from another perspective. During this rite the attendant *tamalamao* (often numbering four or more because much time is needed for the whole procedure) will carry out various ritual acts to represent the separation of the dead from the household's survivors: spells are cast not only at the front and the rear entrances and in the kitchen, but also at the place where the coffin was put (to banish the spirit of the dead from the house).¹⁷ Then the *tamalamao* circumambulate and purify all household members and the accompanying kin who stand together at the centre of the house, as well as the *pinamuder*, the *vini* and the other bedrooms. After that, while the household members and the accompanying kin stay inside, the *tamalamao* go out and close the doors. They then circle the house three times in a counter clockwise direction and purify it (including the people inside); then they open the front door and let these people come out. After this, the participants go to the Peinan Stream (north of the settlement) together and throw away the ritual items used in the rite, purging the bereaved family and the accompanying kin. The attendant *tamalamao* also purify themselves there.¹⁸

The significance of the house itself is also expressed in the whole spatial arrangement of the plots offered by the Japanese authorities to the Puyuma households (see Chapter 3). Within these areas, each covering just less than one acre, three main parts can be distinguished; the house itself, the yard (*vavaru*) and the entrance or the main gate (i.e., *saliki*). The lane, called *pataran* ('outside'), runs alongside the entrance. The

17. The spell used during this process exhorts the dead with the words: *mukirumah, masisavakaze, kanarusu, kanadaze* (literally meaning 'go underneath the ground and abide no longer with living household members').

18. The purification rite for the *tamalamao* is separate from that for the other people. However, if a household member of a *tamalamao* has died, a purification rite is held separately for the *tamalamao*. That is, this *tamalamao* is not purged together with his/her other household members and near kin, nor with the other *tamalamao*.

word *pataran* is usually opposed to the word *savak* ('inside'). Each household's territory consists of these three sections, although their area is smaller today due either to household divisions or to the selling of parts of the land. However, each section has its own social uses. Generally speaking, the main gate demarcates the territory owned by the household, beyond which malevolent forces are prevented from trespassing to menace it. For instance, written obituary notices should be delivered to this entrance. (It is absolutely forbidden to take them into the interior of the house). When the Puyuma come back from visiting a bereaved family, they usually burn the incense and paper money that have been provided by the bereaved household at the entrance--- a custom borrowed from the Han-Chinese--- and wait for a while before they enter the house.

If the main gate signifies the boundary of the territory owned by a household,¹⁹ the yard is often used by household members to entertain and chat with their guests. In other words, it is primarily a place for social occasions. It is noteworthy that the yard is also the place where dead fetuses were formerly buried, in contrast with the custom of indoor burial for household members.²⁰ Furthermore, even if many Puyuma have now installed their ancestral tablets inside their houses, the rites for spirits and ancestors still take place in the yard. For instance, if the Puyuma sell land or other property that they have inherited from their ancestors, if they run their businesses well and earn money, or if they are successful in applying for a job, they often ask a *tamalamao* to carry out a rite to thank their ancestors. This 'thanksgiving rite' is called *senbah*. The rite is held in the yard, and ancestors from both the husband's and the wife's families are invoked. The prepared food, wine and coins are divided into two parts: the items on the right-hand side are offered to the spirits and the ancestors (of both the couple's families,

19. Sometimes I saw Puyuma (who had just left a bereaved household and were visiting another household to spread the bad news) stand at the main entrance or in the lane, calling out to the members of this household rather than entering the *vavaru*.

20. Customarily, a new-born baby does not become a full human being (*tau*) until or unless the *bwanan* rite has been held, see Chapter 5.

who have died of natural causes); while those on the left-hand side are offered to the wandering spirits of the dead, including household members (of both partners) who have died a 'bad death'.

In contrast with this apparent emphasis on 'inclusion', the house itself is rather excluded from the 'outside world'. Not only must the obituary notice be kept outside the house,²¹ it is also forbidden to install the marrying-in spouse's 'ancestral tablet', if there is one, inside it.²² More remarkably, millet requested from other households that are not branched off from the same natal household (i.e., *ali malisan la vini*, meaning 'different source of seed') cannot be taken into one's own house or put into the granary, but must be hung outside the house. When the day for sowing millet is approaching, this millet will be taken directly to be sown on one's own farm land. Only after the following harvest can the newly harvested millet (although grown from seeds that have been requested from other households) be taken into one's own granary.²³

21. To my knowledge, some Puyuma do not even bring into their own houses the towels which are given by bereaved households in return for help or money received from the other households. This is also a Han-Chinese custom.

22. Or, more specifically, it is forbidden to juxtapose two lines of ancestral tablets (e.g. the parents or ancestors of both partners) inside the same house. This exclusion is obviously related to the Puyuma notions about the *vini*. Nowadays, there are only two cases in which tablets representing the parents of both partners are installed inside the house. Both of them are Catholics. Puyuma who accept the Han-Chinese folk religion deal with the situation in different ways: the tablet for the marrying-in spouse's ancestors is installed either in a small room built in the yard, or on another floor. I will discuss the implications of this phenomenon in Chapter 7.

23. I would suggest that the crucial mechanism for this transformation of the seed from other households into one's own millet is the *pinisuvulan* (*suvul* means 'sprout'), which is usually planted on one's own land. Many instances in my fieldwork displayed the importance of the *pinisuvulan*. Every plot of land (if the land is dispersed) has a *pinisuvulan*. If a Puyuma sells a plot, s/he will ask a specialist to take the *pinisuvulan* from this land and to put it on her/his other plot of land. If s/he no longer has any land, then the *pinisuvulan* will be taken back to the granary. If a Puyuma buys a plot of farm land, s/he will firstly ask a specialist to carry out a *smilap* rite to purify this land. Then the specialist will cast a spell to make a *pinisuvulan* and put it on the land. Due to this custom, the Puyuma do not immediately go on the land when

To sum up: the house as a building (in contrast with the yard and the main entrance) is characterized by its possession of *pinamuder* and *vini*. When a rite conducted by the *tamalamao* for a person or a family finishes, both *pinamuder* and *vini* must be referred to in prayers to protect them from this rite. However, while the latter demonstrates a relationship connecting households that hold the same *vini*, it is the former that signifies the independence of an individual household. Although the installation of a *pinamuder* indicates the constitution of a house, the fact that an old *pinamuder* can be replaced and will not be re-installed in a new house suggests the importance of the house itself, and the intimate relationships between the house as a building and its occupants. Only when these issues--- particularly regarding the house itself--- are taken seriously into account, as I will argue in the following section, can some confusions caused by previous studies about the 'kinship system' in the Puyuma (and the Puyuma) be reconsidered, and some important but neglected aspects be re-investigated.

People Living in the Same House

Living together is an important phenomenon which is often neglected: nevertheless, it is still surprising that most previous studies among the Puyuma have little to say about this feature, when certain key words that have been translated as 'kinship group' or 'kin' are derived from the

they come back from visiting a bereaved household. If any close kin die during the harvest, the Puyuma do not stop harvesting until the millet of the land that has the same *pinisuvulan* has been completely harvested, because, as the elders explain, the millet has not yet been in mourning, *ali palalivu la vini* (*ali* means 'not', *malivu* means 'in mourning'). Customarily, the female survivors of the household, particularly the widows, are described as *malivu*. They wrap a piece of black cloth round their heads, and lower their heads when walking in the street. During the mourning period, the bereaved household members always stay at home and do not go out to work. Therefore the phrase *ali palalivu la vini* indicates that the harvesting should be continued and cannot be stopped. While the other household members can later visit the bereaved family after completely harvesting the millet on a plot of land, a certain person --- who is the first person in the household to start harvesting--- cannot go but stays at home and weeps for the deceased.

word for house, *rumah*: for instance, *sarumaanan* (consisting of *sa* 'one', *rumah* 'house', and *an* 'location') and *nirumanan*. In previous studies *sarumaanan* has been translated as 'family' (Sung 1964: 68; Wei et al. 1965: 370; see also Shih 1985), and *nirumanan* as 'relative' (L'academe Imperiale 1941: 111, 150; Ting 1978: 356). Certainly, there are some correspondences in these usages to what I was told during my fieldwork. For instance, the Puyuma often explained to me that *sarumaanan* means *i chia jen* ('the same family' in Mandarin). However, they also tell me that *sarumaanan* is not confined to people living in the same household, but includes people who have married out and the cluster of households that hold the same *vini* (*malisan la vini*). In this situation, the phrase which will often be used is *naniam sarumaanan* or *sarumaanan mimi* ('We are the same family'). By contrast, *nirumanan* is a phrase often heard on occasions such as marriages, funerals and other gatherings, and is used to emphasize the relationship of the people present to the household concerned. It usually includes the households holding the same *vini*, the affines (*kuravakan*; *kuravak* refers to siblings-in-law who are the same sex as the speaker), and people who have married out and their children. The Puyuma sometimes translate *nirumanan* as *shinsiki* (a Japanese word meaning 'relatives' who consist of 'kin and affine').

Nevertheless, some important features are not mentioned in these studies. By translating *sarumaanan* as 'family' and taking it for granted as a basic unit that is encompassed by the higher-level kin groups such as 'lineage' or 'clan', a confusion is not only made between 'family' as a kin group and 'household' as a residential unit (Holy 1996: 52 ff), but the significance of the household and its constitution is also neglected. This seriously misrepresents the indigenous conceptualizations of their 'kin relationship', reflecting the preoccupation of previous studies with a 'descent' approach (pro and con) which has been predominant among aboriginal studies in Taiwan through the early 1950s to the 1970s, and, to some extent, up to the present day (C-N. Chen 1976; cf. Chiao 1989; Shih 1985; Suenari 1995).²⁴

24. For instance, the Puyuma word *sajamunan* has been translated as 'lineage', and *samawan* as 'clan'. However, as heard in spells cast in rites

As I have already argued and will now continue to discuss, the house itself occupies an important position in illuminating relationships between people. Distinct from the above usages and connotations of both *sarumaanan* and *nirumanan*, a more specific expression used to denote people who live in the same house is '*na tau i savak*' (*tau* means 'human being', *savak* 'inside'). This phrase not only differentiates people living in the same house from those who (though closely related) dwell in other houses, but also suggests the significance of *savak* and its derivatives.

As I have mentioned above, *savak* is the opposite of *pataran*. Although its definite referents depend on the context, *savak* often means the interior of the house. To take two derivatives from *savak* as examples, *musavak* means 'entering the house' or 'marrying into (a household)', whereas *inusavakan* refers to the residential kinfolk of one's spouse (cf. Suenari 1968).²⁵ By contrast, the expression for the marriage by which one's spouse joins one's own household is *mala la tau* (*mala* means 'take'; the phrase literally means 'to take someone from another household'). In other words, referring to the people who live in the same house, the expression *na tau i savak* includes the marrying-in spouses, but excludes the people who formerly lived there but have since married into other households.

I knew one male Puyuma who was in his early fifties and had practiced an uxori-local marriage. His mother died, and--- having prepared for his mother's funeral rites--- he asked me about various Han-Chinese

and as explained by the Puyuma, *sajamunan* and *sarumaanan* are actually a pair of words. This is a sort of parallelism that is particularly widely expressed in the older songs and ritual spells--- such as '*bulai, asin*' ('beauty', referring to unmarried Puyuma girls, *bulabulayan*), '*vansal, malasao*' ('young man', referring to marriageable young men, *vansalang*), '*vuderlan, amian*' (*vuder* means 'the node of a bamboo', *ami* 'year'; it literally means 'new year'), to name a few examples. By contrast, etymologically *samawan* means 'the-sameness' (*mau* means 'likeness'), and (for instance) denotes the Puyuma in contrast with the Han-Chinese. That is, it does not refer to a kin group like a 'clan' as previous studies have suggested (cf. Hobart 1991: 52).

25. Otherwise, a *savak* means 'deep'. But this word is also used to emphasize the fact that something is so significant that its meaning cannot easily be explained. On the contrary, a *pataran* means something that is obvious and not very important.

customs relating to funerals. One night he had a severe argument with one of his younger brothers since the latter, unmarried and living at home, was not undertaking the responsibility to deal properly with the funeral. Alluding to me, this male Puyuma loudly addressed his younger brothers, saying: 'You see! He is my *aliahian*²⁶ and is a *bailan*.²⁷ He is not a sibling of this household, *amli la wawalian i savak*. However, he has helped us so much in dealing with our mother's funeral that I feel ashamed of you, my own siblings.'

The specificity of this phrase and its implications for addressing people who live in the same house, viz., *na tau i savak*, is further illustrated by the following case, though expressed in a different way:

One day, I was present at a *kiswap* rite. The dead person was the mother-in-law of a *tamalamao*. When the bereaved household and the near kin were preparing to be purged by the *tamalamao* by the riverside, this *tamalamao* asked the head of the *tamalamao* (*avuku*) if she should be separated from the other *tamalamao* in the purification rite due to the fact that the dead person was her own mother-in-law. This *tamalamao* had practiced an uxori-local marriage. The head of the *tamalamao* responded that because this dead person, though as close as her own mother-in-law, had not lived in the same household, *amli la tau i savak*, this *tamalamao* did not need to hold a separate rite from the other *tamalamao*.

In their daily life the Puyuma use expressions such as *na tau i savak* and *amli la tau i savak* to refer to people who live or do not live in the same house. This differentiation is also displayed in their allusion to the problems caused by the *vini*; the Puyuma make a distinction between *malegi la vini* (*malegi* means 'prohibition, particularly related to rites')²⁸ and *ma vini*. The former expression is used when something is wrong with

26. This is a reciprocal address by male Puyuma who have attended the boys' house in the same period. It also means 'friend', and is also a polite way in which a male adult addresses a young man who is a few years junior to him, such as in this case.

27. The Puyuma use this term to refer to the Han-Chinese, whose language is widely used on the island. (Sometimes, this dialect is called the Taiwanese or Fukien dialect). By contrast, they call the mainlanders *rutia*. Regarding the calendar, *bailan* means the Han-Chinese lunar system, while *zibon* ('Japanese') denotes the solar one.

28. The Puyuma often use the word *malegi* to allude to the fact that some important rules ('taboos') have been breached, which will have serious consequences (cf. L'academe Imperiale 1941: 72).

the *vini* due to the misbehaviour of household members, for instance if they immediately enter the granary after visiting a bereaved family. *Ma vini* refers to something that has occurred to a visitor and is related to the *vini* of the host: for instance, if the visitor sits too close to the place where the *vini* has been put. In other words, while the former expression is limited to people inside the house, the latter one refers to those who do not live it. It is with respect to this contrast that both marrying-in people and household members who have married out offer cases which are interesting to consider.

Musavak (marrying in) indicates that the marrying-in person is 'an outsider' to the household: but s/he is different from other outsiders because s/he has lived with them since the marriage. During my fieldwork I was often told by younger marrying-in women (because it is often the women rather than the men who take the rice or millet to cook) that they had the following similar experience. One day they felt itchy and found that something similar to the symptoms of smallpox was afflicting their bodies. Even when they visited doctors and took medicine, there was no improvement. Later, when their parents-in-law consulted the *tamalamao*, these symptoms were found to be caused by the *vini* of the households they had married into; that is, *mavini*. Once detected, either a *tamalamao* was asked to make an invocation, or one of her parents-in-law (for whom this household was the natal house; i.e., not the marrying-in one) brought her into the granary where the *vini* was put and some brief words were spoken, alluding to her as a member of this household. After that, the smallpox-like symptoms automatically disappeared.

This kind of episode contrasts interestingly with the marrying-out case. Unlike their marrying-in counterparts, marrying-out people live in houses different from their natal ones, although they can still visit their natal households. It is notable that if a marrying-out person and her/his 'family of procreation' wish to return to the natal household, customarily they cannot live inside the natal house but build another house nearby. This returning is called *mavuliyas paatayan* (*paatayan* means 'one's natal household'). Interestingly, the interdiction on living again with one's natal household members is expressed in terms of no longer sharing the same

stove, *sinaputan la avuan* (*avu* means 'ashes'; *avuan* therefore means 'the cooking place').

Even so, there are some ambiguities about the marrying-out people's relationships with their natal households: they are people who no longer dwell in their natal houses, but they seem to maintain intimate relationships with their natal households, as indicated by the usages of both *sarumaanan* and *nirumanan*. This 'paradox' is also well illustrated in the custom of *kivulas la vini* (*kivulas* means 'to borrow'). When an elder dies (in particular the person who is responsible for the *vini* of the household),²⁹ her/his descendants will ask this elder to leave some property to them before they put the elder's corpse into the coffin.³⁰ In this situation the 'descendants' consist of the dead person's children (no matter what their marriage patterns) and the latter's children. In other words, it is a relationship which goes beyond the confines of the household, and is bilaterally extended.

However, co-residence certainly provides a crucial mechanism by which the Puyuma define and regulate relationships between people in many situations, although some extensive relationships beyond the household are established with the marrying-in (or marrying-out) person as the medium. For instance, nowadays there are cases in which young male Puyuma (whose mothers have practiced virilocal marriages) are initiated by their own maternal grandfathers: but this is forbidden if both of them live in the same house. (It is also avoided, if possible, if the young man's

29. The person in charge of the *vini* is always a person who has grown up in a household, rather than one who has married in. That is, if a man practices a virilocal marriage, it is he rather than his wife who takes this responsibility. For instance, a middle-aged Puyuma with whom I was acquainted told me that when his father died, he (practicing uxorilocal marriage) and his sibling (regardless of marriage patterns) conducted the custom *kivulas la vini*. But when his mother died, they did not do this because his mother had practiced a virilocal marriage, i.e., she was a marrying-in person.

30. Using the *vini* to refer to property suggests its importance. If a well-known and elderly *kankankal* dies (an ordinary death), a younger one can ask for the ritual knowledge of this dead person. The situation is similar to *kivulas la vini*, but it is called *kivulas la vadi* (*vadi* can be approximately translated as 'word', but it refers particularly to formalized speech or oratorical skill. It also means the ritual spell).

parents have branched from his grandfather's house). Likewise, a *tamalamao* can carry out a purification rite for her/his parents if s/he has branched from her/his parents' house. But s/he cannot do this if s/he and her/his parents live in the same house. As the *tamalamao* explain, it is not possible to cure people who live in the same house (*na tau i savak ali inava*).

The following cases further illustrate the significance of the house itself, the relationships between the house and its occupants, and the relationships among the inhabitants of the same house:

case 4:

During my fieldwork I heard from a *tamalamao* that sometimes when she came back from her client's house she would hang up a string of nine *inasi* (clay-made beads, an important ritual apparatus for the indigenous specialists) inside her *lalauinan*. She said that whether or not she did this depended on whether any members of the client's household had died in the house which she had visited. If not, the household is 'good' (*inava*), and she would hang a string of *inasi* to thank her *kinidalian* ('a deceased *tamalamao* who had chosen her as her successor'). This act was called *mulawin*. When I heard this, I asked her how a house could exist inside which nobody had ever died. She immediately replied: 'Why should this situation not exist? My household is just such a case'. This *tamalamao* had branched from her parents and built a house for her 'family of procreation'. Although her father had died in her natal house, it was certain that no household member had ever died in the house where she lived. One day, I was present at a *smilap* rite for a newly constructed house that was near the older and smaller one where a middle-aged woman and her 'family of procreation' had lived. This woman's husband had died a few years previously when they lived in the older house. During the break I asked the senior *tamalamao* if the new household was a 'good one' (i.e., whether or not she would hang up a string of *inasi* when she went back to her *lalauinan*) because this woman's husband had died. The *tamalamao* replied: 'Because this household is now moving to a new house, I will do that'. This case corresponds to the fact that the old *pinamuder* will not be taken from the old house and re-installed in a new one, and indicates the significance of the house itself.

case 5:

When a curing rite for a person finishes, the specialist will carry out a ritual act, *mapelet*, not just for the person concerned and his/her household members, but for the house (represented here by the *pinamuder* and the *vin*). Afraid that the souls (*tinabawan*) of the members of the house will be shocked by the curing rite, the specialist takes a betel nut (inserted into which are some clay beads, *inasi*) and puts it on every person's head in turn. Before this, the specialist has taken this

betel nut and prayed to the spirits, during which s/he also mentions (and faces towards) the *pinamuder* and the *vini* of the house (even if the household no longer keeps the *vini*). After the spell, the specialist puts this betel nuts firstly on the head of the client, and casts the spell. Then s/he performs a similar act for the rest of the household members in chronological order from the youngest to the oldest, because it is considered that the soul of the child is weakest. The household members who are not in the house at this time are represented by their clothes. In dealing with these absent members (e.g. studying, doing military service, or making a living in the city) the specialist, standing at the front door with the betel nut in her/his right hand, prays in the direction of these people. Finally, this betel nut is put near the 'ancestral tablet'.

Case 6:

A young man died in a car accident. When the news was heard, his near kin, including his sisters who had married out, came to his home to help, but one of his sisters did not arrive. One day I came across her on the road, and asked whether she had gone back to her natal household. She said 'no'. She explained the reason for this: it had not yet been forty-nine days³¹ since her younger brother-in-law, who was temporarily renting a house in western Taiwan with his own family of procreation, had died.

case 7:

A specialist of my acquaintance told me about one of his experiences. He said he once did not consider that the regulations relating to the *pinamuder* needed to be observed by households with the same *vini* (i.e., the branched household and its natal household) in the same way as households without any such relationship. Nevertheless one day something happened which contradicted this opinion. When his MZD died, he and his family visited and expressed their condolences to her family. His MZD's household was branched from his. 'After that, we came back and entered our house,' he stated, 'But something happened. We saw the facial expression of my daughter--- she looked as if she had been hit. Afterwards, we went to a bamboo diviner and we were shown by the

31. This is a custom borrowed from the Han-Chinese. It is said that forty-nine days after a person has died, the spirit of the deceased will be fixed on the tablet installed for her/him, and will not wander any more. This custom is generally accepted by the Puyuma who have adopted the Han-Chinese folk religion, and has been reappropriated to provide various prescriptions for conduct. For instance, after the *kiswap* rite for a bereaved household, the close kin can immediately invite them to their houses. This is called *puanangi*. But--- interestingly--- the Puyuma think that it is better for the bereaved household to go to the houses of near kin that are outside Nan-wang for *paydaze* (*daze* means 'earth').

divination that before we visited my MZD's family, we had not informed the spirits and ancestors, or *pakalalam*. This case demonstrates again that even when households own the same *vini*, certain prayers should still be made before the visit.

case 8:

A middle-aged woman died. She had practiced an uxori-local marriage and her house was near her brothers', from whom she had divided. I asked one of her brothers if he went in and out of his sister's and his own house. He said he did. Then I asked him whether it mattered that he and his household members had come to see his sister and immediately re-entered his own house. He replied: 'Because we have the same *vini*, it does not matter. However, before I go to see my sister I burn incense and appeal to the ancestors not to be shocked when I go in and out of both houses'.

case 9:

A woman who had practiced an uxori-local marriage went in and out of her house and her father's when her father died. As in the above case, her house was built near her father's, from which hers was branched. When I asked her as above, the reply was similar: she had informed the spirits and ancestors. However, I was also told that if the houses had not been so near but were some distance apart, the situation would have been a little different. That is, she could not have immediately entered her own house when she returned from seeing her father; instead, she would have had to wait for a while before entering her own house.

To sum up: the house as a building is characterized by the *pinamuder* and the *vini*, and these features categorize and define the relationships between people of a so-called 'kin grouping'. The installation of a *pinamuder* distinguishes a house from a building such as a hut, and has consequences for the members of a household. Nonetheless, it is also the living occupants which give life to a building, making it a house:³² in other words, only when they have decided to live in a building, will the Puyuma consider installing a *pinamuder*. The following two cases, though they display it in an extraordinary way, amply illustrate these characteristics.

32. The former custom of indoor burial sheds some light on this feature. As I have stated above in the main text, when there was no longer enough space for the corpses of household members the household left this house and built another one, under which the rest of the household members might be buried.

case 10:

Three new terraced houses were built and were being devolved to a male Puyuma in his early sixties to his three sons. His youngest son and his own 'family of procreation' immediately moved into one of them. As usual, the *smilap* rite and the installation of a *pinamuder* had been carried out for this son's house. However, similar practices had not been undertaken for the other two houses. Later, because his oldest son's daughters had come from north Taiwan and were studying at local schools, these two procedures were undertaken. Finally, when the second son's marriage was approaching, the father asked a *tamalamao* to carry out the *smilap* rite, and the following morning, he himself (being a *kankankal*) installed a *pinamuder* for his second son's new house. It was interesting to note that while the Chinese New Year couplets were not attached on either side of the front door of the second son's house, this was done in both the oldest and the youngest's sons' houses--- during this time, neither the *smilap* rite nor the installation of the *pinamuder* had yet been undertaken for the second son's house.

case 11:

An elderly female Puyuma of my acquaintance taught me a great deal about the customs and the history of the settlement. One day I asked her if she had installed a *pinamuder* in her house (I was conducting a brief survey of the Puyuma households). She replied that because the house she lived in at that moment was rented from a neighbouring Puyuma household, she had not done this. Nevertheless, before she moved in she had asked a *tamalamao* to carry out the *smilap* rite. She explained to me, 'If this house was mine, I would ask a specialist to install a *pinamuder*: *Nanko rumah, pamuder da!*'

As I have discussed above, complicated relationships exist between people and houses, not only when people are in the same household, but also in cases when they are connected by means of the *vini* and are not living together. Furthermore, in terms of the *vini* an independent household not only constitutes part of a cluster of households that hold the same *vini*, but is also 'subordinate' to the 'original stem household' in charge of a *karumaan*, and to the leading families whose *karumaan* constitute the ritual locales where the *vini* is the primary concern. It is this feature that I will consider in the following section.

***Vini*: The Relationship Between a Household and Its Natal Household**

We have heard that the *pinamuder* and the *vini* are two important items characterizing a Puyuma household: however, it is interesting to

find that the Puyuma refer more often to the *vini* and think it more significant than the *pinamuder*, if a comparison is made. As the Puyuma often told me, 'the *vini* is "our root" (*nanda rami la vini*)'.³³

case 12:

When I asked the elders what were the important items constituting a Puyuma household, the reply was the *pinamuder* and the *vini* and, if they were present, the Chinese deity image and the ancestral tablet. When I continued to ask which was the most important, their answers were: the most important was the *vini*, then the *pinamuder*, and finally, probably the Chinese deity and the ancestral tablet.

case 13:

A *kankankal* who is now responsible for the rites held in the greatest *karumaan*, i.e., that of the *Pasaraat* family, told me that the *vini* is the greatest ritual concern of the Puyuma. He said that if a Puyuma bought a house in which a *pinamuder* had been installed by the former occupants, then s/he will ask a specialist to take it away and replace it with a new one, because the *vini* of both households are not the same (*ali mukasa vini*; *mukasa* means 'togetherness').

The Puyuma often tell a similar story which further illuminates the status of the *vini*. When the woman in case 8 died, another woman (in her early sixties) who had married into a household that had the same *vini* told me: if the deceased woman's younger brother was constructing his own house at that time, he could stop the construction and visit his sister's household, and after the *kiswap* rite he could continue the construction

33. Even if many Puyuma households no longer cultivate millet, their former staple food--- and therefore do not retain an *alili*, where the *vini* is stored--- nowadays the specialists still continue to mention the *vini* (e.g. '*vini, azan*') when they cast spells. The plant metaphor is often used by the Puyuma in emphasizing something important. *Rami* ('the root'), for instance, often refers to the importance of a custom, a family, a sort of 'origin', and so on: '*a rami da zegiyan*' means that a custom is significant and its meaning is abstruse, whilst '*iswa keido nando rami i Pasaraat*' means 'where is the root of a family like the *Pasaraat*'. By contrast, *rurus* ('the branch') means 'children, descendants, younger people'. For instance, '*uliyen rurus*' refers to a person who does not have children (or descendants). It is also a polite expression used by a younger person when s/he talks to the elder. The pair '*rami, rurus*' refers to a sort of order or rank: for instance, in the marriage celebration, when the Puyuma distribute the betel nuts that are given to the bride's family by the bridegroom's, it is phrased that this distribution is from the *rami*, and ends in *kia rurusan*.

of his house. As she explained, 'The *vini* of their households are together (*mukasa la vini*)'.

In their use of expressions such as *mukasa la vini* these cases indicate that households rather than individual people are the objects to which the *vini* is related:

case 14:

A male Puyuma had practiced uxori-local marriage and lived with his 'family of procreation' which had divided from his parents-in-law. When his father-in-law died, he went in and out of both households (which were close to each other). However when his own mother died, he and his wife stayed and slept in his natal house. Before the funeral rite he sometimes went back to his own house to fetch some necessities, but he did not enter it, instead standing in the road and calling to his children inside to give him these things. As he explained, the crucial point in these two situations was that his own household and his natal one did not have the same *vini*; but his own household and that of his parents-in-law's did.

Like the *pinamuder*, the *vini* is a factor that can cause problems to a household if its members are ignorant of correct procedures:

case 15:

This happened to a female Puyuma who had married a mainlander husband and had lived in Taipei for more than two decades. One day she went back to Nan-wang and had herself healed by a *tamalamao*. She explained to me that a few days previously when she was in Taipei she had found that something was wrong with her eyes. The reason--- detected by a bamboo diviner--- was related to the *vini* in her natal household, i.e., *malegi la vini*: her brother had carelessly pulled down the *alili* when he rebuilt a kitchen. Therefore, she had come back to Nan-wang to ask the *tamalamao* to carry out a healing rite.

case 16:

A few years ago, a female elder had a serious illness and almost died. Her family consulted a bamboo diviner, and her illness was attributed to the fact that her household had thrown away the *vini* a long time before. Her household members asked a *tamalamao* to conduct a rite, and rebuilt a small *alili* near the house. After that, the elder recovered.

The *vini* does seem to be more important than the *pinamuder*. For example, if a house is sold the *pinamuder* is not taken by the household to their new home. However, the *pinisuvulan* (*suvul* means 'sprout'; see note 23) representing one's own land should be taken away from the land if it is sold, and either brought to one's other plot(s) of land or taken

home and buried in the yard (if the household does not have an *alili*) or put close to the *pinamuder*. The following case provides an interesting instance because the consequences occurred nearly two decades later:

case 17:

In early June of 1995 I discovered that a middle-aged man, who was the MMZS of my landlord, had asked a *tamalamao* to carry out a rite that was related to the *vini*. I visited this Puyuma to find out what had happened to him. He explained that nearly twenty years before he had sold a piece of land near the river bank, and with the money he had bought another piece of land. At that time he did not ask a specialist to take away the *pinisuvulan* that had been installed on the land he sold. He did not think it was important. Recently, however, he had been suffering from apoplexy, which was detected by a bamboo diviner as being caused by this oversight. Therefore, he had asked a *tamalamao* to accompany him to the land that he had sold so long before and to conduct a rite there. Because he could not remember exactly where the *pinisuvulan* had been put, the *tamalamao* used a betel nut to represent it, which, associated with some soil, was later taken away and put on his other piece of land. The *tamalamao* cried a little when she was praying, which she later explained to the middle-aged man and his wife signified the arrival of his ancestors (*mudede la tumuamuan*; *tumuauman* means 'ancestors').

The above four cases suggest something interesting. Certainly, households are connected to each other by means of the *vini* (i.e., *mukasa la vini*). But the *vini* also represents the ancestors (or one's deceased parents) from whom one inherits properties such as farm land. Furthermore, if the *vini* is the main means of connection between the independent households, it also draws a line between them and those which do not hold the same *vini* (*ali mukasa la vini*). In this sense, it provides an important means for clarifying whether a household is a case of *muslem* ('branching') or of *mavuliyas paatayan* ('a marrying-out person with his/her family of procreation returning to build a house near the natal house'). Because the Puyuma seldom duplicate the ancestral tablets once they are branched (as the Han-Chinese do), it becomes difficult to tell *mavuliyas* from *muslem* if a couple come back to the land occupied by the marrying-in spouse's natal household and build their own house nearby. In such a situation, an easy way to determine this is to ask whether or not the household concerned has the same *vini* as its natal household.

case 18:

A middle-aged man had practiced an uxori-local marriage, and a few years later he came back with his own 'family of procreation'. He built a small house to the rear of his natal household. Because he and his wife were Catholics, they ignored the customs related to the *vini*. One day I asked one of his neighbors, a woman in her early sixties, whether this man's household was branched from his parents-in-law's or was a case of *mavuliyas*. This woman said: 'It is a case of *mavuliyas* because this man has built his house in the place where the former *alili* was located'.

The division between *muslem* and *mavuliyas paatayan* is significant. As I have mentioned above, the Puyuma cite the issue of the stove (*zikelan*)³⁴ (or the cooking place, *avuan*) to explain why people in the case of *mavuliyas paatayan* cannot re-inhabit with their natal household members, although they admit that it also has something to do with the *vini*. However, to my knowledge, in cases of *mavuliyas paatayan* people will eventually either move back into the natal houses to take care of their parents, becoming members of the natal households, or their houses (built nearby though separate from their natal ones) are recognized as having the same *vini* and the same household names as their natal ones. Certainly, some rites seem to be necessary for such a transformation. But it seems that the constitution of the households in cases of *mavuliyas paatayan* is also important. That is, a household in this case is exclusively composed of the couple themselves and/or their children, and does not include any elder who belongs to the household which either spouse has married into (but is now leaving).

34. That the stove signifies the sharing of food among the living household members is well demonstrated in the *kiswap* rite. During this rite, betel nuts respectively standing for the dead and the stove are prepared and then taken away after the spell, signifying that the dead no longer share food with the living household members. I have been told that in former times when the front door was erected, the occupants would light the stove (representing the cooking), signifying that the establishment of a house was finished, and that there was no *zegiyan* with the construction. I have also been told that kicking over someone's cooking stove is a grave offence. When I undertook my fieldwork in Pinaski, for instance, a Puyuma told me of this case: a male Puyuma's death from a fall into a ravine was attributed to the fact that he had kicked over a fellow villager's stove. In addition, a branched household can invite the members of its natal household if a member of the latter has died and the *kiswap* rite has been finished, because both households are of different stoves (although the former is branched from the latter).

case 19:

A male elder in his mid-seventies told me his own story. He had married uxorilocally. Four years later, because he could not get along with his wife's older sister's marrying-in husband, he and his wife came back and built a house near his natal house. He and his wife were given a quarter of an acre of farm land by his parents-in-law, mainly through the help of his father-in-law's brother. In their new house, his wife gave birth to a daughter and a son. After another four years had passed, his parents one day gave him millet to sow (*puvini la dawa*), and asked a *tamalamao* to conduct a rite, saying that ego was a person of the same household (*nanda tau i savak*).³⁵ After his wife died (nearly two years later), ego moved into the natal house with his parents.

case 20:

A female Puyuma in her sixties had married virilocally. Later, she returned with her 'family of procreation', and built a house near her natal one. She divided the land with her younger sister, and installed a tablet for her own parents, viz., *kisbah la avu* (*kisbah* means 'asking and taking' and *avu* 'ashes of incense'; the phrase literally means 'the duplication of ancestral worship'). One day she consulted a bamboo diviner, because she had been ill for some time. The cause was attributed to her deceased paternal grandparents, who wanted to be worshipped. Therefore she asked a *tamalamao* chosen by divination to go to the Peinan area, where the predecessors of today's Puyuma had lived. Arriving at the place where her paternal grandparents' house had stood, the *tamalamao* conducted a rite, invoking the spirits of this woman's grandparents and bringing them back to her house in Nan-wang. After a series of rites, a wooden board on which her grandparents' names were written was inserted in the ancestral tablet that had been installed in the hall. In the beginning, because I did not know that this woman's father himself was a case of *mavuliyas paatayan* and that this 'ancestral tablet' did not include her mother's parents but only her own parents, I was keen to find out whether it was possible that two lines of ancestors (maternal and paternal) could be worshipped together in a house. I asked an accompanying *kankankal* how this woman could install her paternal grandparents' tablet in the house. He replied: 'She can do it, if there are no other elders'. Later, speaking to the woman herself, I began to understand the above situation.

To sum up: in contrast with the fact that every household is independent in terms of its own *pinamuder*, households can be related to each other

35. A report from a *tamalamao* seems to make this case and its implications clearer. This *tamalamao* says that she cannot give the *vini* to her marrying-out son (if any) if he lives with his wife's kin-folks (i.e., in the household he has married into). However, she can give him the *vini* if he and his 'family of procreation' have divided from his wife's natal household.

by the *vini*, particularly a branched household and its natal one, *paatayan*. In a sense the phrase *paatayan* means the natal household of the marrying-out person, but the Puyuma also use it to refer to the natal household from which one's own has divided (rather than the more 'original' one, from which one's natal household has divided). The natal household and its branched one(s) not only hold the same *vini* (*mukasa la vini*): the former one also owes some obligations to the latter. For instance, if a member of the branched household dies, the natal household must help to deal with the misfortune (e.g. lending necessities like chairs, bowls, and so on) in a way that is avoided if possible by the other Puyuma households.³⁶ Also, according to custom it is the *paatayan* among the kin that first invites the bereaved household to its house, viz., *pualangi*.³⁷

That the position of the *paatayan* is superior to its branched household(s) is also related to the *vini*, because it is from the former that the latter takes its *vini*.³⁸ It therefore seems reasonable that it is the *paatayan* rather than the branched household(s) which keeps the *vini*, even if nowadays many of the Puyuma households no longer change in agricultural activity (not even planting rice, let alone the former staple food, millet).

36. Apart from this, the natal household seems also to be a place in blessing for its branched household(s). I was told a story by a female elder who has married uxorilocally. She said that she had given birth three daughters in the house she lived in after she divided from her natal one, but all of them had died when they were very young. Later, accepting the suggestion from the elders that she should have given birth in her natal house, she went back when the date of childbirth was approaching. She finally gave birth to a girl, and stayed in her natal house for a month. Her daughter is in her early fifties now.

37. For instance, if one spouse dies, the natal household of the survivor must firstly invite the bereaved household, then the natal household of the dead person. If the spouse of the dead person had died previously, it is the natal household from which the present household has branched which takes the first position, followed by the natal household of the marrying-in person.

38. As the Puyuma say, the branched household cannot give the natal one the *vini*.

case 21:

A *tamalamao* in her seventies once told me that her household was a *paatayan*, and that therefore she could not cast away the *vini*. However, she said, 'If a branched household does not want *vini*, it is all right'. 'Now my daughter-in-law's MZ is sick', she continued, 'because she does not sow millet, *puvini*'. She even made fun of this woman who had died a few days before: 'because she did not sow millet, she died (*ali puvini rawa, miladay*)'.

If the *vini* is a mechanism by which a branched household is contained by its *paatayan*, it also provides a linkage that connects a branched household with an 'original stem household' (*karumarumaan*), which is often associated with a ritual house, *karumaan*, where the *vini* is a very important concern. Furthermore, it is also with the *vini* that the priority of the 'community'--- represented here by the two greatest *karumaan* that are associated with the two leading families--- over both the component individual households and the ordinary 'original stem households' holding their own *karumaan* can be well illustrated.

The Significance of *Karumaan* and Its Implications

Etymologically, the word *karumaan* is composed of *ka* ('real'), *rumah* ('house') and *an* ('location'). *karumaan* therefore literally means 'real house' (Mabuchi 1976:99). Nevertheless, the word '*karumaan*' refers to two different things according to accent, as the Puyuma tell me. That is, when the accent is put on the syllable '*an*', *karumaan* means a ritual house that is built close to and is supervised by an 'original stem household': but when the accent is on '*rumah*' it refers to the 'original stem household' itself (in this instance, it is often referred to as *karumarumaan*). Nevertheless, previous studies among the Puyuma seem to have neglected this important distinction, particularly with respect to the significance of the *karumaan* as a ritual house (see Chapter 2). This neglect is mainly attributable to the 'descent-oriented' approach which has preoccupied these studies: the *karumaan* is interpreted as a high-level 'kin group' beyond the individual household (or family), and passionate debates have raged about whether the Puyuma kinship system is matrilineal, or bilateral or something else (Chiao 1972; Mabuchi 1976; Shih 1972, 1976;

Suenari 1970; Sung 1965; Wei 1962). But as I have discussed throughout this chapter: well up to the present these debates have not only misrepresented the Puyuma (and, to some extent, the Puyuma) kinship system by taking for granted both the constitution of a household and the relationship between a branched household and its natal one: they have also left unexamined the issue that the greatest families' position relates to the role of their *karumaan* as the ritual locales of the 'community', where the *vini* is a main concern. Neither have the paradoxical features characterizing the *karumaan* been discussed--- for instance, it is a locale with which the *vini* is concerned, but it is built outside the house. Contrary to these studies, I would stress that the importance and implications of the *karumaan* will be recognized when it is considered as a ritual locale, to which the *vini* is related. It is this issue that will be dealt with in the rest of this chapter.

Karumaan In Nan-wang

In 1995, there were four *karumaan* in Nan-wang.³⁹ Based both on previous studies and on my own fieldwork, I purpose that some common features seem to characterize this specific kind of institution. Firstly, the *karumaan* is exclusively associated with the 'original stem household' that supervises it. Secondly, all *karumaan* are built facing eastwards (i.e., towards the direction in which the sun rises) and outside (though close to) the 'original stem houses': in other words, it does not constitute part of the house itself. Thirdly, the *karumaan* is the place where important ritual implements are stored and where important rites are held, such as the *pubiaw* ('the deer rite') and *duruliyavak la vini* ('officiating over the newly harvested millet', *dawa*, in July and the hill rice, *vindoang*, in December inside the *karumaan*'; see Chapter 7). In former times, as

39. The *karumaan* of the *Sapayan* family perished during my earlier period of fieldwork in Nan-wang in the mid-1980s, due to a series of misfortunes that had occurred to its 'original stem household': two male members of this household sequently died in car accidents. Therefore, the household survivors asked a *kankankal*, who was also a member of this family but lived in a branched household, to conduct a rite and seal the door of this *karumaan*.

recounted by Puyuma whose households have been (or used to be) in charge of a *karumaan*, there used to be a bed inside the *karumaan* where a person (or a couple) from the household could have slept--- a feature I have not seen since I undertook fieldwork in Nan-wang in 1985.

Regardless of these common characteristics and the similarity of their architectural structures (cf. Figure 4-1 A, B; cf. F-F. Chang 1976; Sung 1995: 57 ff), a significant distinction is made among these *karumaan*. The *karumaan* of the *Pasaraat* and *Rara* families are treated as ritual locales concerning the 'community' (*zekaI*), although the Puyuma used to have six main *karumaan*, each of them being associated with a men's house (see Chapter 3). By contrast, the other two *karumaan* (viz., the *Kunas* and the *Tabelengan*) are mainly the concern of their own families and near kin. In other words, in the Puyuma's view the former two *karumaan* not only signify the continuity of the Puyuma 'community' in terms of the ritual practices held in them (see Chapter 7): they are also important ritual locales from which the Puyuma can ask the spirits to protect them from dangers or other malevolent forces.

case 22:

I often heard this report in my fieldwork: during World War II Allied military airplanes were bombing the island, including eastern Taiwan. (The island was then under Japanese rule). The *kankankal* went to the two leading *karumaan*, took the barbed spear heads (*sananang*) that were stored there, and--- erecting them before the front doors of each *karumaan*--- conducted rites and cast a spell. These rites were successful, my Puyuma informants said: the spirits prevented the Allied pilots from seeing the 'community', and they therefore failed to bomb it. Many bombs fell on other areas in the vicinity, but none on Nan-wang (cf. Sung 1995: 59).

case 23:

Two greatest *karumaan* are also ritual locales where the rites are held to ask for *ruum* ('amulets') to protect Puyuma who are undertaking dangerous activities. One day, a male elder told me of his own experience during the period of Japanese rule. In 1941 he was drafted to fight in Southeast Asia. As he knew, about 1,800 aboriginal soldiers had been recruited, but only 474 had survived. This included almost 20 Puyuma, only 3 or 4 of whom had died--- not from gunshot wounds, but by being bombed. He said that he had asked for a *ruum* from the *karumaan* of the *Rara* family before he left Nan-wang. When I asked him why he did not

go to the *karumaan* of the *Kunas* or the *Sapayan* family, he replied: 'those *karumaan* are not efficient (*ali masek; masek* means 'strong, powerful'); only the *karumaan* of the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara* are powerful'. Nowadays, even if a *kankankal* prays for a *ruum* for his client in his own house rather than in one of the two greatest *karumaan*, he must refer to this *karumaan* in his officiation.⁴⁰

In this sense, particularly in the cases of the two greatest *karumaan*, the Puyuma tell me that the *karumaan* functions like a Han-Chinese 'shrine' (*miao*). However, the analogy between the *karumaan* and the shrine suggests that it is not a place exclusively concerned with the ancestors (of a certain kin group) as some previous studies have noted,⁴¹ but is also a ritual site where the spirits are invoked (F-F. Chang 1976: 12; Sung 1995); cf. L'academe Imperiale 1941: 39).

Karumaan as a Locale to Which the *Vini* is Related

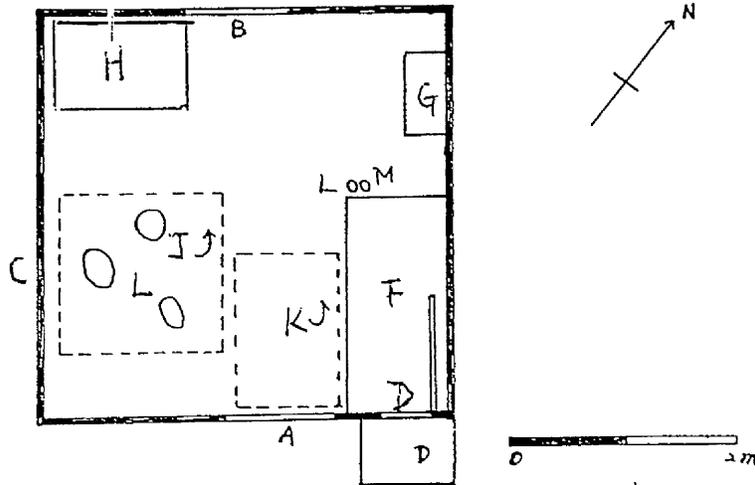
Variouly concerning the whole 'community' and the family and its near kin, two rites are commonly held in the *karumaan*: the *pubiaw* rite and *duruliyavak la vini*. Regarding the *pubiaw*, I was told by the elders and by members of the households that are in charge of the *karumaan* (i.e., the *mikarumaan*) that this rite is held on occasions such as the death (and even the birth) of the members of these households, or the re-establishment of a *karumaan*. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the *pubiaw* rite is also called *pakabukal kana vini* (*bukal* means 'new'; the

40. However, I am also told that a *ruum* for a more dangerous work (e.g. doing military service or overseas fishing) or for very important things should be made in one of the two greatest *karumaan*. In 1995 when a local school's baseball team were going abroad for a championship competition, for instance, a rite was held by a specialist in the *karumaan* of the *Rara* family; the coach of the team was a Puyuma and a member of this family.

41. For instance, Ino (1910), a Japanese ethnologist, reported earlier this century that the spirits of those who died (from natural causes) would go to the *karumaan* and join their ancestors at its southwestern corner. Nevertheless, I could not confirm this report during my conversation with the specialists and the elders. Furthermore, the ancestors mentioned on this occasion are not specified but are rather referred to by the generic expression '*maidangan, tumuanmuan*' ('the elders, the ancestors').

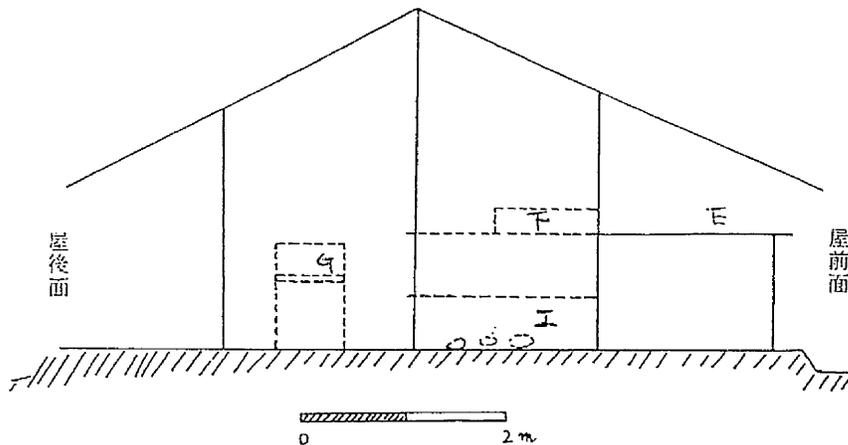
Figure 4-1 The Architectural Structure of the *Karumaan* of Pasaraat

A. The Plane View of a *Karumaan*



- | | |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| A: front door | H: bed |
| B: rear door | I: hearth |
| C: window | J: suspended frame |
| D: window | K: suspended frame |
| E: bamboo rack | L: funnel-shaped bamboo ware |
| F: altar | M: spear handle |
| G: box of charms | |

B. The Profile of a *Karumaan*



Source: A. Wei et al (1954:18)

B. Sung (1995: 60)

phrase means 'regenerating the *vini*'),⁴² and that the origin of this rite is related to a legendary act of redemption performed by two brothers in atonement for killing their own father. While the implications of the latter aspect will be discussed below, I want to suggest here that the *vini* is also the main concern in this rite. This characteristic is vividly demonstrated in the case of re-constructing a *karumaan*, in which the rite, *pusavak la vini* (*savak* means 'inside'; this literally means 'putting the *vini* inside the *karumaan*'), must be conducted on the morning after the *pubiaw* rite.

As the specialists have told me, a *pubiaw* rite has to be held by (one or more) *kankankal* after a *karumaan* has been rebuilt. However, on the following morning it is the task of the *tamalamao* to conduct the rite called *pusavak la vini*. The following brief report is by specialists who have seen such a rite,

On arrival the *tamalamao* stands at the front door of the newly established *karumaan*, and makes a prayer to inform the spirits and the ancestors that she will be conducting the rite. Then she enters the *karumaan* and takes out all the ritual implements that are in her spiritual bag (*aliut*)--- i.e., 'to empty the bag'. Later, hanging the bag around her neck and grasping her spiritual bell (*sinsingan*) in her right hand, the *tamalamao* stands at the front door of the *karumaan* again and casts the spell. Then, invoking the *vini* to enter, she simultaneously steps backwards into the *karumaan*. Inside the *karumaan*, she turns the bag upside down, and out of it fall various grain-seeds (millet, hill rice, and so on). These seeds will be wrapped and carefully kept inside the *karumaan*.

That the rite *pusavak la vini* is confined to this occasion suggests that the *vini* is the important and inseparable constituent of the *karumaan*. This significance is well demonstrated in the rites directly concerned with the *vini*--- sowing, harvesting, and storing the millet. It is with these

42. Some informants mention that the rite is also held when a baby is born to the household that is in charge of the *karumaan*. Certainly there are many prohibitions concerning the period of pregnancy and procreation (cf. Chapter 5). However, considering both the usage of the word *pakabukal* and the ritual process in the reconstruction of a *karumaan*, I would suggest that the rite is probably held mainly on these two occasions. While I have observed the *pubiaw* rite several times, I have never seen the reconstruction of the *karumaan*. The following report is a brief description reported by the specialists.

rites that a ranked relationship is displayed; in other words, seemingly independent individual households are subsumed beneath their own 'original stem households' overseeing the *karumaan*, which follow the two greatest 'original stem households' (of the *Pasaraat* and *Rara* families) that are in charge of the two leading *karumaan*.

Nowadays the Puyuma cultivate rice, having substituted it for millet as their staple food; and only about one sixth of the Puyuma households (30 out of 201 households) keep the *vini*. The notion of *vini* is transferred to rice (*rumai*) and other kinds of grain--- but not to cash crops like sweet apple, sugarcane, and betel nut leaf.⁴³ Nevertheless, the Puyuma still make some significant distinctions between millet and rice. For instance, they give different terms to the place where the millet is put (i.e., *alili*) and where the rice is stored (i.e., *soko*, which means 'granary' in Japanese). Even if some Puyuma store their millet and rice in the same granary, they do not put them together but in different areas. Furthermore, as the Puyuma say, they never use the word '*mavini*' in the case of rice, nor such *vini*-specific terms such as *gemdi* ('picking'), *maput* ('storing'), and *mulimau* (literally meaning 'making offerings to the ancestors and beginning to eat the new millet'). This distinction reflects the significance of the notion of *vini* and its representation in millet, by which the Puyuma themselves are differentiated from neighbouring peoples like the Ami, the Han-Chinese, and so on.

One day when I was visiting a *tamalamao*, a male Puyuma of my acquaintance arrived and mentioned that some millet planted on his land had been cut and taken away. Sitting nearby, I asked whether it was a Puyuma who had done this. The *tamalamao* replied that it was certainly not done by a Puyuma, as stealing another's millet was a serious offence under a 'ritual prohibition' (*malegi*). The *tamalamao*'s grandson then said to this Puyuma, 'Perhaps it was done by the Han-Chinese or the Ami!'

It is also the *vini* that demonstrates the important position of the *karumaan*, particularly in a series of agricultural activities around millet.

43. Nowadays, when the Puyuma (with the exception of Western religious followers) harvest their rice they do not attend funerals or visit bereaved households until they have harvested and stored the rice. For the Puyuma who still plant millet, this visiting will also be postponed until they have stored the millet inside the *alili* (i.e., *maput*).

Almost every Puyuma of sixty or more years of age in Nan-wang has experience in sowing and harvesting millet. When millet was still the staple food (until the late 1940s), there was a mutual-help agricultural team, *sailaban*, which consisted of a cluster of households not necessarily related to each other. As the Puyuma recollected, it was through this mutual help that they were acquainted with each other and met each others' children. But it was also with the cultivation of millet that the Puyuma learnt certain prescriptions associated with this crop.

Of these regulations the significant ones were to do with sowing (*puvini*), weeding (*gusgus*), harvesting (*malaani*) and storing (called *duruliyavak* in the case of the *karumaan*, and *maput* for ordinary households). The ranked relationship between households was manifested in these agricultural activities: each of them was undertaken first by the 'original stem household' of the *Pasaraat* family, followed by the *Rara* and then by the other households. And if ordinary households also had *karumaan* that were supervised by their own 'original stem households', they could not conduct these activities until their own 'original stem households' had done so.

The importance of the *karumaan* was further demonstrated in the *mulimau* rite, during which Puyuma households began to eat their new millet. While the Puyuma of ordinary households could eat new millet that had been cultivated by other households before they conducted *mulimau* in their own houses, this was seriously forbidden to the 'original stem households' which supervised the *karumaan*.⁴⁴

In other words, an intimate relationship exists between *vini* and *karumaan*, particularly in cases of the greatest *karumaan*. As the elders explain, the 'original stem household' of the *Pasaraat* that is in charge of the *karumaan* hold the most privileged position because the *Pasaraat*'s *karumaan* is the greatest, *mazumaidan vini la Pasaraat* (*maidan* means 'the

44. A similar prohibition is found in cases of the *tamalamao*. That is, the *tamalamao* firstly have to conduct *mulimau* to their own *kinidalian* inside the *lalaunan*. Only after that can they eat new millet cultivated by the other households.

elder, the older').⁴⁵ The superiority of the greatest *karumaan* was notably demonstrated in the case of *gemdi* ('picking'). If a certain household's millet ripened much earlier than the leading family's did, and had to be harvested ahead of time, this household would inform the 'original stem household' supervising the greatest *karumaan*. Then a person from this leading family--- who was usually responsible for the *vini*--- would go to the household's land, fetch three sticks of millet, and take them to a spot in front of the *karumaan*. Only after this act of *gemdi* could the household start harvesting their millet (*malaani la dawa*).

This situation provides a compelling illustration of the importance of the *karumaan* supervised by some leading families. It is through these greatest *karumaan* that the independent households are contained by and subordinated to the 'community'.

Vini: The Relationship Between the 'Community' and the Household

As I have already mentioned, *vini* is an important concern of the Puyuma, even though not all of them cultivate millet nowadays. And as I have indicated, although the notion of *vini* is also applied to the case of rice, certain significant distinctions are still made between millet and rice. Instead of wet-rice (introduced by the Han-Chinese), only millet (in July) and hill rice (in December) are stored in the *karumaan*. And it is around millet that the Puyuma annually hold an important rite, thanking the legendary ancestors and spirits who have brought them the *vini* of millet. These rites are called *Muraliyavan* and *Kiaamian*.⁴⁶ It is noteworthy that

45. The word *mazumaizan* also refers to 'the oldest' among the siblings (or the children). By contrast, the youngest is referred to as *marararak* (*rarak* means 'child').

46. *Mu* means 'going towards' and *raliyavan* 'seashore'. Therefore, *Muraliyavan* means that the Puyuma go to the seashore and officiate over the new millet towards Orchid island, from which two legendary ancestors originally brought millet. By contrast, *Kiaamian* means 'going northwards' (*ami* meaning 'north'), in other words, officiating towards Mt. *Tu luan shan*. While *Muraliyavan* used to be held by members of the men's houses of *Balubalu* and *Karunun* and was associated to the *karumaan* of the *Rara* family, members of the mens' houses of *Patabang* and *Kinutul* participated in *Kiaamian*, with which the *Pasaraat* family was associated (cf. Table 3-1).

only after the rites have been conducted can new millet harvested by the individual households be taken out of the 'community', and only then can a household ask for millet seeds from other households to be sown in the following season.

During the period between the beginning of the harvesting of millet and the end of *Muraliyavan* and *Kiaamian*, the ritual implements used in a purification rite for a person or a household are put in a place near the house (e.g. in the yard, or in a more secret place along the road), rather than taken to the boundary of the 'community' as is usually done. The specialists explained this to me as that 'because millet is now being harvested, we must take the *vini* out of the "community" by putting these ritual implements outside the boundary'. Likewise, but more significantly, the *kiswap* rite for a bereaved household will be postponed until the afternoon after *Muraliyavan* and *Kiaamian* has been held. This means that a person who dies during the harvesting season is particularly unfortunate: not only will few Puyuma visit the bereaved household due to their own *vini*, but the bereaved household will also remain in a state of mourning for a long time after the funeral rite has been carried out. Only after *Muraliyavan* and *Kiaamian* can the *kiswap* rite be conducted for this household, and can the bereaved household be invited by their near kin to their houses. This delay is explained by the fact that a *kiswap* rite conducted when any Puyuma households are harvesting (and the *vini* is thus entering the 'community') is thought to take away the *vini*.

In my view the delaying of the *kiswap* rite for the bereaved household has important implications. As I have discussed throughout this chapter, *vini* is an important notion (and object) connecting households which hold the same *vini* and simultaneously differentiating them from households of different *vini*. Interestingly, in *Muraliyavan* and *Kiaamian* this differentiation among households is transcended in terms of the 'community' (and its boundary). In other words, it is through the *vini* that the 'community' is expressed in a way that not only contains the individual households, but also demarcates itself in terms of the boundary. This characteristic is further illuminated by the procedure which ensues when a household's granary (where the *vini* has been put) catches fire. In this eventuality, the rite, *balirus*, will be undertaken by a *tamalamao* (rather than by a

kankankal), and the water which is fetched⁴⁷ must be put at the boundary of the 'community', from where it is received by the members of the household concerned.

Some Concluding Remarks

Throughout this chapter, I have described and analyzed the constitution of a Puyuma house (and household) and its relationship to its natal household in terms of two important things recognized by the Puyuma themselves but not mentioned in previous studies: *pinamuder* and *vini*.⁴⁸ The *pinamuder* shows the importance of the house as a building and the independence of the individual household, whilst the *vini* constitutes a mechanism by which some households can be connected while some are simultaneously differentiated. The importance of the *karumaan* is also founded upon the *vini*, and the differentiation among households can be transcended in terms of the 'community' and the rites concerning the *vini* (particularly those held in the two greatest *karumaan*). So the full picture is not a dichotomy between the household and the 'community', but a complicated relationship among the households, their own natal households, their 'original stem households' which supervise the *karumaan*, the two greatest leading families, and the 'community'.

In other words, taking proper account of the Puyuma's concerns with *pinamuder* and *vini* will not only reveal the serious shortcomings of previous debates about the Puyuma kinship system, which have left almost unexamined the importance of the house as a building, the

47. But if a house is on fire, the rite will be held by a *kankankal* rather than by a *tamalamao*. The water for this rite must be fetched by a male Puyuma whose parents are both alive, from *Sarunsarun*, a place where there is an underground spring water whose water never dries up.

48. Although the importance of millet has been mentioned in the context of the agricultural rites (cf. F-F. Chang 1976: 8; Sung 1995: 62-65; Wei et al 1964: 24-25), the notion of *vini* itself (and its significant implications) has not been studied in the way that it deserves. *Pinamuder* and the significance of the house itself have not, to my knowledge, been mentioned or discussed in previous studies.

constitution of the household, and the important mechanism that not only differentiates but also connects the households: it will also bring to light the importance of the 'community', and the way in which the component households are subsumed by it. Building on the discussions in this chapter, both the installation of the 'ancestral tablet' and the implications of Western religious followers can be elucidated, as I will discuss later (see Chapters 7 and 8).

Up to now I have indicated the importance of the *vini*, and consequently of the *karumaan*. Nevertheless, I have not yet fully analyzed the significance of the *karumaan*. While certain important issues--- for instance, the significance of establishing a *karumaan* for the emergence of a leading family, and the implications of the ritual re-appropriation of important crops such as millet and hill rice by various leading families--- will be discussed in other places (see Chapters 6, 7 and 9), I have some words to say here about the *karumaan* by which I will conclude this chapter and come to the following one.

The *karumaan* itself is a paradoxical phenomenon. It is exclusive by virtue of its association with an 'original stem household' (and the latter's branched households); but it is also inclusive, in its position as a ritual locale which people without 'kin relationship' can visit and in whose rites they can participate--- particularly in the cases of the two leading *karumaan*. Furthermore, while the *karumaan* is a place which concerns the *vini*, the prescriptions observed by Puyuma households with regard to the *vini* (e.g. *mavini* or *malegi la vini*) do not apply to the *karumaan*. On the contrary, when the *pubiaw* rite is held, particularly in the greatest *karumaan*, even people who feel uncomfortable about their status or who are unclean due to the death of a household member can participate. By means of this participation (with the smoke of a roasting deer) the celebrants purge themselves of this discomfort and uncleanness. Then--- apart from some parts left for the officiators as their share--- the deer meat is eaten by the people present.

The paradoxical character of the *karumaan* is also well illustrated by its spatial location: it is built close to and is supervised by the 'original stem household', rather than constituting part of the house itself. The implications of this paradox become interesting if we locate the case of

the *karumaan* in a comparative framework and simultaneously take serious account of the legends about the origin of the *karumaan* and the *pubiaw* rite.

Among Taiwanese aborigines there is an association between the custom of indoor burial and that of building the granary inside the house.⁴⁹ A comparison such as this illuminates the important relationship between the inhabitants and the house itself, represented by some important constituent(s) (e.g. millet). However, to my knowledge, it is only in the case of the Puyuma (and the Puyuma⁵⁰) that a ritual locale like the *karumaan* is found. It is here that I come to the legendary origin of the *pubiaw* rite and the *karumaan*.

According to previous studies, it originated in a redemptive rite performed by two brothers for killing their own father (see Ogawa and Asai 1935: 312-313). In this legend the brothers were building their boys' house, and had instructed that no villagers should pass through the area where they were working, or they would be killed. But their father defied this order and came to see them, and they killed him. After killing their father, the younger brother became crippled. Finally he cured himself by following advice given to them in the call of a bird: hunting deer and conducting the *pubiaw* rite in the *karumaan*. What does this legend suggest?

As I have mentioned above, the Puyuma used to observe the custom of indoor burial: but they would desert their houses if people who had died of 'unnatural causes' were buried inside. Also, as I have indicated, the elders call the *pubiaw* rite *pakabukal la vini*. Thus, conducting the *pubiaw* rite in the *karumaan* which is associated with the 'original stem household' provides a mechanism that not only purges malevolent forces, but also regenerates and aids forces of life like the *vini*, by which

49. This association is found among the Bunun (Y-K. Huang 1992, 1993), the Paiwan (B. Chiang 1993; Tan 1992); the Rukai (Hsu 1994), for instance.

50. Nevertheless, there are some important differences between the Puyuma and the other Puyuma. I will come back to this issue in the concluding chapter.

blessings can be invoked.⁵¹ Therefore, it is notable and interesting that the specialists conduct an annual purification rite in the two greatest *karumaan*, in which betel nuts representing those who have died during the year (regardless of the causes of their death) will be prepared, and will later be taken to the boundary of the 'community'.⁵² In this sense, the *karumaan* characterizes and legitimizes the important position occupied by the 'original stem household', in a way reminiscent of some studies that have illustrated the significance of the crop and its production cycle for legitimizing the social hierarchy (e.g. Howe 1991) or for constructing a sense of identity (e.g. Ohnuki-Tierney 1993, 1995).

Nevertheless, the privileged positions occupied by 'original stem households' which supervise *karumaan* (particularly the two greatest *karumaan*) seem to be limited in certain aspects, considering the fact that the *karumaan* is built outside (rather than inside) their houses, and that the rites held in the *karumaan* are conducted by specialists who are not necessarily related to these 'original stem households'. Particularly in the cases of the *karumaan* that used to be associated with the men's houses, participation is based on which men's house the specialists have been initiated into. Moreover, the above legend also suggests an antagonistic relationship between the sphere concerning the boys' house and that which refers to kin relations. In the following chapter I will address these issues, but I will locate them in a wider framework. That is, by

51. Here the situation I have heard from the Pinaski is illuminating. In their case every household used to have its own *karumaan*. If a person who had died a bad death was buried under the *karumaan*, it would be deserted, and the household would build a new one. In the case of the Pinaski, it seems that the *karumaan* was similar to the *alili* in the case of the Puyuma. However, only 'original stem households' of the Puyuma held (and still hold) the *karumaan*.

52. Here, the fact that the Catholics call their church *karumaan* is illuminating. Although the tablets inside the church commemorate deceased followers regardless of the cause of their death, it is different from the case of the *karumaan*, because the deceased who were not baptized are not included. Moreover, regarding the household, the installation of two lines of 'ancestral tablet' (e.g. both the wife's and the husband's parents) that is only found in Catholic households contradicts the notion of *vini* as discussed throughout this chapter. I will come back to this contrast and its implication in Chapter 8.

focusing on the life course--- the process by which a person become a Puyuma of the 'community'--- not only can separate spheres (e.g. kinship, age organization) be dealt with in the same framework, but the issue of the 'community' can also be investigated from different angles.

CHAPTER 5 LIFE COURSE: THE PROCESS OF BECOMING A PUYUMA
OF THE 'COMMUNITY'¹

A notable impression from my encounters with the Puyuma (and the Puyuma) during my fieldwork was the formality and politeness of their behaviour. Depending on the closeness of kin relations and the difference in the chronological ages of speakers, the Puyuma use teknonymy, the names of men's houses, generic terms (indicating the stage of growth to which a Puyuma has attained), titles, or other terms without reference to personal names.² My feeling about this specific form of reference was reinforced, though in a negative way, by the comments the Puyuma often made on the Ami living in Taitung city--- who usually call adults (and even elders) by their personal names, behaviour that the Puyuma consider impolite^{and} of which they feel shameful (*igela*).³ To call a person by his/her personal name, the Puyuma told me, not only indicated a difference in generation and age, but also implied a close relationship with them: for the Puyuma this is almost completely confined to instances such as older siblings speaking to younger ones, parents to children, and grandparents to grandchildren, and excludes close affines such as 'children-in-law' or 'siblings-in-law'.

1. Part of this chapter is from my previous study (W-T. Chen 1993).

2. The teknonymy usually refers to the Puyuma who have adolescent (or older) children. The form of address is expressed as *demama* (or *dina dau* ***) (meaning 'the father or the mother of ***'). That is, it refers to one's oldest child. Because this form of address is often abbreviated to '***', I often mistook a Puyuma's oldest child's name for the Puyuma himself/ herself in my earlier period of fieldwork. Those Puyuma--- who have 'official titles' such as 'the head of borough' (*li chang*), 'section director' (*ke chang*), and teachers (*lao shih*)--- instead are called these titles by adding their surnames.

3. The Puyuma highly esteem their way of addressing people as an expression of *leigi* (Japanese for 'good manners'). They often call the Ami living in Taitung city *Papiyan*, a word they use to their children to refer to bad behaviour, such as calling seniors or elders (e.g. one's older siblings and parents) by their personal names.

In my personal instance, I am usually called by my personal name (in Japanese) by the elders and the senior religious specialists with whom I have been in contact since the mid-1980s, mainly due to my concern with Puyuma customs and ritual knowledge. By contrast, I am sometimes referred to as 'Mr. Chen', 'Dr. Chen' or other respectable terms by other Puyuma. It is interesting that during my later period of fieldwork (particularly between 1993 and 1995), some Puyuma referred to me in other ways. A male elder who married into Nan-wang, for instance, often said jokingly that I was a young man he had initiated. Some female elders told me that I was no longer a Han-Chinese but was now a Puyuma of Nan-wang, due to my long-term stay there. On certain occasions, some middle-aged female Puyuma told me that they would call me *Karunun* (the greatest men's house in the southern section), which had been used before to refer to male outsiders like me,⁴ while some Puyuma told me that *Karunun* was better than its northern counterpart, *Patabang*, because members of the latter men's house were notoriously fierce and conceited. Interestingly, others suggested that *Patabang* was better than *Karunun*, because it was the greatest among the former six men's houses, and the training which disciplined its members to be people of 'real manhood' (*bainay*) was consequently the hardest.⁵ Even so, I have been called by my personal name more often than the latter alternatives by the elders.

It seemed that many elders and middle-aged Puyuma thought of me as a member of the 'community': they called me by my personal name, the name of a men's house, and said such thing as: 'You are a Puyuma and not a Han-Chinese because you have been here for a long time'. However, I would suggest that these expressions will be understood as politeness rather than being meant literally, if we take serious account of the

4. However, calling a male Puyuma by the name of the men's house into which he is initiated is a specific form of address that is only used by the elderly kin of his wife. Apart from this, calling a male outsider *Karunun* suggests something interesting, because the leading family of the southern section that is associated with this men's house is known as a 'new-comer' in contrast with its northern counterpart, see Chapter 3.

5. The Puyuma often use the word '*bainay*' to refer to a male Puyuma's bravery, endurance of hardship, and other manly qualities exceeding those of an ordinary man (*bainayan*).

intimate relationship between the household and the 'community'. As I have discussed in Chapter 3, a person is a member of the 'community' because s/he is a member of a Puyuma household (in which s/he was born or into which s/he has married). Even in the case of households consisting of non-Puyuma and their married-in Puyuma spouses, the non-Puyuma may be defined as members of the 'community' only because they have married Puyuma, live in Nan-wang and make contributions to the 'community'. In other words, membership of a household constitutes a necessary criterion for defining whether or not a person is a member of the 'community'. I have never been publicly recognized as a member of a particular Puyuma household, not even the one I lived with, although in private I am treated as a member of a Puyuma family: on the day I left Nan-wang and prepared to go back to London, I was entertained by this family and was given a lift by 'my younger brother' to the train station.

What does this personal experience suggest? On the one hand, it indicates that the recognition of a person as a member of a Puyuma household must follow certain formal procedures such as marriage⁶ or adoption, by which membership of the 'community' is also conferred. On the other, it shows that forms of address change to accommodate one's age, marital status, or one's 'life course', rather than remaining unaltered. How can we comprehend this characteristic, and how does it enhance our understanding of Puyuma social life?

In this chapter by focusing on the process through which a Puyuma grows up and acquires his/her identification, I wish to argue that a perspective such as 'life course' not only avoids the presumption that there are seemingly separate spheres such as 'kinship', 'age organization' and others, but also illuminates the intimate and inexorable relationship

6. In the early 1990s, a Han-Chinese, who had cohabited with a female Puyuma and lived with her household died in a car accident. Most of the mortuary ceremony was conducted by this female Puyuma and some Puyuma of her acquaintance. That December, when a purification rite was held in which the deceased of the year were represented by betel nuts, the man was not included. At that time, the then head of the settlement (himself a Puyuma) said that: 'This man only cohabited with a Puyuma woman--- he did not marry her. If they had married, he would be included as a deceased person of the "community"'.

between the individual, the household, and the 'community'. Above all, the significance of the boyhood stage and its implications can be reconsidered in the way that they deserve: recognizing that the real importance of this stage lies in its transformative role in mediating between the household and the age organization, which has been overlooked in previous studies.

'Life Course' and Its Related Customs

In the case of the Puyuma, the stages of the 'life course' mainly consist of: (1) conception and birth; (2) the process of growth; (3) marriage and the procreation of the next generation; and (4) becoming an elder. In a sense, these stages (i.e., from birth to old age) seem to exemplify a case of the natural and biological process of growth. However, as I will demonstrate in the following descriptions, they not only show how the Puyuma have conceptualized the life course, but also reveal the interrelationships between the stations of their life. In other words, these stages are intimately associated with (and are identified and demarcated by) certain customs and rites. While some acts in a certain stage have been replaced or abandoned nowadays, many of them--- as described in the following parts--- are still observed by the Puyuma. Moreover, values and beliefs implied in these stages are even used by the Puyuma on certain occasions as a kind of 'normative regulation' for behaviour.

Conception and Birth

In the Puyuma language *pakazegi* and *pabuli* are two words that are equivalent to 'conception'. However, while *pabuli* is used to describe a woman's pregnancy, it is *pakazegi* that reflects the significance of this situation in indigenous terms. Etymologically, the key component of *pakazegi* is *zegi* ('prohibition, rite'): words incorporating '*zegi*' usually have a connotation concerning rites, spirits and other similar issues. For instance, whereas *katazegiyan* refers to the altar installed in Puyuma households that accept the Han-Chinese folk religion (i.e., the image of the Chinese deities and the 'ancestral tablet'), *zegiyan* means 'rites' or

conducts concerning the spirits. So the word *pakazegi* suggests that there are a series of customs and ritual prohibitions that must be observed by the woman herself, her husband, and also the household during the period of pregnancy (cf. Kono 1915: 335-336).

Nowadays women give birth to their babies in nearby hospitals rather than in their homes, and are visited by their kin (of both sexes). Previously, however, the custom that all male adult household members except the husband had to leave the house temporarily when a woman was giving birth. These men built a small dwelling place nearby and did not re-enter the house until the umbilical cord of the newly-born baby had been cut. These male kin could not even share fire and water with the new mother and other women who had accompanied her. During this period the husband could not go to work, or go hunting (Kono 1915: 337; Sayama 1920: 183, 186). As an elderly female Puyuma told me, 'it was improper for the couple to go to farm land before the umbilical cord of their baby had been removed' (*ali simupsi la pudek, ali inaba muka uma*). These customs and associated prohibitions not only illustrate the intimacy of the couple, but also mark a significant divergence between male adults and female ones.⁷

Previously, it was very serious if a woman died in childbirth. If this happened, the household concerned had to move several times before they could finally establish a stable living-place again, and purification rites had to be conducted for the household whenever they changed from one temporary dwelling place to another (Chao 1976: 17). Although this situation is not treated as seriously now as it once was,⁸ some households

7. As I will discuss later, when a male Puyuma is initiated into a men's house, not only do gender differences and their associated prohibitions become more marked, he will also no longer be referred to as a male child, *gis*.

8. In the late 1980s a young Puyuma woman died in childbirth. She was taken back to her (husband's) house, in which the mortuary ceremony was carried out. I heard that this woman was still alive when she came back from the hospital: even so, I was told by another female Puyuma that this family might not take this young woman back to their house in the 'community', because she had died in childbirth (though not at that particular time).

still ask a *tamalamao* to pray for the safety of their female members who are giving birth if they are told by the doctors that there are any problems with the labour. On this occasion, the invited specialist prays to the ancestors of the prospective parents, and to *pagtau* (*tau* means 'human being'; the word literally means 'the creator of human beings').

If this custom--- of male adults (with the exception of the husband) leaving temporarily when a woman gave birth to a baby at home--- shows a gender divergence among the adults, a gender distinction was made as early as a few days after a baby was born. 'Giving birth to a baby' in the Puyuma language is called *miwarak* (*warak* means children). When the baby--- particularly the first-born--- was born, it is reported that the father of the baby would wrap it in a piece of cloth, with which the father had wrapped his waist when he was initiated into the stage of *miyaputan* ('a novice of a men's house') (see C-L. Chen et al. 1954: 21). A few days after the baby was born, a certain elder of the household would take it out of the house and carry out the rite called *bwanan*. If the baby was male, the elder would help it to grasp a knife in its right hand, wave the knife and cut a branch three times: so that when the baby grew up he would go hunting in the mountains and fetch firewood. By contrast, if the baby was female, its right hand instead would be made to hold a sickle and act as if weeding three times: so that the female baby would accompany her family to the land to participate in agricultural activity when she grew up. Sometimes, when these acts were being conducted, the names of certain elders (of the same sex as the baby) living in the 'community' would be mentioned, who provided good examples due to their meritorious behaviour.

The importance of *bwanan* was that it defined a newly-born baby as a human being (*tau*): in the indigenous phrase, *alilia bwanan amlilia tau, enay lia!* ('It was not yet a human being, rather it was like water!') If it died before this rite, the situation itself was treated as a kind of 'ritual prohibition'--- as a 'bad death', because the baby had not seen the sun (*alilia bwanan milatay warak malegi, alilia menau kana kadaw*). If a *tamalamao* was asked to conduct this rite, ritual incantations were not only made to the ancestors (both paternal and maternal), but, more

importantly, to *pagtau*.⁹ When this rite was carried out, near kin would usually visit the family and bless the baby. At that time, an elder of the family would give a name to the baby, which was often chosen from its ancestors.

Nowadays most of the rites and prohibitions associated with the period of pregnancy and childbirth have been either abandoned or replaced.¹⁰ For instance, the Puyuma nowadays seldom conduct the *bwanan* rite for their newly-born children; instead, the rite has been replaced by various kinds of celebration: baptism in Western religions, and the 'full month' rite in its Han-Chinese counterpart. Sometimes, the household will have a banquet and send invitation cards to their near kin and friends, who in turn will give presents or money.

Nevertheless, these aforementioned (now mostly abandoned) customs and ritual prescriptions tell us that pregnancy and childbirth are for the Puyuma not just biological phenomena, but are also periods full of danger and are related to the intervention and action of the spirits. It is also through these customs that a newly-born baby is recognized as a human being, and consequently that a gender difference is made (i.e., waving the knife or the sickle). These ritual prescriptions also display the intimacy of the couple, the significance of the first-born child, and the

9. It is this spirit that gives life to a person. It is referred to in rites such as *bwanan* and *kiswap* (for a dead person), and in the healing rites conducted by the *tamalamao* to invoke the souls of sick people; sometimes it is even asked to lengthen the life of a person who is seriously ill and dying. While similar in its implications, the Catholics prefer the term *Demawai* to *pagtau* when referring to the 'Creator' (not just of human beings, but also of all other living creatures and the natural world).

10. A serious prohibition was related to the birth of twins. When this occurred, one of the babies would be killed by blocking up its nose. The Puyuma did not give me further explanations about this, merely saying that it was a *kakwayazan* ('custom'), an answer that was often given to me when I enquired into certain interesting activities. The Puyuma seem to have abandoned this custom in the first few decades of this century, although they still had a prejudice against twins. For instance, the twin brother of an elderly male Puyuma of my acquaintance (born in 1921) was not killed, following the custom; but he was given to and adopted by a Han-Chinese.

gender divergence in the case of adults--- the implications of these features will be manifested in other stages of life course.

The Process of Growth

The Puyuma used to have many terms to describe the development of an infant. For instance, the newly-born baby was called *manuden*, *kiraramimikakupo* when it could turn its head, *muradagi* when it was learning to walk, and *rarak* when it could walk (Sayama 1913: 6). While some of the other terms are obsolete today, *rarak* is a generic term which refers both to infants and children.

The term *rarak* does not indicate gender, so in the stage of childhood the difference between boys and girls is denoted by certain terms: while boys are called *gis*, girls are *tian*. However, the differentiation between the sexes gradually becomes signified through the changing terms applied to them, and the social processes that they experience. Having reached the age of about twelve or thirteen, for instance, boys are eligible to be members of the boys' houses and would consequently undergo a transformation, but there is no similar formal organization or procedure for girls. The division reaches its completion when a male Puyuma (about 18 years old nowadays) is initiated into the stage of *miyaputan* ('a novice of a men's house): during which a male Puyuma is recognized as an adult, and the gender differentiation is rigidly demarcated (cf. the case of procreation). This is also demonstrated in the way that the terms *gis* and *tian* are used. While *tian* can be used by the elders to address a woman who is in her forties (or even older) and to signify a kind of intimacy, it is forbidden to call a young man *gis* when he has been initiated into the stage of *miyaputan*. Differentiation is not only demonstrated by the attitudes towards people at these stages, but is also illustrated in certain activities and, consequently, rules of behaviour, as I will demonstrate later (cf. Table 5-1).

Ages Between Twelve (or Thirteen) and Eighteen

One feature characterizing the Puyuma (and previously the Puyuma of some settlements) is the stage of boyhood (*takovakoban*) and the boys'

Table 5-1 The Stage of the Male and the Female Puyuma

Stage	Male	Age	Female	Age
Infant	<i>magiden</i>	less than 1	<i>magiden</i>	less than 1
Childhood	<i>gis</i>	2 to 12, 13	<i>tian</i>	2 to 12, 13
Teenager	<i>takovakoban*</i>	13 to 18		13 to
	1. <i>ngaungauway</i> (or <i>malanakan</i>)	13 to 14	<i>bulabulayan</i>	
	2. <i>taribatokan</i>	14 to 15	(marriageable)	
	3. <i>kitubansal</i>	15 to 16		
	4. <i>malatawan</i>	16 to 18		
Youth	1. <i>miyaputan</i>	18 to 20		
	2. <i>vansalang</i>	20 or more (marriageable)		
Married	<i>barabarapat</i>	less than 55	<i>mikataquinta</i>	less than 55
Aging	<i>maidan</i> (or <i>lakana</i>)	over 55	<i>maidan</i>	over 55

Source: Sung (1965: 122; W-T. Chen 1993: 484).

* Generally speaking, the boyhood stage (*takovakoban*) consists of the *malanakan* (including *ngaungauway* and *taribatokan*) and the *malatawan*. *Kitubansal* refers to the intermediary status characterizing the *malanakan* who will be prepared for upgrading to the status of *malatawan* in the third year of their participation in the *Vasivas* (or 'monkey-killing') rite. Before the *takovakoban* leave for the place where they will kill the monkey, all the *malatawan* (i.e., those who will graduate from the boyhood stage and be initiated into *miyaputan* in the following *Mangayau* rite) hit each *kitubansal*'s hip with a stick. After this act, the *kitubansal* can now tie a cloth around their heads, signifying that they have now attained the status of a *malatawan*. The term *kitubansal* also refers to a *miyaputan* who is in his third (and final) year and is preparing to upgrade into a *vansalang*; however, the transformation is more spectacular and more clearly displayed than its counterpart in the boyhood stage: in the last year of his status as a *miyaputan*, when the male Puyuma come back from the mountains (i.e., from carrying out the *Mangayau* rite) and dance in the square, the *miyaputan* of this stage, changing their clothes, will be led by their initiators and dance. At this phase they are called *kitubansal*. After this, when they have become *vansalang*, they can wear colorful Puyuma clothes, visit the Puyuma households, and sing and dance.

houses (*takoban*), when the boys are aged between twelve and eighteen. Although the process of initiation into the boys' houses is not as formally and spectacularly celebrated as that of the young men into the men's houses (cf. Kasahara 1986: 49-50), the stage of boyhood --- considering both the legend of its origin (as mentioned in the last chapter) and the associated rites (that will be discussed below)--- certainly has some significant features which aid our understanding of Puyuma social life. Previously, it is also at this stage that girls of a similar age, accompanying the female workers, started to participate in agricultural activity.

The stage of boyhood, takovakoban

From previous studies and the reports of living elders, it seems that when a boy was aged about eleven or twelve it would be considered appropriate for him to enter the boys' house (cf. Sung 1965b: 123-125), although there might have been some individual variations. It is interesting that when a boy was initiated into the boys' house, the training was taken care of exclusively by members of the senior grade of the boys' house, i.e., the *malatawan*, rather than by his own parents--- an experience that is still vividly remembered by the middle-aged Puyuma who themselves underwent this training in the boys' houses. Under the instruction of the *malatawan*, the *malanakan* (the junior grade) not only had to learn correct behaviour but also to accept physical discipline:¹¹ they were disciplined to respect their senior grade, the *malatawan*, and the elders; bravery, courageousness and endurance were particularly stressed and highly praised. Partly because of the Spartan discipline in the boys' house (see Sung 1965b: 130-132), some boys who were too young or whose physical condition was not strong enough to endure

11. When the Puyuma judge a young man's behaviour, the question they most often ask is: 'who has taught him (*imanay pakalalam*)?'--- viz., who is this man's *malatawan*'--- rather than asking 'whose child is this young man?' The following instance exemplifies this. In 1994 I attended a marriage feast in Nan-wang. A male Puyuma in his early forties was drunk, and was rude to the elders sitting nearby. After he was brought back to his home, the elders deplored his performance. Some Puyuma asked 'who is his *malatawan*?' And some even questioned whether this man had participated in the boyhood stage.

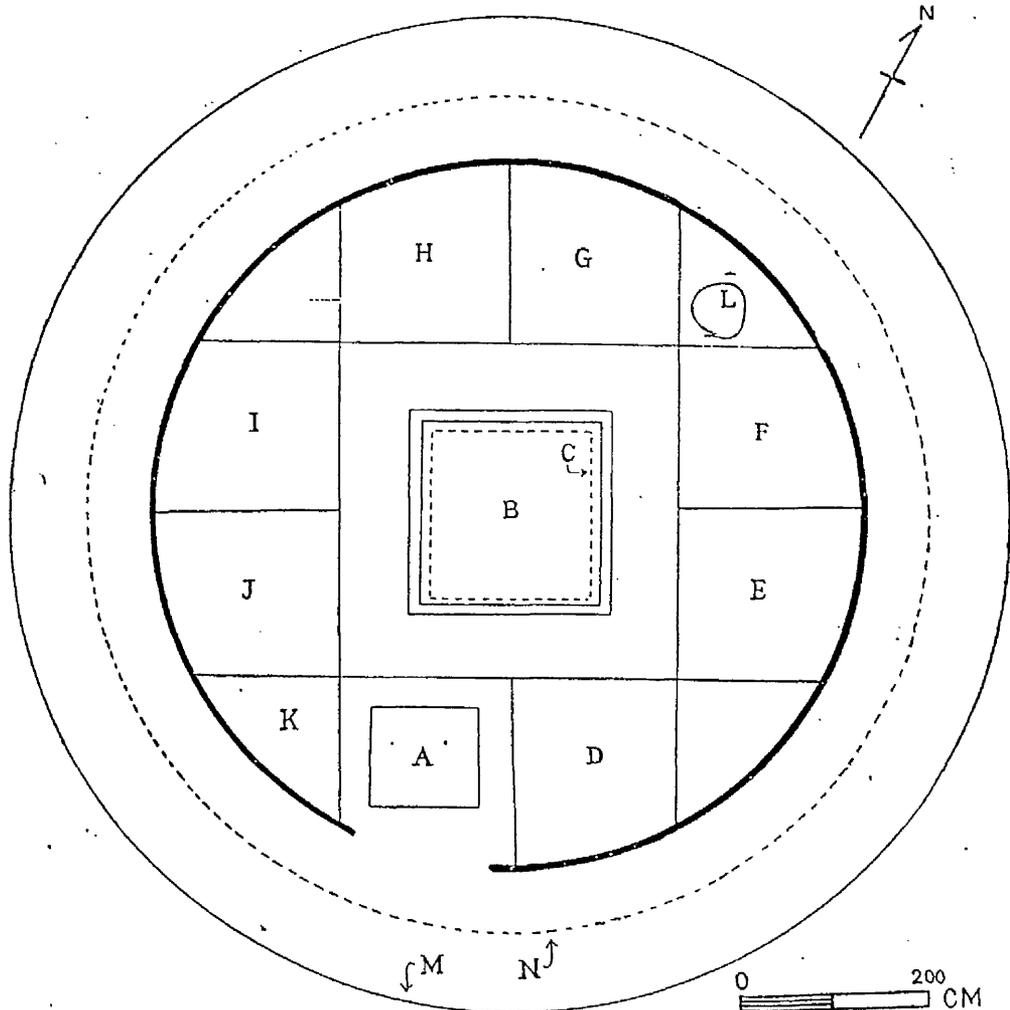
serious training were afraid and did not enter the boys' house, as their peers in age did. However, these boys would often be teased by those who had entered the boys' houses; they would be told that they were like children who 'still lived at home and sucked their mothers' breasts': '***, *** (the names of the boys concerned) *karui rumah, dada isu ina*'.

In addition to these features, it is noteworthy that in each boy's house (of the south and the north) there were formerly two specific terms, viz., *dinumaidan* and *dinuayawan* (cf. Chapter 2, note 1). *Dinumaidan* referred to a boy of the most senior grade (i.e., the *malatawan*), while the *dinuayawan* was a boy from one of the leading families (i.e., the *Pasaraat* family in the north and the *Rara* family in the south). The relationship between these two roles was interesting because during their time in the elevated boy's house, the first position was occupied by the boy who was *dinumaidan*, followed by the boy who was *dinuayawan*, then the grades of *malatawan* and *malanakan* in their order of seniority (cf. Figure 5-1). Even the rite of shooting arrows northwards three times--- which was conducted in the place where the monkey would be killed--- to inform the spirits in Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* that it was the time of the *Vasivas* rite,¹² was the privileged right of the *dinumaidan* rather than of the *dinuayawan*. These features suggest that there are some privileged positions which are based on the order of seniority in the age organization, rather than exclusively concerning the leading families.¹³

12. According to legend, the seeds of the hill rice (*vindoang*) were given by an elder living in this mountain to the two brothers who were *takovakoban*. Therefore, before the *Vasivas* rite, some *malatawan* and *malanakan* had to officiate some new hill rice to thank this legendary elder. Even the origin of the rite of killing the monkey was related to a rite officiated towards this elder (see Koizumi 1929: 21). The new hill rice could not be taken out of the 'community' until the *Vasivas* rite had been completed.

13. Some informants have told me that *dinumaidan* refers to the boys' house in the north, and *dinuayawan* to its southern counterpart. This seems to be incorrect in the light of reports I have heard from elders who were *dinumaidan* and *dinuayawan* in both boys' houses in their time. Though incorrect, the report reveals that when the leading family in the south assumed power and was called *ayawan* ('chief, head'), the position of its northern counterpart was still recognized as *maidan* ('the older, the elder').

Figure 5-1 The Architectural Structure of the Boy's House



Source: Wei et al. (1954: 19)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| A: the entrance of the elevator | H-J: beds for <i>malanakan</i> |
| B: stove | K: toilet |
| C: suspended frame | L: bed for <i>rangan</i> |
| D: bed for <i>dinumaidan</i> | M: raised platform |
| E: bed for <i>dinuayawan</i> | N: the territory covered by the roof |
| F-G: beds for <i>malatawan</i> | |

What, then, is the significance of the boyhood stage? In a sense, in

former times it constituted an important process of socialization, in which the boys learnt to respect their seniors and elders, to cooperate with each other, and to be trained in courageousness, as previous studies have argued (Sung 1965b: 135; cf. Hung 1981: 90). However, this viewpoint has serious limitations: due to its presupposition that the boyhood stage is preparatory for the men's house, it leaves certain important characteristics of this stage unexamined. I will elaborate this issue latter, but let me first mention some distinctive features characterizing this stage, which have been indicated both by the emphasis on the *malatawan's* right to discipline the junior grades and the mocking of a boy's fear of participating in the boyhood stage. There is a differentiation between the sphere of the household and that of the boy's house (rather than between the household and the age organization, although the boyhood stage is often treated as part of the latter). This characteristic becomes significant if we consider some features that no longer exist today due to the decline of the boyhood stage, which is probably due to the introduction of the education system since the turn of the century.¹⁴

14. As early as 1905 the Japanese colonial regime established the Peinan Public School in the Peinan area, where the Puyuma children were encouraged to study. Even when the Puyuma resettled in *Nan-wang*, a new Public School was rebuilt a few years later at the outskirts of the new settlement. Considering the school children's ages, it was reasonable to suppose that the school education might have had an influence on the training and activities in the boys' houses, although we do not have studies of this change and its consequences. Even so, some previous studies indicate that changes have been underway. For instance, in 1964 when Sung undertook his study, he found that it was ten days or more before the *Vasivas* rite that the *takovakoban* went to sleep in the boys' house (Sung 1965: 124, 130). However, another greater change had occurred when Hung undertook her research nearly ten years later. As she noted, between 1974 and 1977 the boys only slept one night in the boys' house, viz., the night before the *Vasivas* rite (Hung 1981: 78). In 1984 when I came to *Nan-wang*, the custom of sleeping in the boys' house was completely abolished. Moreover, in order to accommodate the present school education, the *Vasivas* rite is now fixed on every December 25, a national holiday, so that boys and teenagers who are studying can attend the rite. In addition, as I was told by some male Puyuma who were in their early fifties, they themselves did not complete the boyhood stage. Some never even entered the boys' house.

Based on reports from the elders and from Puyuma in their mid-fifties, two important changes occurred to a boy when he entered the boy's house: a change of residence and a new name. When a boy became a member of boys' house, he spent almost half a year there, sleeping in his own home for the remaining period--- this would continue until he entered the men's house (i.e., when he was initiated to become a *miyaputan*). As the elderly Puyuma have noted, *savonsavongan puisats takovakoban* ('the boys went up to the boys' house when it was *savonsavongan*'). The time was almost July, and from then on all *takovakoban* slept in the boys' house until the celebration of the *Vasivas* rite (around December). During this period, they were forbidden to sleep in their own houses.

When a boy entered the boys' house, he was often given a new name by the senior grade (i.e., the *malatawan*). Sometimes the name referred to the boy's personal character: for instance, the name for a Puyuma now in his mid-fifties during his period of boyhood was *sika* ('deer'), because he moved quickly (although he was younger than his peers in age). Some-times, the name merely reprised the one given to the boy's older brother (or his father) when the latter was a member of the boys' house. It is worth mentioning that while this name was given and used by the members of the boys' house, it was not used by the boy's parents or kin, or when he was initiated into a men's house. In a nutshell, the boyhood stage was characterized by a boy's co-membership of a household and an age organization. The paradoxical features of this will become significant, I would suggest, if the activities associated with the *takovakoban* are considered and a comparison is made with the next stage--- i.e., both the *miyaputan* and the *vansalang* of a men's house. But before that, I will describe what happens to girls of a similar age.

Girls at the age of puberty

In contrast with the colourful, but serious, life experienced by their male peers in the stage of boyhood, girls do not undergo a similar kind of 'initiation', or come under a rigid graded system. While nowadays girls (as well as boys) of this stage go to the junior and senior high schools, their predecessors would have been primarily occupied with accompanying

their mothers, older sisters and other senior female kin to conduct agricultural work, or with undertaking a share of household work. As reported by middle-aged women and female elders, female Puyuma began to participate in some agricultural groups at this stage, usefully swelling the labour force particularly when weeds had grown rapidly and widely, hindering the growth of the millet they were cultivating. After weeding a celebration would be held which was sometimes attended by the men, who (a couple of days before the ceremony) had gone to the mountains to fetch a wild species of rattan or betel nut which grew up there, giving this to the women to thank them for their hard work.¹⁵

Although the girls at this stage did not have the formal training of their male peers, their participation in the agricultural team provided the main way in which the girls not only learnt agricultural techniques but also received instructions from their seniors. Like their male contemporaries, for instance, the girls were taught to respect their seniors and elders. The commencement of the weeding of the land that was owned by the most senior of the agricultural team was an example. Both the lyrics of the songs, *qemayaayam* (*ayam* means 'bird'; the word literally means 'to sing like a bird') and the gathering--- centred around the most senior participants--- showed their respect of the seniors and the elders.

Even so, unlike the *takovakoban* the girls at this stage lived in their homes rather than elsewhere, and they were not given new names.¹⁶ As referred to by the generic term *bulabulayan* (*bulay* means 'beauty'),¹⁷ the girls at this stage were marriageable.

15. Even though this cooperative agricultural team no longer exists nowadays, this celebration, *Mugamut*, is still held by the female Puyuma, see Chapter 7.

16. The case of the Puyuma of Pinaski provides a different picture, however. As a female elder in her early eighties told me, the girls belonging to an agricultural group (*misaor*) were often given new names by the elders, which reflected the girls' physical appearance, their behaviour, or other features. These names were used during this stage, and are even today used by the elders when they speak informally.

17. Otherwise, this word also refers to something good, such as 'singing well', *bulay la snay*, or to appreciate the fact that something has been done in the correct way.

To sum up: a comparison between the boys and girls of this stage suggests that the boys were more 'marked' by their process of growth than the girls were. That is, in terms of residential pattern and personal identity (i.e., the way in which they were addressed), it is obvious that the stage of boyhood is differentiated from the previous ones in notable ways. But the growing process is not so clearly demarcated for the girls: they stay at home and are involved with household chores during this time. Another even greater change begins for a male Puyuma when he is initiated to become a *miyaputan* (a novice of a men's house).¹⁸

The stage of adulthood

If gender differences exist from the birth of a Puyuma, this differentiation becomes more obvious when he or she becomes an adult, particularly in the sense of opposition. For instance, as we have seen, when a woman is in childbirth, the male adults (with the exception of the husband) must leave the house; and male adults are forbidden to touch the weaving instruments owned by the female Puyuma (not all women are adept at weaving, cf. T-I. Wang 1980). Likewise, while the women may make fun of the *takovakoban* and can come close to the boys' house (though feeling a little ashamed, *igela*), it is serious if the women approach the men's house, let alone appear in places where members of the men's houses carry out their activities (e.g. the *Muraliyavan* and *Kiaamian* rite in the summer and the *Mangayau* rite in the winter; see below and Chapter 7).¹⁹ Nevertheless, this process of transformation is more marked in the case of a male Puyuma than of his female peers. Also, the process of being initiated to become a *miyaputan* is more publicly recognized and celebrated than its counterpart at the boyhood stage.

18. While the Puyuma use the word *miyaputan*, the Puyuma often call this stage *valisen*.

19. The most vivid characterization of this differentiation is found in the acts held after the funeral rite. Right after the funeral rite the female kin conduct *demaliumauma*, but it is the male kin who go to the stream to conduct *puruvu* and who will go to the mountains a few days later to conduct *kuvalivali*, see Chapter 7.

The case of the male Puyuma

In comparison with the previous stage, viz., boyhood, becoming a *miyaputan* wrought large transformations in many aspects of a man's life. For instance, unlike the *malatawan*, a *miyaputan* could not dress beautifully in public celebrations, nor could they dance, sing or even have fun with girl friends. On the contrary, they had to learn to endure hunger and receive serious physical training. Also, a *miyaputan* would sleep in the men's house all year around (until he upgraded to become a *vansalang* and married), and be subordinated to a collective life in a more complete sense (cf. Sung 1965: 132-134). .

Accompanying these bodily performances and movements there was (and still is) another change in the status of a *miyaputan*. He was no longer addressed by the elders as *gis* ('male child')--- a form of address even for the *malatawan* --- instead he was called *tan*. In the gatherings previously held in the men's house, as some elders told me, the *miyaputan*'s fathers and male senior kin could not call them by their personal names, but referred to them as *tan* or *ali* ('friend', signifying the intimacy between the elders and the young men). The following account by an elder in his early seventies on an occasion when he and other elders were reminiscing about their experiences of this stage provides a vivid example:

In 1942 (when I was aged 19), I was initiated to become a *miyaputan*. Among my age peers (*kapu*), my initiation was late due to the fact that I had participated in a 'Youth Group' under the Japanese regime. That morning, I went to the *parakwan* ('men's house') early. It was not yet dawn. The elders ordered me to take off my clothes; at that time they still called me '*gis*'.... Having being initiated by an elder, I was told 'Just a moment ago you were still a child, now you are an adult.'

During my fieldwork I often heard the elders tell the young men they initiated: 'Now you are an adult, and are no longer a child. You should immediately go and see what is happening whenever you hear the elders call.' Or sometimes the significance of being initiated to be a *miyaputan* was expressed in the following ways: 'A male Puyuma was not a "person" (*jen* in Chinese), if he was not initiated'; or 'It would be shameful for a young man to dance in the square of the meeting house (i.e., *wakasayan*)

when we are celebrating the new year if he--- not having been initiated in time due to study or work--- was not yet a *miyaputan*.'

In other words, the stage of *miyaputan*, an ascetic form of life pursued for a period of almost three years, was significant not just because it displays the male elders' exclusive right to initiate the young men, but also because it was seriously considered by the Puyuma as a requirement to become a male adult.²⁰ The following case, although a comment on the Puyuma, offers a vivid characterization of this stage as it has been conceptualized by the Puyuma:

In May 1995 a woman--- whose parents were Puyuma but had moved to Taitung in 1929--- was initiated to be a *tamalamao*. I told a senior *tamalamao* informally that I had heard the present husband of this initiated *tamalamao* was called *Kinavulao* (the name of a men's house). According to the Puyuma custom, instead of being called by his personal name, a married man would be addressed by the elderly kin of his wife using the name of the men's house to which he had been initiated. Having heard this, another woman in her early seventies sitting nearby immediately replied: 'Bullshit! Is there an initiation for a young man to become a *miyaputan* in the settlement that this man comes from?'

The process of initiation to be a miyaputan

During their last year in the boys' house, when the boys are about eighteen years old, the parents of these *malatawan* would prepare to ask the elders to initiate their sons and to be the latter's godfathers. The time for this initiation is during the *Mangayau* rite: either in the men's house before the male adults leave for the mountains, or in the camps where (nowadays) they stay for three days. The best time to conduct the initiation is at dawn and the initiand should face the direction where the sun is rising: during which time the elder uses a piece of blue cloth (prepared by the young man's parents) as a waistcloth for the young man. It is explained by the elders that the sunrise signifies that the life of the young man will be glorious and auspicious.

20. The elders tell me that the act of *demaliumauma* (held after the funeral rite by the female kin) is not held if the deceased person is a child; it is for a male Puyuma who is a *miyaputan* or more senior than that. That is, he is an adult and is capable for pursuing agricultural activities. However, in the case of a female the answer is often vague, although it is more definite if the female is married.

In former times, having been initiated to be a *miyaputan* a young man had to participate in the *Mangayau* rite, going to the mountains together with the members of the men's house, and did his service for the elders, particularly for the elder who had initiated him (for instance, helping to bring the latter's necessities). In the period during which the male Puyuma were camped in the mountains to celebrate the *Mangayau* rite, the accompanying *miyaputan* were not only responsible for cooking, but would also be sent on errands. The elders recollect that when they were *miyaputan* they hardly slept, nor did they eat enough; in addition, they did not wear clothes, merely a piece of waistcloth.

Customarily, there were intimate and continuous interactions between the initiates and the elders who are their godfathers. Not only had the initiates to help their godfathers in agricultural activities, they must also help the latter's families if necessary.²¹ In return, the elders will take the place of the initiates' parents (particularly their fathers) in arranging their marriages, as a sort of go-between. When his initiates' wives give birth to children, the godfather will give them presents, such as the necessities for the babies.

If the role of the godfather is so important, what kinds of elders will be considered for this position? From indigenous viewpoints it is forbidden for both the initiator and the initiates to belong to the same household regardless of their relationship. Moreover, the closeness of the kin relationship between them is considered secondary to other requirements. The Puyuma explain that, as a kind of godfather or tutor, the elder's behaviour should be good enough to be a model for the initiate, and it is also important that his wife should be alive. In this sense, an elder who has re-married--- whether due to divorce or the death of his partner--- is often considered not to be good for the initiates. Unmarried or widowed elders are thought to be even less appropriate. The following instance illustrates this consideration:

21. If an initiate's godfather or his wife dies, he must go to help. Now that the Puyuma have adopted the Han-Chinese funeral rite, in which a public commemoration is held, the initiates must offer their commemoration to their godfather. In addition, the initiates also offer a number of cakes to the deceased elder. This custom is called *munikap*.

A female Puyuma who had practiced a virilocal marriage with her Ami husband asked an elder to initiate her first son to be a *miyaputan* a couple of years ago. I asked her why she wanted her son to be initiated, and which elder she would consider. She replied that even though she had married into another place and her husband was not a Puyuma, she thought that such an initiation was a good Puyuma custom. Therefore, she thought it was necessary and important for her son to be initiated. She then explained to me why she had not asked her father's younger brother, but instead her mother's younger sister's husband, to initiate her son--- her father had practiced an uxoriocal marriage, whereas her mother's younger sister's was a virilocal one. She said: 'Yes, my father's brother is closer than my mother's sister's husband is. Although my father's brother's wife is still alive, she is his second wife; my uncle's first wife died. I hear from the elders that it is not good to ask my own uncle to be an the godfather of my son in his situation.'

The process of becoming a vansalang

As I have mentioned above, a male Puyuma is considered to be an adult only when he has been initiated to become a *miyaputan*. However, he could not previously marry during the three-year period of ascetic training (and sleeping) in the men's house: he would have to wait until he became a *vansalang*. As before, this transformation occurs in the *Mangayau* rite. In his last year as a *miyaputan*, when the adult male Puyuma have returned from hunting in the mountains (i.e., from conducting the *Mangayau*) and dance in the square of the meeting house, a young man will be led by his initiator to dance for the first time. However, before dancing, his formerly blue-coloured waistcloth (worn when he was initiated) must be replaced by his initiator with a black one--- this is called *barurun* ('change')--- and on his head will be put a floral garland of plain green rather than a colourful one, which is made of *lagelau* (*Eupatorium tashiroi* Hay). At this moment, he is referred to as '*kitubansa*' (cf. Table 5-1, note), not as '*miyaputan*' or as '*vansalang*'.²² A moment later, with the replacement of the green floral garland by a beautiful and colourful one, this young man becomes a *vansalang*!

22. To my knowledge, this kind of floral garland is also worn by women of bereaved families (e.g. widows) in the dance when the male Puyuma return from the mountains. It suggests that both the young men in this situation (i.e., *kitubansa*) and the bereaved families are in a state of 'betwixt and between'. Customarily, only after the *Mangayau* rite can the bereaved families relieve their sorrow, see also Chapter 7.

That same night, he and his fellow newly-upgraded *vansalang*, led by some veteran middle-aged male Puyuma (i.e., *balabalapat*), will wear colourful Puyuma ceremonial clothes and visit the Puyuma households, dancing and singing. The following morning, the newly-upgraded *vansalang* (wearing the black waistcloth again) will run to the seashore--- this is called *kiavadan*²³--- and after that a young man has become a fully-fledged *vansalang*: in other words, he is now marriageable. Previously, once they became *vansalang*, young men could begin to have friendships with girls and even paid court to the girls they were fond of. But they still had to sleep in the men's house, as a *miyaputan* should, until they had married.

The case of the female Puyuma

During this stage, the female Puyuma do not experience such a marked transformation. In contrast with their male peers, the female Puyuma do not receive another term by which the elders address them, nor do they have a vivid procedure to mark themselves as passing into adulthood. They are either called *tian* by the elders, or are referred to as *bulabulayan* in a generic term. In this sense, their life course until this stage seems to be continuous rather than consisting of breaks or transformations. Formerly, they usually stayed at home and busied themselves with household chores and agricultural activities. This sense of continuity might have been reinforced by the custom of uxori-local marriage which was once predominant--- an attitude about this has been expressed by middle-aged female Puyuma who practiced viri-local marriage.²⁴ In other words, I would suggest that a more significant transformation for the female Puyuma begins with marriage than with their pre-married period.

23. *Kiavadan* means 'collecting firewood'. Previously, when there was no electric light, the Puyuma lit a fire in the square of the meeting's house, where they danced at night.

24. When he undertook research in Nan-wang in 1953, Sung noted that viri-local marriage constituted 38.29% of the married cases (Sung 1965a: 118 ff; cf. T-M. Tseng 1983: 41 ff). To my knowledge, no male Puyuma aged under fifty today practices uxori-local marriage.

The fact that the lives of female Puyuma were confined to the house and to activities concerning household and agricultural work has meant that they play an important part in daily life, particularly on occasions such as childbirth, marriage celebrations, mortuary rites and so on.²⁵ However, they also become more differentiated from their male folks in their participation in the activities concerning the 'community', particularly centred around the men's house or exclusively concerned with the male Puyuma. That is, a stronger gender differentiation or divergence (from the female perspective) is demarcated here than in the previous stage. The following unfortunate happening provides an illustrative example:

Several years ago when the male Puyuma of Nan-wang had celebrated the *Mangayau* rite, a misfortune happened. At mid-night just before the male Puyuma began to prepare to return to Nan-wang after camping in the mountains to hunt for three days, two young male Puyuma died in a car accident. This misfortune was then disseminated around the 'community' and was explained by the appearance of two female Puyuma --- who probably went there to collect some wild vegetables and plants --- in the camp site where male adults were staying. It was reported that they entered the square in front of the camp and had spoken to the male Puyuma. In the indigenous viewpoint, this act was called *pakaidu*, meaning that something unfortunate would happen to the male Puyuma if their female counterparts break a prohibition as in this case, or if they enter the men's house, and so on. It also refers to men breaking a taboo, such as male adults touching the weaving implements.²⁶

In a sense, it seems that an opposition exists between the sexes from this stage, which is represented by the household and the age organiza-

25. A striking contrast is expressed in the mortuary rite, during which married female Puyuma are busy with cooking and consoling bereaved families: they sit inside the house with the female survivors, and even sleep there until the funeral rite. By contrast, male Puyuma often stay in the yard, talking to each other. The custom of *mazgela* is a responsibility undertaken by women rather than by men (see Chapter 4).

26. This does not mean that the female Puyuma cannot go to the mountains. It rather indicates that they cannot participate in the activities centred around and held by the male adults. For instance, customarily no female Puyuma will accompany the men who go to the mountains a few days after the funeral rite, viz., *kuvalivali* (*vali* means 'wind'; this act means that by wandering through the grass, and by the blowing of the wind in the mountains, the sorrow will be taken away).

tion. Nevertheless, considering that a *miyaputan* is defined as an adult, and that customarily (particularly in former times) a male Puyuma cannot marry until he has finished three years of service in the stage of *miyaputan* and has upgraded to the status of *vansalang*,²⁷ the requirement that an initiator's wife should be alive suggests that the sphere of the household constitutes an important part of the 'reproduction' of that of age organization; and vice versa.²⁸ In other words, it suggests the symbiotic relationship of the married couple, which is vividly illustrated by the terms differentiating the full- from the half-siblings and by other customs (see below).²⁹ As I will discuss in the following section, by means of marriage, particularly after their children are born, both members of a couple acquire their new social identification. Accompanying this development is a gradual development of the complementarity between the spouses in counterpoising the above opposition between the sexes; consequently, an increasingly important role is played

27. I was sometimes told that previously a *miyaputan* could immediately upgrade to the status of *vansalang* if he had succeeded in head-hunting. I was also told that if there were discords between the *malatawan* of the boys' house and the *miyaputan* of the men's house, the former would throw a monkey's head in front of the *miyaputan* concerned, signifying a challenge as to whether or not the latter could go head-hunting. The *Vasivas* rite held by the *takovakoban* is also called *Mangayaungayau* (*Mangayau* is the rite held by members of the men's house. It also means 'head-hunting').

28. In this sense, the previous custom by which a widower returned to his natal house (or, more often, stayed in the men's house) does not just denote a contrast between the household and the age organization; it also implies the complementary constitution of each institution. It is notable that a requirement both for a male Puyuma who has fetched the water for a purification rite conducted for a household whose house or granary is on fire (see Chapter 4), and for the *takovakoban* who will open the doors of the bereaved households during the year (see Chapter 7), is that both of their parents must be alive.

29. Let me here remind you again of the custom that only the husband among the male adults remained in the house when his wife was in labour. In addition, the fact that no significant spatial opposition in terms of sex exists inside a house suggests that it is the house (or household) itself which is thought of as being in opposition to the other houses or households.

by the married female Puyuma in affairs concerning the household, and in the interactions between households.

Marriage and the Proliferation of the Next Generation

The processes through which both sexes pass in Puyuma custom not only show the differentiation between the sexes, but also differentiate the children from adults and the unmarriageable from the marriageable. With reference to the latter, while previously the female Puyuma's nuptial age could be as early as thirteen or fourteen, a male Puyuma could not marry until he reached the status of a *vansalang*, about twenty or twenty-one years old. From betrothal (*patungu*; *tungul* means 'connecting, linking')³⁰ to marriage (*puarumah*) and childbirth (*miwarak*) there used to be a series of complicated reciprocal exchanges between the two households, although they are simplified today (cf. Ino 1909: 162-163). The newlyweds themselves are not only identified in a way different from that used in the unmarried stage, they are also involved in a complicated web of relationships (duties and obligations) with their affines (cf. Suenari 1968).

The situation of married people

If a change in form of address reflects a significant alteration in one's status and role, it would seem that marriage constituted an important act for both sexes.³¹ Once married, a male Puyuma is described as *barabarapat*, while a female Puyuma is called *mikataquina* (*kataquin* means 'spouse'). In addition, an important transformation for a male Puyuma occurs in his residence: he must leave the men's house and live in a household (his or his wife's). Marriage also involves both sexes in a web of relationships consisting of kin and affines, for and by whom

30. Here, it means the connection between the two households of the prospective bride and bridegroom. In the Puyuma language, '*kitali*, *kitungul*' is a phrase indicating that a person has inherited something from his or her predecessors (including ancestors): for instance, the *kinitalian* in the case of the initiated *tamalamao*.

31. I often heard some elders jokingly refer to a certain elder who had not married as *vansalang*, although only on private occasions.

there are complicated forms of address and reference,³² although nowadays the younger generation usually address their kin and affine in the Han-Chinese way. These forms of address also illustrate the fact that one's personal name is seldom mentioned, and that the age difference between the speaker and the referent is a significant factor in deciding the form of address.

In some respects, there seems to be no distinction between a male and a female Puyuma: for instance, a married Puyuma is referred to as *asawa* by his or her spouse's elderly kin, regardless of the marital residence. Nevertheless, the significance of gender differentiation (between a married man and a married woman) is still shown in the form of address. For instance, while a woman is called *imy* by her parents-in-law and *mu* (meaning 'grandchildren') by her grandparents-in-law, a married man is called by the name of the men's house to which he is initiated.

With respect to one's siblings-in-law, the situation is rather complicated. Not only are there differences for the couple themselves, but the distinction between the reference term and the term of address also illustrates the importance of the difference in age, which in turn manifests the consequences of entering the boys' or men's house, particularly in the case of a male Puyuma. Let me begin with the male ego.

Generally speaking, a reciprocal term--- either being referred to as *guravak* or being addressed as *yanai*--- is used by a man and his brothers-in-law, but it is not applied to one's older and younger sisters-in-law and their spouses and not even to the spouses of the brothers-in-law (see Figures 5-1, 5-2 and 5-3). Nevertheless, as the following instance

32. As I will describe below, it is important to distinguish terms of reference from terms of address: this will shed some light on the specificities characterizing the Puyuma. Not only does a gender variation exist, the factor of age is also important and also has consequences when speakers of different generations address each other; that is, a person may call another 'uncle' in terms of generation, but the latter will call the former 'brother' because the latter is junior to the former in age. This feature is widely observed. Furthermore, in the case of the male Puyuma, the form of address is also related to the stage of growth and whether or not a person has entered the boys' house, or the men's house (see below).

shows, if the chronological age difference is too great between a man and his brothers-in-law, the address *yanai* will be replaced by other terms, which reflect the life stages through which the individual has passed.

The oldest female Puyuma (in her mid-nineties) explained to me that *yanai* is a reciprocal term used by brothers-in-law to address each other. But, she added, it was determined by their age. In order to help me understand what she said, she used the then settlement head and his younger brother-in-law as an example: the former was in his sixties, while the latter was in his early thirties. When the head called his younger brother-in-law *yanai*, the latter should address him as *va* ('older sibling') rather than by a reciprocal term. She explained further that if the head's brother-in-law did not reach the stage of boyhood, the head would call him *gis* ('boy'); but the younger brother-in-law would call the head *ama*. If the brother-in-law was already a member of the boys' house, the head would call him *udui*. If the brother-in-law was a member of a men's house, the head would call him *yanai*.³³

Like the case of a male Puyuma, a woman uses the word *guravak* to refer to a relationship such as sister-in-law, while addressing her sisters-in-law (who are similar in age) *anay*. There are other terms for the husband's brothers and their spouses (cf. Figure 5-3). However, as in the former case, the actual situation varies and much depends on the age difference between the speaker and the referent.

They are two couples (A and B, C and D); A (born in 1940) is C's (born in 1943) brother. In principle, A's wife, B (born in 1954), should be called *ba* both by C and C's husband (D, born in 1935). However, it is obvious that there is a great age difference between B and C and D. The actual situation is: while B calls C *ba* and calls D *ezisang* ('uncle' in Japanese), C calls B *sao* ('older brother's wife' in Chinese) and D calls B *umus*. The following case is similar. M (born in 1926) is the MZSS of both N (born in 1926) and O (born in 1935), therefore M calls N and O *ama*, but he calls M's wife (born in 1941) *umus*. By contrast, N calls M by M's oldest child's name, O calls M *ba*, and N's wife calls M *ba*.

The above case shows that the factors of age and gender cause variations even for the couple themselves. It is notable that when neither partner

33. As another elderly female Puyuma said, 'how can one raise the younger one to an equivalent status, if there is a great division between their ages? For the sake of politeness, the address between them should have been different'.

of a couple mentions the other's personal names, they can be called by their oldest child's name, viz., the teknonymy.

In a sense, the teknonymy indicates the importance of having a child for the married couple: the couple will be called by the teknonymy if they have children.³⁴ But the teknonymy is more widely used and recognized only when the oldest child reaches the stage of adolescence.³⁵ Moreover, the teknonymy signifies the togetherness of a couple and reflects the significance of the marriage for the couple themselves.³⁶

Although the marriage system is monogamous, some Puyuma have re-married after divorce, or the death of their spouses (cf. Sung 1965a: 122). But it is in these cases that we find the Puyuma drawing a line, not only between full and half siblings--- which is also reflected in the teknonymy--- but also between the spouses of multi-marriages.

It is notable that the Puyuma recognize both paternal and maternal ancestors (sometimes referring to the ancestors of the couple themselves),³⁷ even though the uxori-local marriage pattern was previously

34. Therefore, a couple without children will adopt one. By contrast, to my knowledge, adoption does not occur in the case of an unmarried person. In addition, customarily a marrying-in person will return to the natal house if his (her) spouse dies before they have children.

35. Similarly, elders will often be called the grandparents of their eldest's grandchild (i.e., *demu dao* ***, no gender difference) if the latter also reaches the stage of adolescence.

36. I know that a few pregnant Puyuma women have married men who are not the genitors of their unborn children. Although the teknonymy is still used on these occasions, the Puyuma know and make the difference between these children and their subsequent siblings; in other words, they are treated as half siblings. However, this situation is different from that of re-marriage, in which although the children are half siblings--- as in the former case--- their parents are not referred to by the same teknonymy (see below).

37. As I have discussed in Chapter 4, when the Puyuma make offerings to their ancestors in the yard, both paternal and maternal ancestors are invoked. Even in the bamboo divination, the diviner will ask if the person's paternal or maternal ancestors are related, rather than excluding one side. During the funeral rites, this distinction is expressed with reference to the deceased people and their spouses: in other words, the kin of the male (*kinubainay*; *bainayan* means 'man') and the kin of the female (*kinubabay*; *babayan* means 'woman').

predominant. Therefore, it is interesting that the Puyuma not only specify a relationship connected by the same father, but also differentiate full siblings from half ones. In indigenous terms, full siblings are referred to as *kagedigedi* (*gedi* means 'pedicle'), or, more often, *mukasa pudek* (*mukasa* means 'together'; *pudek* means 'umbilical cord'). By contrast, half siblings are called either *mukasa demamayan*, *ali mukasa dainayan* ('the same father but not the same mother') or *mukasa dainayan*, *ali mukasa demamayan* ('the same mother, but not the same father'). In addition, the Puyuma use the term *guzkakukak* (*ukak* means 'bone') to emphasize the fact that the relationship is transmitted through the male line (i.e., the same father).³⁸

The differentiation is also shown in the usage of the teknonymy. When a person--- who has had a child or children with his/her first spouse--- re-marries and has children with a second spouse, in teknonymy s/he is often called in a way different from her (his) second spouse. That is, while the person concerned may be called 'the parent of the oldest child' born from the first marriage, the spouse of the second marriage is 'the parent of the oldest child' born from the second marriage.

The above situations--- in both the division between full and half siblings and the variations in teknonymy--- imply an ideal marriage without divorce or the possibility of re-marriage. That an ideal initiator should not re-marry or be a widower is one instance (see the case above), whereas the prohibition on installing two deceased spouses

38. Therefore, the Puyuma say that half siblings who have the same father are *guzkakukak*. So is one's FFSD (i.e., one's father and the latter's father are from the same father, viz., grandfather). This kind of connection can be traced back further generations, but on this occasion the Puyuma would say *du maidangan guzkakukak* (*maidan* means 'the elders, the ancestors'). This phrase does not apply to one's FZD. In addition, the elders have explained to me that two people who have the same grandfather--- regardless of paternal or maternal linkage, or being born by different grandmothers--- cannot marry. (But they are not sure whether this regulation should be extended back any more generations above, for instance, to the same great-grandfather). No specific term particularly refers to the female line, although some Puyuma have explained to me that the father (or the male) is like *ukak* while the mother (or female) is *damuk* ('blood').

together in an 'ancestral tablet' is another example.³⁹

While the teknonymy displays the togetherness of a couple (particularly one which is not a re-marriage), it also indicates a distance that the Puyuma's customs maintain even between the couple themselves, in contrast with the kind of closeness that is represented by one's personal's name.⁴⁰ Intimate as a couple may be, they seldom refer to, let alone address, each other by their personal names (although they are increasingly used by the younger generation). If a Puyuma wants to call his (her) spouse at a gathering, s/he either comes close to make some physical gesture, s/he simply calls '*ei, ei*' to arouse the partner's attention, or s/he shouts their oldest child's name. It is notable that the term for one's older sibling (i.e., *ibaly*) will be added in front of the teknonymy when a Puyuma woman (who is usually younger than her husband) asks others about her husband (for instance, where he is).⁴¹

To sum up: I have indicated that marriage was an important stage in one's life course, which is not only reflected in which the couple will be

39. Sometimes the Puyuma have explained that this is due to a 'custom' (*kakwayazan*) or to a fear that the former spouse would feel envious (*mabinin*) if put there, causing trouble for the household. As I shall discuss in Chapter 8, on this occasion either the tablet for the second marrying-in spouse (if any) is separate from, though juxtaposed with the 'ancestral tablet' into which the former marrying-in spouse's tablet has been put, and will one day be taken and worshipped by his (or her) children. Or, if s/he is without offspring, the tablet is put in a Han-Chinese shrine which specifically deals with cases of unmarried deceased people and those without descendants.

40. I have heard a middle-aged woman complain about her older MZD calling her by teknonymy, rather than by her personal name, when she has adopted a girl. She says that in being referred to as 'someone's mother' she feels a distance rather than the closeness that is indicated by the use of her name.

41. In this situation the woman will say '*iswa ibaly, demama dau ****' (*iswa* means 'where'). The others will say '*ibadaw*' to the woman to refer to the latter's husband. However, if her husband is younger than her, the woman only mentions the oldest child's name without the phrase '*ibaly*'. By contrast, a male Puyuma does not use this phrase regardless of the age difference between him and his wife. Sometimes, I heard middle-aged women call their husbands *tochian*, which means 'father' in Japanese. To my knowledge, elderly female Han-Chinese on the island also use this phrase to address their husbands.

addressed (which will change again if they have children), but is also displayed in activities around the household. For a male Puyuma, marriage signifies the change that occurs when he leaves the men's house and moves to a household (his or his wife's). A female Puyuma will have occupied an increasingly important role in daily life and on many occasions like childbirth, marriage, funerals, and so on.⁴² On the other hand, we also find that age (which is often accompanied by a particular life stage) is an important factor in shaping interpersonal relationships, and becomes particularly prominent when a Puyuma reaches the stage of an elder (*maidan*).

Becoming an Elder

In time Puyuma will become elders, *maidan*, and will be respected by the younger generation. As I have mentioned (see Chapter 4), there is a plant metaphor by which the Puyuma refer to the relationships between older and younger people--- for instance, the latter refer to themselves as 'branches' (*rurus*), and address the former as 'roots' (*rami*). In the Puyuma language, terms such as *rami* ('root'), *maidan* ('the elders'), *tumuanmuan* ('the ancestors'), *mu* ('grandparents') and *madanam* ('knowledgeable') and so on imply each other.⁴³ In a sense, it seems that no gender difference exists among the elders; all of them are referred to as *maidan* (cf. both grandfather and grandmother are called *mu*). But the equivalence of these terms signifies a similar respect, rather than meaning that no difference exists between two sexes. The word *lakana*---

42. Certainly, many things used in the marriage or funeral rites are prepared by the female kin and affines rather than their male counterparts: for instance, cake, floral wreaths, ceremonial clothes, and so on.

43. For instance, when cakes are distributed in the marriage ceremony, the first one is referred to as *kiaramiramilay*, or *kimaidanidangan*. In ritual invocation, the terms *tumuanmuan* and *maidangan* are usually paired, whereas the association of the elder with knowledge is expressed in the refrains of the *ilailao* (the songs sung during the *Mangayau* rite), viz., '*kan maidan, kan madanam*'. In addition, *mu* is the word by which one calls one's grandparents, but it also refers to the 'ancestors' in prayer.

although borrowed from the Ami--- provides a good example: it refers exclusively to the male elders. However, as I will discuss below, the fact that an elder can be an initiator only while his wife is alive also suggests that the sexes are complementary in a couple.

Becoming an elder: the case of the male Puyuma

How old need a male be to be recognized as an elder? The answer to this question seems clearer today than before, particularly after household registration was introduced by the Japanese colonial regime at the turn of the century. According to Sung's report, an elder, *maidan*, was a person of fifty or so (Sung 1965: 129). Nowadays the age of demarcation for a male Puyuma to be an elder is definite, mainly due to the establishment of a male elder's association in 1986, which has ruled that only when aged fifty-five or above can a male Puyuma become a member of the association (i.e., a *lakana*), and that only when recognized as a *lakana* is a male Puyuma entitled to initiate young men, viz., to be an initiator.

As I have described, in indigenous terms a young man is recognized as an adult and (previously) would be entitled to marry only after he has been initiated as a *miyaputan*, and this is a male elder's right. In this sense, the ability to initiate suggests that the elder possesses the power to re-generate both the age organization and the household--- although the Puyuma say that this will also weaken an initiator's own 'strength'⁴⁴ --- and legitimize the elders' ability to counter potential challenges.⁴⁵

44. In my fieldwork I was often told that it was not appropriate for a middle-aged male Puyuma to be an initiator, even if he has been recognized as a good model for the young men. As an elderly female Puyuma said, 'If he does this, the person will sap his "energy or power" (*do alakau nan da gezan*; *alakau* means "taking away"; *gezan* means "strength, power")'. This phrase suggests that even among 'the elders' themselves, there should be a seniority based on age. It is notable that when the male Puyuma conduct the rite to officiate over the new millet at the seashore or to hunt in the mountains, both the betel nut put at the seashore by each Puyuma present and the sleeping places in the camp site are arranged in a chronological sequence.

45. As I have mentioned, the Puyuma often use the phrase *maidan* (e.g. *maidan la vini*) to explain why a leading family or a person occupies a

However, merely being an elder is not sufficient to become an initiator; an individual's demeanor and his marital status (and even his wife's character) are important features that the parents of the young men will take into consideration. Concerning the former, the elder's kindness, politeness, wisdom, reputation, and so on will be considered. With regard to the latter, the positive qualities of an elder's own marriage are thought to set a good example. Therefore, it occurs that while certain elders have initiated twenty or more young men in their lives, others may never have been asked to be initiators.⁴⁶ The relationship between the initiator and the initiate is so intimate that the Puyuma think it is an initiator's duty and right (as a godfather) to discipline and teach his initiates. Also, the initiator--- substituting for the initiate's parents--- occupies an important role in dealing with the marriage of his initiate(s), even up to the present.⁴⁷

The initiates must also observe certain obligations towards their initiators. For instance, if an initiator or his wife dies, not only should

privileged position. As I will discuss in Chapter 8, when the elders have felt a challenge from a cluster of young men--- who they think are backed by some middle-aged male Puyuma (also *lakana* themselves)--- the position of the *maidan* as a source from which the younger have descended is emphasized.

46. To my knowledge, in some cases it was the elders themselves who did not want to be initiators. For instance, an elder in his late seventies told me why he had never initiated any young men, even though he had been asked to do so by some young men's parents. He said that during the Second World War he had killed many allied soldiers when he was recruited by the Japanese authorities to fight in Southeast Asia, and that the elders therefore suggested that he should not initiate young men.

47. For instance, the initiator will be asked by his initiate's parents to persuade a girl's family to accept the courtship of the young man, and on behalf of them to discuss the details about the betrothal and marriage. Nowadays in the marriage ceremony, the initiator usually (by the parents' request) sits with the newlyweds, and his wife prepares various things, such as a basket of betel nuts, a box of floral wreaths, a long piece of cloth, and so on. The piece of cloth will be decked around a temporary camp where the kin and the guests are entertained. After the banquet, this piece of cloth is taken and held by the women who have danced in the camp. Later, it will be cut by the initiator's wife (or her near kin, if she has died) and distributed to the women who are present (but not to the men).

his initiates worship and kneel down in front of the picture of the deceased, but the ones who have married should also make offerings of cakes. If an initiate is not at home at this moment, his kin or even his parents should take his place. The relationship between an initiator and his initiates will continue until the death of both the initiator and his wife; but sometimes even after their death, a certain kind of intimacy will be sustained between the initiator's children and the initiates.

Some changes occur for an elder, regarding his costume, behaviour, and other things. For instance, it is treated as reasonable or acceptable for an elder sometimes to get drunk rather than being seen as bad behaviour. Concerning his costume, an elder can wear a red robe (*longbau*) and hat (*kafong*) at the annual celebrations or on other occasions (e.g. marriage)--- which signify his status.⁴⁸ In addition, the teknonymy is widely used among the elders themselves during this stage, referring to and addressing the others. Even if they can address each other as *ali* ('friend') because they have been in the boys' house in the same period, it is improper for them to refer to and to address each other by their personal names.

One day a specialist complained to me about the impolite behaviour shown by a male Puyuma who was one year junior to him. He said that this man had visited him to ask about the ritual spells, bringing a tape recorder. During their talk, this man repeatedly called the specialist by his personal name, which made him unhappy. The specialist said that he then asked this man, 'Have you passed through the stages in the boys' and men's houses, or why you call me by my personal name?' After these complaints, the specialist asked me, 'How can a person who is impolite learn anything from others?'

To be an initiator of many initiates was (and still is) considered to be a great personal honour and a boost to a man's reputation; previously the initiates also greatly helped their initiators with harvesting and other laborious agricultural tasks. But nowadays--- mainly because most of the

48. If a male elder dies, his family usually hang his robe and hat against the wall behind a desk, on which his portrait and a tablet for this elder are put. As reported by the elderly women who are adept at weaving (*temnun*), this kind of costume was invented early this century, but it has become a customary token of being an elder (cf. T-I. Wang 1980).

Puyuma of Nan-wang no longer cultivate the land--- to be an initiator has come to be considered as a burden rather than an honourable and worthwhile thing.

I heard a woman in her sixties complain about the burden that her husband bore as an initiator. She explained that when an initiate married, his husband had to send a long piece of cloth (i.e., *kilei*), floral garlands, and betel nuts. When the young man's wife gave birth, they had to give gifts such as a *kim* ('gold ring'), *tatavin* (a piece of cloth by which a woman can carry the baby on her back when she is busy with work and nobody is available to take care of it), *savava* (a blanket for wrapping the baby), *balilin* (a baby car) and *mintan* (a bathtub for the baby). As she summarizes, 'To be an initiator is a great disadvantage'.

The complaints often made by the initiators' wives not only indicate that intimate relationships (or obligations) between initiators and their initiates are still prevalent today; they also suggest the important roles that have been occupied by the initiators' wives: it is they who have undertaken the tasks required of the initiators. It is also because of them (i.e., because they are still alive) that the elders are considered by the parents of the young men to be qualified for initiating their sons. Like their husbands, these women (often) become elders themselves at this stage.

Becoming an elder in the case of a female Puyuma

As with their male counterparts, respect is manifested to the female elders through the behaviour and form of address shown them by those junior to and younger than them--- for instance, in terms of teknonymy. However, unlike the male elders, they do not have a specific kind of costume, nor are they considered as counselors with respect to the affairs concerning the 'community'. In contrast with the male elders, they often express their opinions and comments in informal speech. This feature becomes significant because it is the female elders who perform many crucial roles on occasions such as marriages, funerals and daily life in general.

For instance, they will be consulted by their juniors about the regulations of the customs dealing with marriage ceremonies and mortuary rites. It is they who will have been busy making garlands a couple of

days before a marriage, and they will often stay with the hosts to sing the old songs.⁴⁹ They also customarily supervise the distribution of the gifts sent by the groom, the cake made as offerings to the deceased, and even accompany the bereaved families during the funeral rites.⁵⁰ Even though many things needed for these occasions can be prepared by their adult daughters-in-law, it is often the female elders who give the instructions (and orders).

There are no 'demarcated' activities to define whether or not a female Puyuma is an elder, as in the case of the male elders. But nowadays, this issue has been solved by the establishment of an association for the female elders, paralleling its male counterparts. Founded in 1988, this organization has regulated its membership and functions: all women aged 60 or more are members of this association, and must pay the membership fee twice a year; once at the *Mugamut* ceremony (for themselves), and again at *Mangayau* (in concert with the men's activities, forming part of an annual celebration by the 'community' as a whole).

Comparing it with the previous stages, the state of being a female elder sheds some light on the Puyuma's social life and activities. Complementing the important roles that are played by the male elders in affairs concerning the 'community' and age organization, the female elders

49. The Puyuma have a gender differentiation concerning these songs. With the exception of popular folk songs, there are various kinds of songs that are sung on specific occasions by the different sexes. The songs sung by the male Puyuma (usually by the elders) include: *ilailao* (in the *Mangayau* rite), *mazsaoz* (on occasions like marriage, or the establishment of a house), *dimizadizao* (in ceremonies specifically for dancing), and *zevauvau* (concerned with 'head-hunting' but now almost forgotten). By contrast, the songs of the females consist of *qemaayaayam* (in *Mugamut*) and *mangenzengent* (in celebration of childbirth). I often heard some women--- who were very learned about the songs that should be sung by the males--- say that it was shameful (*igeza*) to transgress customs by singing these songs.

50. The people who accompany the bereaved families during this period are called *izevu*. They are often the near kin of the deceased or the households concerned. When the *kiswap* rite is held for the bereaved families, these people must participate to purge their uncleanness before they return to their homes. They will also be asked to accompany the family's survivors when they are invited by their near kin after the *kiswap* rite (i.e., *bwalangi*).

perform significant functions that are mainly concerned with the life course associated with the household. However, considering the requirement of a male elder for initiating young men, it suggests a complementary relationship between an elderly couple who represent the apogee of both spheres.

To sum up: throughout this chapter I have described the different stages in the life course through which a Puyuma has passed, which are reflected in the ways in which they are referred to and addressed. From the activities and rites that are associated with different stages, one can see that the 'life course' is not a natural development, but is rather specifically defined. Also, there are different paths for each sex: in general, the life course of the male Puyuma is more marked than that of the female Puyuma.

From the inception of human life (i.e., after the *bwanan* rite), the gender difference is recognized and manifested in the rite itself and the terms used for the two sexes. However, at this early stage the difference does not imply a more developed opposition in their lives. The opposition (and also various prohibitions) is well defined only after a male Puyuma is initiated into a men's house (i.e., becoming a *miyaputan*, an adult). In other words, the development of gender opposition is associated with the life course of both sexes, which in turn manifests the fact that the Puyuma's activities are not confined to the sphere of the household where they were born, and that there are interrelationships between various spheres of their life.

Gender opposition and associated prohibitions are particularly strongly expressed in the avoidance of one sex's participation in the other's collective activities. It might seem correct to say that there is an opposition between household and age organization: the former is the main concern of females, while the latter concerns males. But once this stage is located in the whole process, I would argue that such an understanding will be seen to be partial and to have neglected important features. That is, there was an intimate relationship between household and age organization, which was implied in the stages of both marriage and old age. The teknonymy and the relationship between the couple suggest that

marriage was an important stage for both sides. For the male Puyuma, it was marriage that required him to leave the men's house and to become primarily concerned with the household where he would live with his wife, although the activities of age organization still occupied an important part of his life. And marriage constituted a clear break for the female Puyuma, comparing it with the previous stages of her life. Furthermore, it is with marriage that an 'outsider' (i.e., a non-Puyuma) could become a member of a household in the 'community' and therefore acquired membership of the 'community' (cf. note 6).

The complementarity becomes particularly manifested in the stage of being an elder. While each sex has occupied important roles in households and age organization respectively, the state of the household (i.e., the fact that the wife is still alive) constitutes a basic requirement for an elder to be entitled to initiate the male Puyuma. This 'regenerates' the age organization (by recruiting new members) and the household (signified by the fact that the father wraps the baby in a waistcloth he used to wear when he was initiated to become a *miyaputan*). In other words, these spheres that have been dealt with as separate (i.e., household or kinship and age organization) are very much involved with each other, as displayed throughout the life course.

But it would seem that the age organization (consisting of the members of both the boys' and mens' houses) has a privileged position over the ordinary households, in terms of the rites that are conducted by age organization. As I will discuss in Chapter 7, in Puyuma thought the households that has been bereaved during the year are finally lifted from their state of mourning only after two annual rites have been carried out.⁵¹ Firstly, during the *Vasivas* rite, a group consisting of two *malatawan* (who have sheathed their knives) and one *malanakan*--- both of whose parents should still be alive--- visits the bereaved households in the north, and another group visits those in the south. They rush to open the back doors of these households, and run out of the front doors,

51. In this sense, either being invited (in cases of natural death) or being visited (in cases of bad death) after the *kiswap* rite, is the concern of the near kin of the bereaved households.

an act signifying the precedence of the new year: *Vasivas* is explained as '*tunbas la amian* (*tunbas* means 'breaking', *amian* 'year'. It connotes 'coming of the new year'). Then bereaved households' members will be led out to dance with the members of the men's house (excluding the *miyaputan*) in the square of the meeting house when the male adults have returned from hunting in the mountains, viz., from the *Mangayau* rite. Finally, the elders will visit the bereaved households in the morning, telling them that it is the new year and that they need no longer remain in the state of mourning.

This series of ritual practices indicates the importance of the age organization in lifting the state of mourning of bereaved households on behalf of the 'community'. The representation of the 'community' in terms of the age organization seems to be confirmed by the fact that the sacred stone (two in Nan-wang), *dirwazekal*, was installed near the boys' and the men's houses previously (see Chapter 3). But I would suggest that this appears to be the case mainly because the significant role occupied by the boyhood stage has not been taken into consideration: it has been treated simply as a preparatory phrase for the next stage, viz., becoming a member of a men's house. It is this issue that I will discuss below and with which I will bring this chapter to an end.

The Significance of the Boyhood Stage (*Takovakoban*)

'Why do the (three) *takovakoban* open the back doors of the bereaved households? The answer is that the rites (*zegiyan*) start with the *takovakoban*'. I heard the above question-and-answer from a specialist when I asked why it was the *takovakoban* who opened the doors. Certainly, there are a lot of sayings related to this stage. For instance, some elders have told me that this stage is part of the path that a male Puyuma has to pass along, a kind of *kakwayazan* ('custom'). Some have explained that the *takovakoban*'s status is like *babayan* ('female'): if a *takovakoban* or any female comes around when the male adults have been hunting (not during the period of the *Mangayau* rite) and have their kills, the latter should give the former the front leg of the kill. Some have said that the elders feel ashamed before the *takovakoban* (*kiakela-*

yan la maidan la takovakoban). But what does this suggest? And what are the implications of these sayings?

Several features suggest that there is a parallel and a continuity between the boyhood stage and the next one (i.e., membership of a men's house). According to legend, the origin of the rite (i.e., killing the monkey) was an expression of thanks given by two brothers to an elder who lived on Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* and gave them the seed of hill rice (Koizumi 1929; Sayama 1920). However, the Puyuma also call the *Vasivas* rite *Mangayaungayau* (cf. Koizumi 1929: 21), a word suggesting some parallels between the rite and the *Mangayau* rite (conducted by members of the men's house).⁵² So the *takovakoban* were perhaps regarded as prospective warriors who used the monkey to practice on (Abe 1931: 32; see also Kasahara 1980; Sayama 1913, 1920).

A kind of continuity between the members of a boys' house and those of a men's house (which has now been abolished) was manifested in the dance. From the *Vasivas* rite onwards the *takovakoban* were supposed to dance in the square until the return of the male adults from hunting in the mountains (i.e., the *Mangayau* rite): when the *vansalang* arrived in the square and began to dance, the *takovakoban* left the stage.

However, while these features indicate a parallel and a continuity between the boyhood age group and the members of the men's house, some notable phenomena characteristic of the *takovakoban* suggest a contrast between the two groupings.

Today, most of the parts constituting the *Vasivas* rite, which would once have been conducted by the *takovakoban* themselves, are undertaken by middle-aged and elderly Puyuma, because most of the teenagers (who approximate the age of the *takovakoban*) are at school. This includes singing the *gumulao* (the songs for the monkey-killing rite). According to previous reports, when the dead monkey was taken back to the boys'

52. It is interesting that the word *kitubansal* refers both to the intermediary phrase during which a *malanakan* upgrades to a *malatawan*, and a *miyaputan* to a *vansalang*. As the Puyuma have said, two grades of the *malanakan* (i.e., *ngaungauwai* and *taribatokan*) are similar to *miyaputan*: while the *malatawan* can wear colourful waistcloths and floral garlands, hang the bells around their ankles, and bring a long stick, all of these are not present in the former two grades.

house and hung under the elevated boys' house, the elders would use a bamboo arrow to touch the parts of their bodies where they felt uncomfortable, and then throw the arrow back at the monkey, which signified that any illnesses or discomforts would be taken away by it (Koizumi 1929: 22). This is significant: it suggests that the rites conducted by the *takovakoban* themselves were separate from those carried out by the members of the men's house. Such a feature was particularly manifested in the rite concerning the harvesting of the hill rice.

The Puyuma conduct two annual rites for their crops: one for millet in summer, and another for hill rice in winter. Though the participants in both rites are limited to male Puyuma, in each case they are differently composed: the participants in the former rite are the members of the men's house, while the latter is the concern of the *takovakoban*. It is in this regard that the elderly Puyuma say, 'If the *Mangayaungayau* (i.e., the *Vasivas*) rite has not yet been held, we cannot take the new rice outside, *ali mangayaungayau ali pubatazan kana vini'*. It is also notable that the *kiswap* rite can only be conducted after the *Vasivas* rite, if a Puyuma has died during the harvesting period in the winter season.

As I have discussed above, the Puyuma do not define the boys during this stage as adult. While both *miyaputan* and *vansalang* are subordinate to the elders, this feature is not applied to the *takovakoban*. On the contrary, the Puyuma say that the elders feel ashamed of themselves (*kiagelayan*) in relation to the *takovakoban*. The juxtaposition of the boys' house with, but simultaneously its separation from, the men's house illustrates the significant role occupied by the boyhood stage.

On the other hand, in terms of gender opposition this stage seems paradoxical: the *takovakoban* are male,⁵³ but there are no ritual

53. The gender difference as defined in indigenous terms is shown in the *bwanan* rite. I am often told by the elders that when a boy has died, it is the custom that his family will put a knife (*kamut*) in his right hand, signifying that he can protect himself when he is on the road to the other world (*virwarwa*). But this custom is not applied to the case of younger girls.

restrictions for their contacts with the female Puyuma.⁵⁴ This paradoxical situation can also be seen in the legend concerning the origin of the boys' house, which reports that two brothers killed their father when they were preparing to build a boys' house. I would suggest that with this 'violent killing' the boyhood stage (and the boys' house) established a sphere separate from the household.⁵⁵ However, it would seem that this sphere was not totally separate from the household, nor was it completely contained by another sphere, viz., the age organization. On the contrary, the stage of *takovakoban* suggests a kind of container in which various spheres (or forces) coexist. If so, this characteristic is represented in various aspects: from the stage itself to the internal constitution of the 'community'.

With respect to the *takovakoban*, it is notable that the *dinumaidan* and *dinuayawan* coexist: while the position of *dinumaidan* suggests that privilege is based on seniority (or age), and is not inherited with the kin

54. On the contrary, this seems to be a privilege enjoyed by the *takovakoban*. I am often told that on the night before the *Vasivas*, viz., *halavakai*, the *takovakoban* could have fun with the female Puyuma. In addition, I often heard that the female Puyuma could not come close to the boys' house, and going up to the elevated boys' house was seen as shameful (*kiagelayan*) rather as ritually prohibited.

55. Recently, Josiane Cauquelin (1995), a French linguist, attempted to offer a different interpretation of age organization in the case of Nanwang, comparing the former studies (e.g., Hung 1978, 1981; Sung 1965b). I thank Dr. Kong-ming Hsu for her help in translating the paper. Drawing on patricidal legend, Cauquelin argues that a kind of 'double separation' occurs in the age system. She says that the first separation is 'the boy from the household where he was born', occurring in the boyhood stage. The second one is 'the separation of a son from his father', which is represented by the elder as an initiator replacing one's father in dealing with discipline, marriage affairs and so on. Interesting as her views are, Cauquelin seems to overinterpret the legend, seeing it not just as a patricide but also as a fratricide (1995: 165; but cf. H-H. Lin and K-J. Chen 1994: 16-17; Chin 1989: 66, note). This overinterpretation (not founded on detailed ethnographical descriptions) is also found in her study on shamanism (i.e., *tamalamao*) (Cauquelin 1993), in which she seriously misunderstands some important features of 'shamanism' in Nanwang. For instance, her opinion that female shamans there 'only deal with individuals' (1993: 98; see also 99, 102) is obviously contradictory to the actual ethnographical situation (see Chapters 4 and 7), which I am afraid will mislead future studies (cf. Vitebsky 1995: 38, 58, 77, 105).

relationship, *dinuayawan* is confined to certain households (i.e., the leading families) and implies the succession of the kin related to these households. With respect to the 'community', not only do two boys' houses exist,⁵⁶ but the terms of '*ayawan* and *maidan*' are also extended to denote the dual internal constitution of the 'community'. While the leading family in the south, the *Rara*, is referred to as *ayawan*, its northern counterpart, the *Pasaraat*, is regarded as the older of the two (i.e., *maidan*).

But the coexistence of *dinumaidan* and *dinuayawan* also suggests the complicated relationship between leading families and age organization; for the latter the privilege is based on seniority (i.e., age), and on other factors (for instance, individual ability), rather than on the family line with which one is connected. As I have discussed at the end of the last chapter, while the two greatest *karumaan* are associated with the two greatest leading families, this does not mean that all rites held in them should be monopolized by specialists who are members of or related to these families. Nor do these families' privileges extend over all spheres. On the contrary, as I have mentioned above, two important annual rites (i.e., the *Vasivas* and the *Mangayau* rite) are undertaken by the age organization, although some important rites have also been held in the two greatest *karumaan* before these two rites (see Chapter 7). In this sense, the boyhood stage suggests a burgeoning, mixed feature which is displayed in a more differentiated and developed form in other social aspects: the relationship between the two leading families, and the

56. There are great variations among the Puyuma settlements concerning the boys' house and the boyhood stage. For instance, Kasavakan, Murivurivuk and Alipai did not have any boys' house even though they have terms for the boyhood stage. Regarding Rikavon, Chiao (1961: 58) notes that his informants told him that they used to have a boys' house. But out of these settlements that used to have the boys' houses, only the Puyuma of Nan-wang used to have two boys' houses; the rest only had one. There are certain similarities between the cases of Pinaski and Nan-wang, although there is no boys' house in Pinaski nowadays. For instance, in each case it is the *takovakoban* who open the doors of the bereaved households. However, some variations exist: the *takovakoban* in Pinaski entered the bereaved households through the front doors (rather than the back ones), and conducted this act after (rather than before) they had killed the monkey.

relationship between leading families and age organization.

However, as I have indicated in the quotation at the beginning of Chapter 2 (about the emergence of a leading family) and Chapter 3 (about the internal differentiation), the issue regarding the composition and emergence of the 'leading families' are also complicated and contested, not only manifesting the feature that characterizes the Puyuma of Nan-wang (i.e., the kind of 'dual-section' system), but also indicating the influences that have been introduced from the outside. If so, how have the Puyuma interacted among these different fields, and how have the older 'leading families' maintained and legitimized their privileged status, while their 'newer' counterparts (whether emerging at the turn of the century or even a long time before) have not been successful in replacing them? It is with these questions that I will deal in the next chapter: the emergence of the 'leading families'.

CHAPTER 6 THE EMERGENCE OF THE 'LEADING FAMILIES'
IN THE 'COMMUNITY'

In late December 1994 the adult male Puyuma of Nan-wang were in the mountains conducting the annual *Mangayau* rite. As usual, on the afternoon of the last day before they returned to Nan-wang (i.e., December 31), they, particularly the elders (the members of the elderly association), sat together and discussed various issues. However, this time an acrimonious quarrel occurred concerning the place at which the Puyuma ancestors had originally landed on the island.

A Puyuma in his sixties disseminated a pamphlet he had compiled before the meeting, consisting of an introduction to the establishment of the elderly association, a list of its members' names, its constitution, the regulations governing the elders, the initiators and the initiates, and a brief history of Puyuma culture. The place of origin of the Puyuma ancestors was held to be *Panapanayan*.

During the meeting, this view was challenged by his older sister's son-in-law, who had argued that the place of origin was Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* (or the *Maidan* in indigenous terms) rather than *Panapanayan*.¹ In the beginning, the discussion was mainly between these two people, but later some other Puyuma became involved (including the then head of the settlement). The Puyuma who advocated *Tu-luan-shan* had been the main assistant of the settlement's head, and his son later married the head's younger sister's daughter. The situation became tense and reached its climax when the head called for his younger brother in an attempt to bring physical violence against the Puyuma who had disseminated the pamphlet; this act was interrupted in time by the other Puyuma who were present.

Having witnessed the situation, the president and the other members of the elderly association decided to stop the meeting and to have their supper, so as to divert this tension. Although the main protagonists of this debate later expressed sorrow for their impolite attitudes toward each other, this conflict was explained by some Puyuma as a manifestation of the competition for the position of the settlement head in the following local election. Apart from two Han-Chinese, there were two Puyuma candidates: one was the then head of the settlement, and the other was the Puyuma who had disseminated the pamphlet. The latter mentioned in his platform speech for the local election that both his paternal grandfather and his father were well-known leaders. Certainly, his family name, *Masikat*, itself manifested this prestigious descent. However, *Konkwang*, the family name of this three-term head of the settlement, also demonstrated a notable history.

1. To my knowledge, this issue emerged in the early 1990s, which itself provides an illuminating example of articulation with outside influences having consequences for the construction of a sense of 'community', rather than signifying the emergence of a kind of 'group consciousness'. I will come back to the issue of 'Where the ancestors were from' in Chapter 8.

A few years ago, I heard a middle-aged woman make a comment on a female elder during the *Mugamut* celebration. In this annual celebration, the female Puyuma, dressed in their colourful ceremonial clothes, parade along the main roads in Nan-wang. Two women from the households of the two leading families (i.e., the *Pasaraat* family in the north and the *Rara* in the south) usually walk at the vanguard of the parade. However, that year this female elder occupied one of these two positions, which caused the former woman's (private) comments. This woman, who had married a mainlander and lived in Taipei, was a member of the *Rara* family (from which her natal household was branched), whereas the father of the female elder whom she criticized was a member of the *Masikat* family. But interestingly, at another meeting I heard a male Puyuma of the *Pasaraat* family criticize this middle-aged woman, saying: 'Who are you?', when this woman as if she was a representative of an association organized by Puyuma who had lived in northern Taiwan exaggerated the contributions this association had made to their 'natal village'.

Many Puyuma were aware of the discord between a certain male elder and the incumbent head of the settlement, which was probably caused by the fact that a candidate the former supported had lost a local election for the position of the settlement's head nearly two decades previously. The head of the settlement was a member of the *Konkwang*, whereas this elder was of the *Rara*.

The above three illustrative quotations from my fieldnotes give a picture of the conflicts among the members of different families, regardless of sex. All these families are well-known in Nan-wang, and also among the Puyuma and aboriginal peoples in the vicinity. For instance, the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara* families (and the *karumaan* they supervise) are not only the greatest leading families in Nan-wang itself; they also had the right to request an annual tribute from subordinate aboriginal peoples in the vicinity until the 1910s (Kono 1915). By contrast, the *Masikat* and the *Konkwang* are well-known families that emerged at the turn of the century. The eponymous ancestor, *Kerarao*--- who founded the *Masikat* family--- was a local deputy of the Japanese authorities and supervised affairs concerning the aborigines in the vicinity (see Shidehara 1931: 7-8). The significance of the latter two families is also demonstrated by the locations occupied by their households in the new territory, Nan-wang, when the Puyuma resettled there in 1929 (see Map 3-3).

Sometimes these criticisms reveal a kind of ambivalence felt by the members of these well-known families, who are dominated by their

families' previous reputations. Sometimes, however, the comments themselves suggest a sense of anachronism; in other words, while it might seem reasonable that members of a certain well-known family will criticize those whose families are less well-known than theirs, they do not regard as relevant the fact that their family is itself one which emerged only at the turn of the century. This is vividly expressed by the complaint of a Puyuma in his seventies that his MZS (a member of the *Masikat* family) had lost the local election for the position of the head of the settlement to the incumbent one, who was a member of the *Konkwang* family and was in his fourth term. According to this man's plea, the *Masikat* family once had a good name, but this reputation was being undervalued by the present local election system. 'Things are changing nowadays!', he exclaimed. But what I find most interesting in the above nostalgic complaint is that the close kin relationship between these two families is neglected; by contrast, some distant relationships that can be traced back to connect them with 'older' leading families, such as the *Rara*, are often emphasized (see Figure 6-3).

Even though both the *Konkwang* and the *Masikat* families are well-known, however, their household names are newer ones which suggest their 'origins' are more recent (cf. Appendix 1). Furthermore, unlike leading families such as the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara*, they do not have *karumaan* as ritual locales where rites concerning the 'community' are held. What, then, does this 'privileged position' mean in indigenous terms?

In contrast with the families that emerged at the turn of the century, there were six 'older' families in Nan-wang: each of them was associated with a *karumaan* and a named men's house, a characteristic prevalent among the Puyuma. But in Nan-wang the situation is complicated: not only were these six families divided into northern and southern sections, the emergence of the *Rara*, the greatest family in the south (and reported as being the prominent leader in the vicinity), was also mainly attributed to its intimate connections with outside forces (cf. Utsurikawa et al. 1935) (see later). How was this phenomenon conceptualized and interpreted by the Puyuma themselves?

In the rest of this chapter I will divide these families into two main categories, that is those having and those not having *karumaan*. I would

argue that the *karumaan*--- particularly in its capacity as the ritual locale for the 'community'--- constitutes an important mechanism in legitimizing families' privileged positions. But the waxing and waning of certain leading families also displays the significance both of connection with outside forces and of the interrelationships between leading families themselves (i.e., by means of marriage). By this token, while the privileged position based on the *karumaan* cannot be challenged or replaced, other alternatives can be allowed to emerge and to shape the formation of the 'community'. Thus a picture replete with dynamics and conflicts is revealed.

Leading Families Having *Karumaan* (and *Parakwan*)

Like other Puyuma settlements, the 'community' built by the Puyuma before their resettlement in Nan-wang was characterized by multiple leading families that were associated with *karumaan* and *parakwan* (men's houses). In the case of the Puyuma, there were six leading families. These six families and their accompanying *karumaan* and men's houses were divided into two parts according to the legend of their 'origin'. Three families--- the *Pasaraat*, the *Balangato* and the *Sapayan*--- constituted the northern section, and their ancestors were siblings. Not only were the other three families--- the *Rara*, the *Arasis* and the *Longatan*--- not related to their northern counterparts; they were also not related to each other (Utsurikawa et al. 1935; see Table 3-1). This dualistic feature was further manifested in the coexistence of two boys' houses: one in the north, the other in the south.

As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, while these six leading families had their own *karumaan* and men's house, a ranked relationship existed in each section: the *Pasaraat* was the greatest family in the north, and the *Rara* in the south; both their *karumaan* are still the ritual locales of the 'community'. This character probably explains why, when the other four men's houses were abolished before the Puyuma resettled in Nan-wang, it was the two men's houses associated with both the *Pasaraat* (i.e., *Patabang*) and the *Rara* (i.e., *Karunun*) that survived.

This feature was reported by Dr. Sung (1965b: 120). As he noted, six men's houses were still extant around 1913-1914 when Japanese scholars were undertaking research (cf. Sayama 1913: 27). The first to disappear was the men's house that was associated with the *Balangato* family (i.e., *Kinutul*). Then that of the *Arasis* family (i.e., *Gamogamot*) began to decline, and two years later so did the *Longatan's* men's house (i.e., *Kinaburao*). Finally, (ca. 1926) the men's house associated with the *Sapayan* family (i.e., *Balubalu*) also disappeared (Sung 1965b: 120). Since then, the two extant men's houses--- *Patabang* in the north and *Karunun* in the south --- have become locales into which the male adults of the other four men's houses have been combined,² until the early 1960s when a unified men's (and boys') house was re-built in today's central square (i.e., *wakasayan*).

Compared to the abrupt decline of the men's houses, *karumaan* supervised by these families seem to have been fairly tenacious. Apart from the *Arasis*,³ all the other families maintained their *karumaan* when the Puyuma resettled in *Nan-wang*. However, as with the men's houses, only the two *karumaan* supervised by the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara* still survive. The other three *karumaan* met their ends in various ways. For instance, the *karumaan* of the *Balangato* family was abolished when the housemistress's father died and she herself converted to Catholicism; that of the *Longatan* was terminated around 1957 at the suggestion of a Puyuma representative.⁴ The *Sapayan* family's *karumaan* was only sealed

2. I was once told by a male elder in his mid-seventies that he was initiated by an elder who was a member of the men's house of the *Balubalu*. Due to the disappearance of this men's house when the Puyuma resettled in *Nan-wang*, he therefore participated in the men's house of the *Patabang*; both *Balubalu* and *Patabang* were of the northern section. (cf. Sung 1965b: 120).

3. When I asked about this family during my fieldwork, the Puyuma seldom gave clear answers. They said that it was extinct (*mulemus*) and that there were no descendants of this family in *Nan-wang*.

4. I have alluded to this native representative in Chapter 3; he endeavoured to prevent the Han-Chinese from living in *Nan-wang* (particularly in *Nan-wang*). Led by him in 1957, the Puyuma fetched a stick of bamboo from *Panapanayan*--- the legendary place from which the ancestors of the *Nanwang*-based Puyuma came--- and inserted it on the

in the mid-1980s, due to a series of misfortunes which afflicted the household that supervised it.⁵

That only the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara* still hold a *karumaan* and a men's house⁶ exemplifies the fact that these two leading families are a focal point of the 'community'.⁷ It is also the coexistence of the two leading families' *karumaan* and men's houses that manifests the existence of the dualistic system in Nan-wang, although a ranked relationship still pertains between them.

But in another respect, the interesting thing is the *Rara*'s accession to power: the fact that a 'latecomer' became not only the greatest leading family in the south, but also a paramount leader in the vicinity. Moreover, if this privileged position (i.e., *ayawan*) means that the family was even a paramount leader among the Puyuma themselves, as some studies have argued (e.g. Koizumi 1929: 17; Sung 1965b: 118-119), what does this mean in indigenous terms?⁸ The situation of the *Rara* family provides us with

hill northwest of Nan-wang. During this period, I was told, certain families' *karumaan* (e.g., *Tatiam* and *Kagi*) were abolished, and the ritual implements of the *karumaan* were taken to the place where the 'spiritual bamboo' had been erected.

5. The widow of a male member of this household--- who died in a car accident--- asked a *kankankal* to conduct a rite to abolish this *karumaan*. The building itself is still erected in its former place, but no rites are now carried out there.

6. Certainly, there is only a united men's house today. Even so, as I have described in Chapter 3, rites are held separately for the men's (and the boys') house in the north (i.e., the *Patabang*) and its southern counterpart (i.e., the *Karunun*).

7. When the representative asked the Puyuma to forsake their 'older' customs, including the *karumaan*, he did not extend this to the *karumaan* of the *Rara* family. Instead, as I was told by the middle-aged woman who now superintends this *karumaan*, this representative told her that she could not abolish her family's *karumaan*, because it was not private one but was of the 'community' (*fan shia*, in Taiwanese).

8. Sung (1965b: 118-119) has noted that although there was a change of seniority in the activities regarding the men's houses--- the *Karunun* becoming superior to the *Patabang*--- the ritual sequences between these two families were still the same. That is, the *Pasaraat* family was superior to the *Rara* family regarding the ritual practices. However, Sung does not discuss the implications of this feature any further.

a starting point to investigate how the forces from outside have been re-appropriated, and will hopefully shed some light on the issue of how a privileged position like *ayawan* is conceptualized.

The Emergence of the *Rara* Family, and Its Implications

In former times, the *Rara* did not have a *karumaan*, and, most importantly, was not a leading family. Then a young male member of the *Sapayan* family (who was apparently very ugly) became fond of a beautiful girl of the *Rara* family. His proposal being accepted, the young man married into this family, and gave a lot of land to his wife's family; the family name of the *Sapayan* connotes having widespread land (in indigenous terms, *smapay* means 'widespread'). Moreover, this young man helped the *Rara* family to establish a *karumaan*. Due to this, the *Rara* family raised its status and replaced its former family name, *Alialip* (meaning 'the overlapping of tiles on the roof'), with *Rara* ('*murara*' means also 'widespread').

(Translations from my fieldnotes)

As I mention in Chapter 2, a brief survey of the *Puyuma*'s history (particularly today's *Puyuma*) demonstrates the intimate relationships between them and the regimes originating outside Taiwan since the seventeenth century. In the early eighteenth century, for instance, the *Puyuma* helped the Ch'ing authorities to round up the last remnants of the rebels on the island. In return, the Ch'ing regime granted the leader of the *Puyuma* the honorable title, 'Great King of the Peinan' (Shidehara 1931: 4-5; see also Abe 1929: 6-7; S-C. Huang 1973). Just before the Ch'ing court started to carry out the policy of 'opening the mountains and pacifying the aborigines' (in 1874), ordering its forces to advance on eastern Taiwan, a Ch'ing official left for Taitung and obtained an assurance from the then leader of the *Puyuma* (Ino 1991 [1928], vol 1: 211; vol 3: 86 ff, 120). Furthermore, when the Japanese forces landed on eastern Taiwan in early 1896, a female *Puyuma* (whose husband was a Han-Chinese and was a local Ch'ing military official) as well as a leader of the neighbouring *Ami* settlement organized the militia in support of the arriving Japanese (Hashimoto 1985 [1922], Part 2: 12; Shidehara 1931: 7). It is notable that all these *Puyuma* were from the *Rara* family, rather than

from others.⁹

In an investigation by the late Japanese ethnologist, T. Mabuchi (ca. 1932), more than half the previous leaders (12 of 21) of the Puyuma were reported to have been intimately related to this family (see Figure 6-1) (Utsurikawa et al. 1935, vol 2: 113).¹⁰ Certain educated members of the family also made significant contributions in dealing with the resettlement in Nan-wang and establishing an association to improve the living standards of the Puyuma.¹¹

The above brief sketch certainly manifests the fact that the *Rara* was a well-known family. At the turn of the century some of its members were also better-educated than those of other families.¹² But beyond this 'fact',

9. Before the Japanese landed in eastern Taiwan, *Kerarao*, who established the *Masikat* family, went to southwestern Taiwan to invite the Japanese to help maintain local stability (Shidehara 1931: 7). *Kerarao's* MF was a member of the *Rara* family and married into the *Taliyalep* family, but he was thought to be related to the *Rara* family. I will discuss this issue later.

10. According to a report, the 'chief' of the Puyuma was a male member of the *Rara* family and was offered a salary by the Japanese authorities (see Taiwan Colonial Government 1985 [1900]: 276).

11. A hand-written note and other sources (e.g. T-Y. Cheng 1968: 31 ff; see also Chapter 3, note 4) indicate that three educated Puyuma visited the director of the bureau of education of the Government of Formosa, who had been on an inspection tour to Taitung. Of these three natives, one was the youngest son of *Kerarao* (i.e., a member of the *Masikat* family), while the other two--- serving the local aboriginal school--- were siblings and members of the *Rara* family. The main consequence of this discussion was a plan to improve the living standards of the Puyuma, including the resettling of them in Nan-wang, the establishment of a commissary, a clinic, the changing of the four-year school system at the Peinan Aboriginal Public School to a six-year one, and so on (T-Y. Cheng 1968: 32). The organization of these plans was supervised by an association, *Peinan kai shan hui*, which separated from the then Taitung Charity Association (established in 1928), and became an independent organization (Tsutsui 1985 [1932]: 60).

12. To my knowledge, since the early part of this century there have been 17 Puyuma teachers (including 3 who are still alive). Seven of these were from the *Rara* family, while the rest belong to eight other families. Apart from this, the older brother of the woman who now supervises the *karumaan* of the *Rara* family went to Japan on behalf of the island to attend an oratorical contest in Japanese (ca. 1930). He died in the Philippines when he was drafted to fight for the Japanese regime.

it is notable that other stories reported by the natives suggest that the emergence of this family is also attributable to marital relationships and other factors,¹³ of which the *karumaan* seems to be very important.

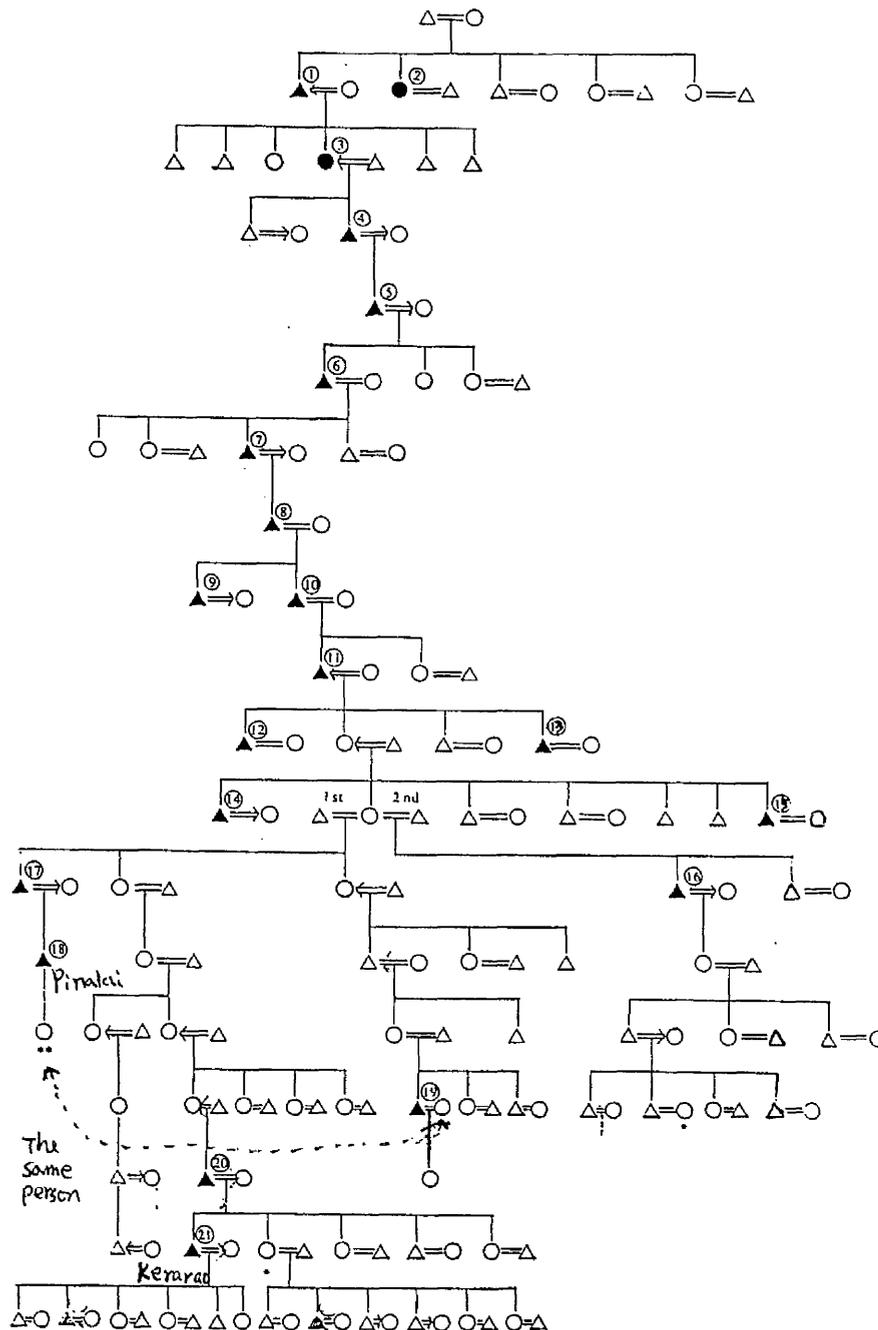
The Rara family as the paramount chiefs of the Puyuma

During my fieldwork, I often heard a story about the emergence of the Rara family which I quote at the beginning of this section. This story was told by a specialist who was himself a member of the *Sapayan* family, and was in charge of the rites held in the *karumaan* of the Rara family until he died in 1994. Although contrary private comments were made by some members of the Rara family,¹⁴ the fact that a man from the *Sapayan* family had married into the Rara and his children had succeeded to the chieftainship was reported both in Mabuchi's study (see Figure 6-1, numbers 14-17) and in a genealogical grid compiled in 1970 by an educated Puyuma (see Figure 6-2). Moreover, although the *Sapayan* was a leading family in the northern section, the fact that members of the men's houses that were associated both with the Rara and the *Sapayan* families were brought together to conduct the new millet rite towards Orchid Island (i.e., the *Muraliyavan* rite) suggests that these two families had an intimate relationship (Table 3-1; see also Sung 1995: 63-64).

13. In an important paper about the Puyuma kinship system, Suenari (1970: 111) indicates that the succession of the chieftainship in Nan-wang is not decided by the unilineal (i.e., matrilineal) principle. By contrast, it reveals a prevalent patrilineal linkage: the proportion of the patri- to the matri-linkage is 11:6. Therefore, he argues that this kind of succession is characteristic of a cognatic system. Although he also mentions that the family line is perhaps not the only determining factor, Suenari certainly neglects some important information that has been recorded by Mabuchi on his grid, which in turn suggests certain important factors influencing the succession. I would suggest that Suenari's indifference to this information is mainly due to his preoccupation with debates about the character of the Puyuma kinship system.

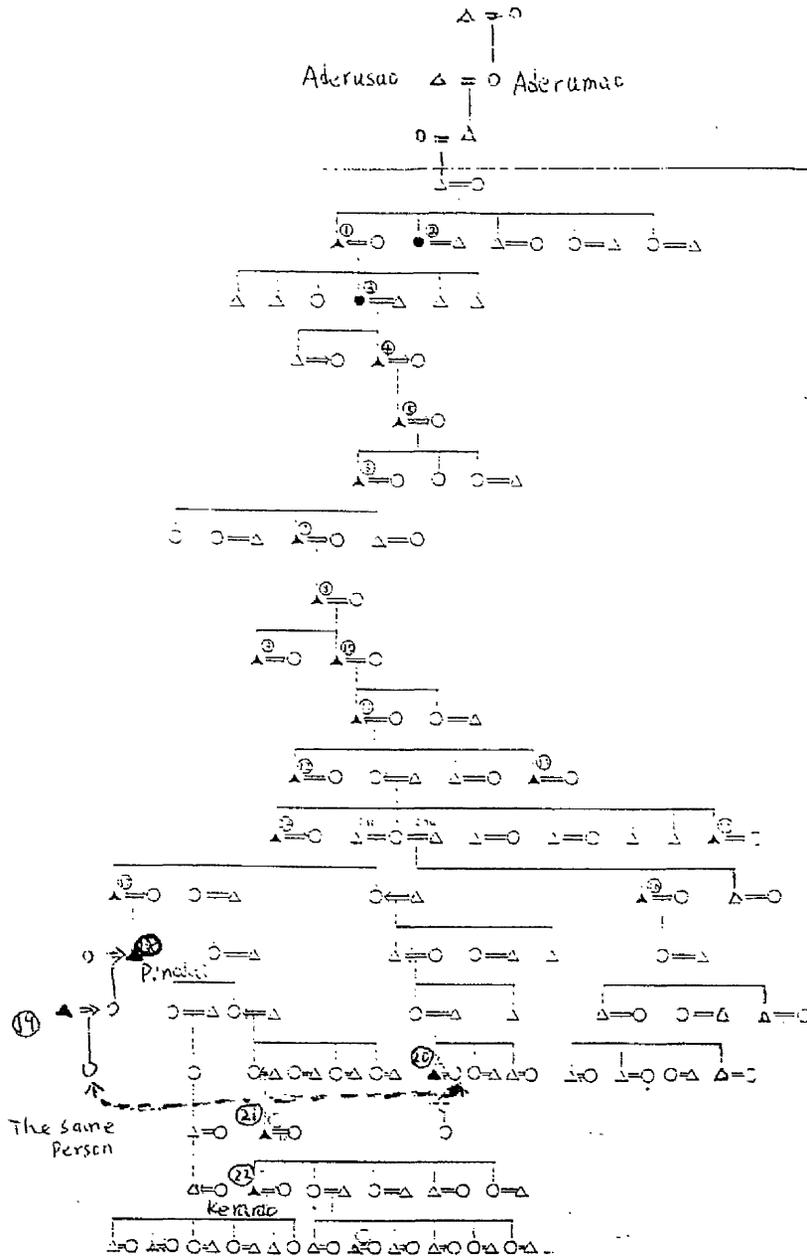
14. For instance, a male Puyuma in his early sixties explained to me that *smapay* (from which the *Sapayan* family was named) referred to land that had not yet been cultivated, while *murara* (from which the Rara family acquired its name) referred to land that had. Through this distinction, he demonstrated to me that his family's privileged position was not due to the fact of that a member of the *Sapayan* had married into his family.

Figure 6-1 The Succession of the Chieftainship of the Puyuma*



* This chart was compiled by T. Mabuchi (ca. 1932). Both informants (*Lawa* and *Malaisai* by their indigenous names) were members of the *Pasaraat* family. The translator, *Tsipuka*, was a member of the *Pike* family, which was branched from the *Balangato* family.

Figure 6-2 The Succession of the Chieftainship of the Puyuma*



* This chart was compiled in 1970 by *Lingsai* and was mainly concerned with the *Rara* family. *Lingsai* was the youngest son of *Kerarao*, who established the *Masikat* family. For details about *Lingsai's* career, see T-Y. Cheng (1968). It is interesting to compare this chart with Figure 6-1.

If true, this story implies two important questions that should be further investigated. Firstly, marriage evidently constituted an important factor in the transfer of the privileged position. Secondly, the *karumaan* is important for a leading family, particularly when it has become a ritual locale of the 'community'.

Let us begin with marriage. The significance of marrying a member of a leading family has been noted by Japanese scholars. In their epochal work investigating the Taiwanese aborigines, Utsurikawa et al. not only noted that affinal relationships had been made between the leaders of the Puyuma settlements and their counterparts in other aboriginal peoples (e.g. the Paiwan), by which they supported each other (Utsurikawa et al. 1935: 369; see also Mabuchi 1940-1941); they also suggested that it was due to a marriage--- a leader from Katipol marrying into a Puyuma leading family--- that a Puyuma leader replaced its counterpart in Katipol and became a paramount chief in the vicinity (Utsurikawa et al. 1935: 363-364). As Mabuchi (1974, vol 2: 397-398) noted (my translation):

The *Mavariu* family in Katipol descended from those adhering to the 'stone-origin' legend, and was the paramount leader of the whole Puyuma. But because the eldest child (a male) of this family later married into the *Sapayan* family--- a chiefly family of the northern section of the Puyuma --- the leadership was transferred to this Puyuma leading family. Later, by means of another marriage, the privileged position occupied by the *Sapayan* family was again transferred to the *Rara* family, which became the paramount leader of the Puyuma. Although this cannot completely explain the emergence of the *Rara* family, this feature, which sheds some light on the Puyuma social structure, is worth taking into consideration.

Despite this remark, Mabuchi does not mention anything about the issue in his earlier chart showing the succession of the chieftainship of the Puyuma (see Figure 6-1). A transfer such as this was not mentioned by the Puyuma of Katipol, or by the Puyuma.¹⁵ However, if this kind of

15. Although the Reverend C-T. Tseng (1994a: 148), himself a Puyuma of Katipol, notes this marriage in his report, he does not mention a transfer such as that pointed out by Mabuchi. Similarly, *Lingsai* noted this marriage but mentioned that this Katipol leader and his Puyuma wife later moved to Pinaski and were later regarded as its ancestors, rather than staying with the Puyuma (see Figure 6-2, no. 10). Even so, there is a big difference between these two reports: while *Lingsai* noted that the marriage occurred during the reign of the tenth chief of the Puyuma, the

transfer did not happen between the Katipol and the Puyuma, it certainly occurred in the case of the Puyuma themselves. Although there were some variations, both charts (see Figures 6-1 and 6-2) indicate the significant consequences for the succession of chieftainship resulting from the spouse's family position: for instance, numbers 4 and 10 in Mabuchi's chart and number 4 in *Lingsai's*.¹⁶

Although some differences exist,¹⁷ both charts indicate that the transmission of chieftainship to a certain family seems to have been due to a male chief's marrying into the family concerned. For instance, *Lopotong* (no. 4) was a member of the *Balangato* and married into the *Arasis*, then his son (no. 5), called *Dumalasio*, succeeded him in this position. Later, when *Dumalasio* married into the *Butul* family, *Dumalasio's* son (no. 6) succeeded to this position. This also occurred to numbers 6 and 7.

What, then, do the marriages reported in these two charts imply? In a sense, they suggest that the succession is not only a kind of patri-linkage as Suenari (1970: 111) notes (cf. note 13), but also an important result of the positions of the spouses' families. However, it is notable that the succession of the chieftainship before *Kerarao's* was almost certainly

Reverend C-T. Tseng says it occurred during that of the eighteenth chief.

16. While Mabuchi referred to number 4, saying that his wife's family (i.e., the *Pike*) was not a chiefly one, *Lingsai* said that the younger brother succeeded to the position because the *Arasis* (his wife's family) were superior to the *Pike*.

17. There are three main differences between these two charts. Firstly, in Figure 6-2 three more generations are described as relating to *Panapanayan*, and the legendary couple (i.e., *Aderusao* and *Aderumao*)--- who brought the millet from Orchid Island--- are mentioned. Secondly, Figure 6-2 adds that the first husband of *Pinalai's* (no. 18) daughter was the nineteenth chief, followed by *Pinalai's* daughter's son-in-law (no. 20), while Figure 6-1 only mentions *Pinalai's* son-in-law (i.e., no. 19; the same person to no. 20 in Figure 6-2). Therefore, there are 21 previous chiefs in Figure 6-1; by contrast, the figure is 22 in Figure 6-2. Thirdly, while Figure 6-1 mentions no. 8 who married into the *Ringaringai* family, and his son (no. 10) returned to the *Rara* family because there were no offspring in this family, in Figure 6-2 no. 8 practiced virilocal marriage. In other words, both numbers 9 and 10 in Figure 6-1 were of the *Ringaringai* family, but they were of the *Rara* in Figure 6-2.

circulated among the families that have (or had) *karumaan*.¹⁸ If so, the above quotation from a specialist of the *Sapayan* family suggests that the *karumaan* was at the least an important mechanism for constituting chiefly family, and was a factor in the succession of the chieftainship.

A notable feature in both charts is that the *Pasaraat* family did not occupy an important role regarding the chieftainship, although another two leading families in the northern section (i.e., the *Balangato* and the *Sapayan*) were mentioned (e.g. numbers 1, 4, and 7). This information seems once again to confirm the report that the *Rara* family was a paramount leading family before the turn of the century. However, the succession of the chieftainship also reveals that marriage with a leading family was an important factor in its transfer, and that--- even if implicitly due to the predominance of uxori-local marriage--- an important linkage was made through the paternal line where the privileged position was concerned. But it also suggests that *karumaan* is an important criterion for a family (and its members) to attain the position of chief. Expanding Mabuchi's above suggestion, I would argue that even if the *karumaan* did not constitute the only criterion for a chiefly family, it was at least a necessary factor, particularly once it became a ritual locale for the 'community'. It is in these characteristics that we find the families (or the people) which (or who) have emerged since the turn of the century providing striking contrast to the picture I have outlined above. The *Masikat* and the *Konkwang* are the two most representative examples of this.

The Leading Families Without *Karumaan*

Kerarao, our ancestor, succeeded to the chieftaincy of the Puyuma. At that time, the aborigines occupied the area of Taitung as their own territory, and the law was not observed by them. Due to the cultural superiority of the Puyuma over the other aboriginal peoples, the Ch'ing government granted the position of interpreter (i.e., *t'ung shih*) in arbitrating the conflicts, disputes and quarrels occurring among these

18. Case no. 20 in Figure 6-1 (i.e., no. 21 in Figure 6-2) was a member of the *Durungiyal* family, whose founder was branched from the *Rara* family (i.e., she was no. 17's sister). *Kerarao* himself was a member of the *Taliyalep*, a family that used to have a *karumaan*.

aboriginal tribes to our ancestor *Kerarao*, and putting him in charge of taxation. He was given a grant by the Ch'ing court for his contribution to these things, to local development and to social order. Even after the Japanese occupied Taiwan, our ancestor still occupied the position of a mediator between the officers and the common people, and was responsible for announcing policies and negotiating. Because of his great achievement, he was granted a lifelong stipend by the Japanese authorities.

Kerarao and the Masikat Family

I have translated the above quotation from an introduction written by a Puyuma to a genealogical grid of his family, the *Masikat*, that he compiled in 1990. In a sense, it stands as a kind of memorial for an eponymous ancestor by one of his descendants. Judging by the relevant reports (whether those of the Japanese or the Puyuma themselves), however, *Kerarao* was a well-known and important person in his time. He was described as a capable and clever man (see Chin 1989: 169-170), and one of ambition and determination (Shidehara 1931: 7-8). It was he who went to today's Hen-ch'un (a town in southwestern Taiwan) and invited the Japanese forces to Taitung (Shidehara 1931: 7). Probably because of his capability and reputation, around 1925 the Japanese authorities granted *Kerarao* the position of the head of the Peinan District, and he was later offered a silver watch as a reward for his long-term contributions to aborigines' education and to the school system (Shidehara: 8).¹⁹ Although he married uxorilocally, the house in which *Kerarao* lived was called *Masikat*. In other words, he was treated as the 'founder' of this family,²⁰ and the supreme and honourable position that *Kerarao* possessed was vividly demonstrated by this family name, *Masikat* deriving from the key word *senkat*, which refers to 'a place where a lot

19. In addition, I was told that three Puyuma households were given gold medals by the Japanese authorities: the *Masikal*, the *Konkwang*, and the *Rara*.

20. As I have noted in Appendix 1, some Puyuma households (particularly the branched ones) can acquire their own names due to the characteristics of their household members; for instance, the *Miyaput* (no 31), the *Pike* (no 37), and the *Punapurán* (no 39). Some households acquired their names mainly because they were located close to certain well-known families, for instance, *Maka ami i Konkwang* (no 26), *Maka laut i ayawan* (no 27) and *Maka daya i Rara* (no 28) and so on.

of people are brought together'. In other words, the family name, *Masikat*, signified the chieftaincy of *Kerarao*. In 1930, when *Kerarao* died, the funeral ceremony was held in the meeting house in the time, *wakasayan* (see Map 3-3, D1), square wider enough for many participants.

Kerarao's good reputation extended through the late Ch'ing dynasty well up to the early period of Japanese rule, and he was recognized more than half a century after his death by the Puyuma as their first head when the elders established their association in 1987.

During my fieldwork I was often told that *Kerarao* was related to the *Rara* family (see also Shidehara 1931: 8), in contrast with the headmen who have held power latterly. In one sense, he certainly was. As shown both in Figures 6-1 and 6-2, *Kerarao*'s paternal grandfather was a Han-Chinese called Cheng Shan, who brought grains to Taitung and taught the Puyuma how to cultivate them (see Chapter 2); he married into the *Durungiyal* family, which was branched from the *Rara*. Even so, no *karumaan* has ever been associated with the *Masikat* family. On the contrary, this family is one of a few cases of the Puyuma who installed 'ancestral tablets' when they lived in the Peinan area.²¹ In other words, the new family name of the *Masikat* suggests that its accession to power (mainly due to an eponymous person) was somehow different from the leading families which previously possessed the chieftaincy. The emergence of another well-known family, the *Konkwang*, provides a similar, but further developed, case.

The Konkwang Family

As I have mentioned above, both of the main protagonists who competed with each other for the local election in mid-1995 were members

21. My research indicates that there are two contemporary Puyuma households in Nan-wang whose 'ancestral tablets' are of the more 'traditional' kind: that is, the 'original stem household' of the *Rara* family and that of the *Masikat* family. Unlike the ordinary one--- which is like a box and contains a few small wooden tablets on which the names of the deceased are written--- the 'traditional' kind of tablet is a bigger wooden board upon the surface of which the names of the ancestors are directly written (vertically and right-to-left following the generational sequences).

of well-known families; one was from the *Masikat*, and the other was from the *Konkwang*. According to both Figures 6-1 (numbers 20 and 21) and 6-2 (numbers 21 and 22), however, they were closely related to each other--- because the 'founder' of the *Masikat* family (i.e., *Kerarao*) was also the eldest son of the 'founder' of the *Konkwang* (i.e., *Linkui*). While *Kerarao* married into his wife's family and founded the *Masikat*, his younger sister practiced an uxorilocal marriage and succeeded to the *Konkwang*. In other words, the aforementioned middle-aged Puyuma who quarreled with the then incumbent head of the settlement was *Kerarao*'s SS (the *Masikat*), while the head was *Kerarao*'s ZSDS (the *Konkwang*).

Like the *Masikat*, the *Konkwang* was a family that emerged at the turn of the century. The supreme position occupied by this family was also manifested in its family name: the word '*konkwang*' denotes a house that is big and spectacular. Although *Linkui* was reported as the 'founder' of the *Konkwang*, the well-known people of this family were actually his daughter's sons, which included *Arukau* and *Pakiwaya*, who was particularly famous.

Pakiwaya (*Kerarao*'s ZS) was the deputy chief to *Kerarao* when the latter was the chief of the Puyuma in the Peinan area. At one time, he was also president of the youth association.²² When the Puyuma resettled in *Nan-wang*, he became the head of the new settlement. His important role at that time was also manifested in the location of his house (see Map 3-3, E1).²³ Like his brother, *Arukau* attended police education and later

22. The other two deputy presidents were *Linkui* (*Kerarao*'s oldest son, named after his father) and *Morongang* (of the *Bakabak* family), who later became a head of the 'community'. As with other associations (e.g. the women's) and settlement meetings, the establishment of the youth association (limited to male members) was part of a series of colonial policies that were put in practice by the Japanese authorities among the aboriginal settlements. The main purpose of the youth association was to protect aborigines due to the inferiority of their life conditions in comparison with those of the Han-Chinese; it performed the function of self-defence and was supervised by the local police institution.

23. On this matter, it seems that an inconsistency exists between the report in a pamphlet of the elderly association (compiled in 1993) and those made by the living elders. The elders recollected their visits to *Pakiwaya*'s house when they were *vansalang*, because he was the *ayawan* at that time. That is, contrary to the pamphlet's report, it was *Pakiwaya*

became the head of the 'community' himself.

Certainly, both the *Masikat* and the *Konkwang* were well-known families in the early part of this century. After *Pakiwaya* (and before the Nationalist government took over the island in 1945), for instance, two of the five Puyuma who had been heads of the 'community' were from these two families: *Smaliao* (the *Masikat* family, *Kerarao*'s second son) and *Arukau* (the *Konkwang* family, *Pakiwaya*'s younger brother). Nevertheless, neither the *Masikat* nor the *Konkwang* had their own *karumaan* that could be the 'community's' ritual locale, even if *Kerarao* and *Pakiwaya* and their near kin were previous headmen. The term 'ayawan' was applied to them, and certain affinal relationships had been made between their family members and the chiefs of the neighbouring aborigines (e.g. the Paiwan).²⁴

Regarding the headship of the 'community', however, the emergence of the two well-known families signified an important--- if implicit--- consequence of the relationship with the forces from outside.²⁵ Apart from *Kerarao*, for instance, of the six Puyuma who took the position of head of the 'community' from early this century to the Nationalist government's takeover of the island, three were graduates of the police school²⁶ and

rather than *Smaliao* (*Kerarao*'s second son) who succeeded *Kerarao* as the head of the 'community' when the Puyuma resettled in Nan-wang. And it was *Smaliao* who later succeeded *Pakiwaya* as head.

24. For instance, *Kerarao*'s younger sister married a Paiwan who was the chief of two 'tribes' (see genealogical grids in Mabuchi 1940-1941), while one of *Pakiwaya*'s younger brothers married into the greatest family in Katipol, the *Mavariu*.

25. Sometimes I use 'head' ('headship') or 'chief' ('chieftaincy, chieftainship') interchangeably to refer to the 'leader' of the Puyuma. When I use 'chief' (or 'chieftaincy, chieftainship'), I emphasize the fact that the influences of the person concerned extend beyond the confines of Nan-wang. It seems that *Kerarao* might be the last person to have wielded full influence.

26. As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, partly because the policemen had occupied an important role during the colonial period, a lot of young aborigines attended police education (cf. Tsurumi 1977: 234). I am told by the elderly Puyuma that *Pakiwaya* was the first Puyuma who became a policeman.

three were from the aboriginal public school.

Among the remaining seven previous headmen, there were still some cases in which either the heads themselves or their wives were members of leading families (see Appendix 2). However, partly because local elections were introduced by the Nationalist government from the early 1950s, partly because the settlement constitutes a basic administrative unit, and partly because the numbers of Han-Chinese electors in Nanwang have been increasing, the situation regarding the election of the headship has become more complex. Not only are intimate relationships to the Han-Chinese inhabitants required, but outside resources--- e.g. the local party apparatus of the Nationalist government, the agricultural association, and so on--- are also more important. Here the fourteenth head of the 'community' provides a good example.

By the time of his death in mid-1995, just a year after he started his fifth term of headship, this Puyuma (aged sixty) had filled the position for nearly 17 years. Compared with other previous heads, his case was unusual. Certainly, he was from a well-known family (i.e., the *Konkwang*), and had an eponymous (maternal) grandfather (i.e., *Pakiwaya*). However, in his teenage years he was absent from his 'community', attending a senior higher school and making connections in the wider world, and he did not settle down until his mid-twenties. He was a good musician, and actively participated in entertaining the front line troops in the late 1950s. He certainly accumulated a lot of 'social resources' from his various experiences in the spheres outside the 'community'; for instance, he was on good terms with the local Nationalist party apparatus, local officers, representatives and so on. With these personal connections, he could appeal for more resources to improve the Puyuma's living standards, modernizing the settlement's various facilities, arbitrating in the inhabitants' lawsuits and disputes and, more importantly, solving the issue of land rights in the territory that the Puyuma had lived in since 1929.²⁷ In 1994 he was chosen as a model Taiwanese settlement head, and

27. As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, when the Puyuma resettled in Nanwang, land rights of this new territory were not solved under Japanese rule. After Taiwan was recovered by the Nationalist government, most of the land of this territory was categorized as a national asset. It was

went to Taipei to accept an award from President Lee.

In other words, good relationships with various agencies outside the settlement (or the 'community') were probably the main reason for the five-term incumbent head's success in competing for the headship of the settlement. This advantage was recognized and well summarized by his comments on a member of the *Rara* family. As he said, 'the latter still thought that the head of the borough (*li chang*) was equivalent to the former leader (*t'ou mu*), was preoccupied with affairs regarding the borough, and made no connections with agencies beyond the borough, from whom resources could be acquired.'

The Dynamics of the Leadership and Their Implications

The above comments made by the five-term head indicate that factors far beyond the control of the Puyuma influence them. The Puyuma certainly recognize their own disadvantaged position. I once heard a Puyuma privately criticize this incumbent head because the problems regarding land rights were not solved solely through his personal endeavours. 'Certain people like *** (referring to a Han-Chinese who is a county assembly member and lives in Nan-wang) are in the county assembly', he said, 'without these *bailan* (Han-Chinese who speak the main dialect on the island), could the head of the borough deal with the problem individually?' Although this is a private and personal criticism, it vividly indicates that personal power in the 'community' can be achieved through connections with certain Han-Chinese.

In a sense, the above case epitomizes the long-term encounter of the Puyuma with 'outsiders', of which the *Rara* provides a good example. It is also by this family that an affinal (or kin) relationship was built between the Puyuma and the Han-Chinese which started with the

through the support of aboriginal and Han-Chinese county, provincial and national assembly members--- an affiliation mainly built by this head --- that this problem was rectified.

eponymous ancestor, *Pinalai* (ca. in the late eighteenth century).²⁸ Then, *Pinalai's* great granddaughter (DDD) who made the link: while her second husband was a Han-Chinese, her first husband was the offspring of a Bunun father and a Han-Chinese mother, and was the person mentioned above (and in Chapter 2), who was visited by a Ch'ing officer just prior to the Ch'ing forces' advance eastwards. Her daughter married a Han-Chinese who was a Ch'ing officer; it was this couple who met the initial Japanese when they landed in eastern Taitung.

Certain intermarriages occurring between this family and the Han-Chinese were sometimes criticized in private by some members of the other leading families in an ambivalent way. They said that due to this intermarriage the descendants of the *Rara* were cleverer (cf. note 12), and that owing to this, the *Rara* and the ritual procedures held in their *karumaan* were not as authentic as their northern counterparts, the *Pasaraat*.²⁹ On the one hand, such a critique reflects the fact that an important position (the chieftaincy) has been enjoyed by this family, rather than by the others (particularly the *Pasaraat*). On the other, although some comments are made, the position of the *Rara* cannot be easily challenged or replaced, probably because its *karumaan* was the

28. There are many legends about this eponymous ancestor. He was the paramount leader, viz., 'The Great King of the Peinan'. It was also he who 'taught the Puyuma a great deal about the new and efficient agricultural implements that he had learnt of and brought from western Taiwan' (Sung 1965b: 118). While he was reported in Figure 6-1 to have come from a Paiwan 'tribe' south of Nan-wang--- into which his father had married--- subsequently becoming the chief of the Puyuma, in Figure 6-2 it is indicated that he married a Han-Chinese from southwestern Taiwan (and that his mother had practiced a virilocal marriage). Nowadays, on the 'traditional' kind of ancestral tablet installed by the 'original stem household' of the *Rara* family, both *Pinalai's* and his Han-Chinese wife's names were inscribed as the first generation of the ancestors. But it is interesting that in Chinese characters, the words for *Pinalai* (the name itself in Japanese) are *k'ao chui fu* (*k'ao* means 'a deceased father or male ancestor', *chui fu* 'a marrying-in husband'; therefore it refers to his status as an ancestor who had married into this family).

29. As I have mentioned in Chapter 5, some Puyuma told me that the men's house in the north, the *Patabang*, was much better than its southern counterpart, the *Karunun*. Regarding the former, for instance, they said that their members were manly (*bainay*) and brave (*ulinget*), although numerically they were fewer than those in the south.

ritual locale of the 'community'. In this sense, the privileged position of this family can be maintained no matter whether the status of its members waxes or wanes.

In contrast with the case of the *Rara*, certain families emerged--- or, more properly, people came to power--- since the turn of the century. These people certainly acquired some privileges, either for their houses or their family members. Some cases even show that their conduct had consequences for the 'community'.

Let me name a few significant examples. As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, when the Puyuma resettled in Nan-wang, the demarcated territory gave the Puyuma a concrete geographical referent for their 'community', and in turn shaped their conduct.³⁰ It is notable that, as recounted by some elders aged over eighty, when the young Puyuma (i.e., *vansalang*) visited each household within the 'community', they went to the house inhabited by *Pakiwaya* and his family after they had left the 'original stem household' of the *Rara* family. As these elders said: 'He was the *ayawan* (or *yawan*, 'leader') at that time'.

Another case--- a personal instance recounted by an elder in his early seventies--- is concerned with initiation. This elder told me that when he was 35 (ca. 1964), he was elected head of the then Nan-wang village.³¹ In the first year of his term as village head certain Puyuma asked him to initiate their children, but he refused. The following year, some Puyuma still came to ask him to do this. He then consulted the elders, and they replied: 'It is alright, because you are a village head'. So he went ahead, and he had 32 initiates by 1994. This elder is not from a former leading family (the *Pasaraat*, the *Rara*, or others), nor is he from one of the families that emerged at the turn of the century (the *Masikat*

30. The prohibition on carrying out the corpses of Puyuma who have died in bad ways may be the most notable example. Even if the Puyuma could once bury their kin who died in bad ways inside their houses as Kono (1915: 384-385) noted, they could not do it after they resettled in Nan-wang right up to the present, although variations and complaints occur (see Chapter 8).

31. However, comparing his personal data in the pamphlet with his birth date, it seems that he would have been aged 37 at that time.

or the *Konkwang*). But he became influential due to his having been a two-term head and one-term representative of the city council. He is now the deputy president of the elders' association.

A similar situation occurred with the female Puyuma. For instance, some Puyuma told me that the two women in the vanguard of the parade during the *Mugamut* celebration should be members of the leading families, primarily referring to the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara*. But according to my research, since the mid-1980s these two positions have occasionally been occupied by women from other families: the wife of the then incumbent head (i.e., the *Konkwang*), the wife of a former representative, or someone else. Therefore, the comment that I have quoted at the beginning of this chapter and the above situation suggest not only the conflicts between the family that held the chieftaincy and those that emerged at the turn of the century, but also the influence of outside forces.

But Mr. Nan's is the most notable case manifesting the influence of a privileged position acquired through connections with outside forces, although his second wife is a member of the *Rara* family. As a director of a branch police station and a representative of the county assembly, Mr. Nan had an influence on many affairs regarding the 'community'. As I have mentioned several times in Chapter 3, for instance, he tried to prevent any Han-Chinese from living in Nan-wang, and led the Puyuma to fetch the bamboo from *Panapanayan* and to erect it on the hill northwest of the settlement. Apart from this, it was Mr. Nan who asked the Puyuma to abandon the *karumaan* they had supervised--- including his own (but not those of the two greatest families)--- and who combined two men's and two boys' houses into a single men's and a single boys' houses; and he also asked Puyuma households to accommodate the government's policy and contribute their labour to a farming cooperative on a hill half-an-hour's bus drive north of the settlement.³² However, the elders said, they did not dare to oppose him publicly, because he was a

32. I often heard certain Puyuma complain about these labour services, which took so much time that they could not deal with their own cultivation. Moreover, they could not understand what was gained by this this cooperative cultivation.

man of power by virtue of his position in the world beyond the 'community'.

These personal achievements can certainly give such individuals (and possibly their families) a more privileged status in the gatherings and activities concerning the 'community'. However, this does not mean that these people can transform their personally privileged positions into a kind of resource capable of exalting their houses, or that this can be transmitted to their descendants. Neither does it mean that their families are able to replace the former leading families, particularly those with *karumaan* as ritual locales of the 'community'. On the contrary, these personal privileges may well decline with time. The above case in which the young men visited *Pakiwaya's* house provides a good instance. This visit was evidently given a certain priority, but it still took place after, rather than before, the visit to the *Rara*.

As I undertook my fieldwork in Nan-wang, I found that (at least until 1994) the visits by both the boyhood age group (the *takovakoban*) and the young men of the men's houses (the *vansalang*) followed a particular order: the 'original stem household' of the *Pasaraat* family came first, then that of the *Rara*, followed by the rest of the households depending on their location along the roads. It is therefore interesting that in 1994, while accompanying them on their visits to Puyuma households, I heard the following exchange:

On December 31, 1994, the night when they returned from the mountains (i.e., from conducting the *Mangayau* rite), the young male Puyuma were led by some veteran married Puyuma (in their late forties) to visit the Puyuma households. After they had visited the first household,³³ the gathering went southwards and was approaching the then incumbent head's house. I heard a young man ask the 'leader': 'Do we enter the head's house?' This 'leader', a man in his mid-forties and a civil servant, replied: 'No, we do not; it is not our *hsi kuan* ('custom', in Mandarin) [i.e., to visit the head's house in this sequence]'. Having heard this reply, the parade continued past the head's house and went towards that of the *Rara*.

33. They usually visited the 'original stem household' of the *Pasaraat* family first, then that of the *Rara*. But this time, they visited another nearby household instead, returning to the former one when they were further along the road. The implication of this will be discussed in Chapter 8.

As I have mentioned above, the incumbent head at that period was *Pakiwaya's* grandson, and was himself on his fourth term in this position. But he did not possess the privilege of his grandfather. Although he was referred to as an *ayawan*, his house had not become one like that of the *Pasaraat* or the *Rara*: his privileged positions (and even those of his ancestors') had not made the house into a centre of the 'community'.³⁴

A similar situation--- in which we see a tendency to counter the influence of the people who have acquired privileged positions due to their social resources beyond the 'community'--- exists in the case of the elders and their rights. Unlike the aforementioned case, nowadays even though a male Puyuma may occupy an important position, such as the head of the 'community' or a representative of the local council, he is not qualified to initiate young men if he is not yet 'old' enough.³⁵

Before the establishment of the elderly association in 1987, there were several cases in which Puyuma in their early fifties were asked by parents to be the initiators of their sons: but the situation has changed since 1987. A pamphlet about the elderly organization disseminated in 1989 ruled that only male Puyuma over 55 could be members of this association, or in other words, become a *lakana* (or a *maidan*). But it added that a person who was not aged 55 but had been an initiator could also become a member of this association, thus providing a solution to these cases. In the pamphlet compiled in 1993, however, one of the rules concerning elderly rights was stated as following: 'a Puyuma who has not joined the association [being aged less than 55] must not initiate people. If he does, not only will the status of the initiator decline, the

34. Even today, an initiated *tamalamao* living in the south section would go to the 'original stem household' of the *Rara* family to practice some ritual procedures before s/he started her (his) career (see Chapter 3, note 18). Due to the fact that the 'original stem household' of the *Pasaraat* family converted to the Catholic, even an initiated *tamalamao* living in the north also went to the *Rara* family.

35. As I have discussed in Chapter 5, it was difficult to define how 'old' in chronological terms a male should be to become an 'elder' previously. But it seems to assume that it would have been some years less than today, considering the general increase of the life span.

person concerned will also be punished.' This regulation obviously legitimizes the privileged position of the elders.

What, then, do these discussions and descriptions suggest? It may seem that they allude to different things: to the leading families, or to the elders (or the age organization). But what I want to emphasize here --- and to discuss in detail in the following two chapters--- is the fact that these spheres are very much related to the main issue that concerns me: that is, how a 'community' can be defined and maintained by re-appropriating forces originating outside it, rather than being shaped by them to such an extent that not only are customs forsaken and replaced, but the 'community' also becomes a mere subordinate part of the administrative system and other outside agencies (with even the headship being possessed by a Han-Chinese).

In retrospect, the emergence of the *Rara* family is interesting and notable, because it indicates that a family can only become a paramount leader by successfully combining various forces. Not only does it require resources beyond the 'community', it must also transform these resources into stable, internal privilege. In this sense, marriages with other leading families are relevant, but the establishment of a *karumaan* as a ritual locale for the 'community' appears to be a more important step. The significance of the *karumaan* provides a striking contrast between the 'older, former' paramount leading families and those that have emerged since the turn of the century. The maintenance of the formers' privileged position is due to the concern of the indigenous people with their 'community', and the fact that the 'community' is ritually constituted and represented.

It is here that the establishment of the elderly association becomes significant, because its status is related to the changing conditions that the Puyuma have confronted with respect to their 'community'. As I will discuss in the penultimate chapter, if the 'community' is ritually constituted and represented, then the elderly association provides an important means to deal with the problems raised by Western religious followers, who have either forsaken or replaced the rites demonstrating the importance of the 'community'. On the other hand, putting all male Puyuma adults within an ordered framework--- in terms of their

chronological ages and the accompanying rites--- also provides a mechanism to counter the forces introduced by the administrative system, education, and other challenges that lie beyond the scope of the 'community'.

But it would be difficult for an ambitious Puyuma to overlook the various sources of influence accompanying the contemporary administrative system and other kinds of official agency, both inside and outside the 'community'. Competition for the key positions in the elderly association, for the headship of the settlement, for privileged positions in affairs concerning the 'community', and for other leading roles are bound up with each other, and make the situation more complicated.

Before I come to these issues, I will try in the following chapter to discuss several annual rites and also the Puyuma's methods of dealing with death, because the significance of the 'community' is well expressed in these aspects. In other words, these rites not only manifest how the 'community' is represented, but also how a 'community' in indigenous terms can be maintained in a changing and unbounded environment. It is in them that the importance of the *karumaan*, particularly the two greatest ones, is clearly displayed: these rites also demonstrate the enduring paradox of the *Pasaraat*'s and the *Rara*'s co-existence, and simultaneously suggest how the ranked relationships among the leading families can be maintained simply through certain ritual appropriations.

CHAPTER 7 'COMMUNITY' AS RITUALLY CONSTITUTED AND REPRESENTED
: ANNUAL RITES AND MORTUARY RITES

....ritual constitutes a tremendously important arena for the cultural construction of authority and the dramatic display of the social lineaments of power....[However] the spectators did not simply gaze, they vied with each other to participate more actively and more centrally in the festival,They also vied with one another to celebrate, to control, and to interpret the ritual.

(Dirks 1992: 220, 236)

Yet I would agree that ritual and ritual language show a certain stability through time. What troubles me is that we too easily forget that the fixity and formality we observe in ritual (and in tradition, for that matter) are not the properties of ritual language per se, but, rather, the outcome of a community trying to stabilize a body of discourse for continuous interpretive work....At issue for me is how communities produce, reproduce, and tactically alter ritual discourse in ever-changing social and historical contexts.

(George 1996: 14)

Through Chapters 4 to 6 I have described several important features of the Puyuma of Nan-wang: the construction of the house (household) and the importance of the *karumaan* (particularly the most prominent two) as ritual locales; the intimate relationships among various spheres which relate to an individual's 'life course'; and the 'leading families' that emerged before and after the Japanese regime. A common theme connecting these various aspects is that of 'community'. For instance, I have argued that it is the *vini* ('grain-seeds') that connect the individual households to their natal ones and finally to the two prominent *karumaan* which are supervised by the leading families, the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara*. Further, I have argued that the individual households are contained by the 'community' in terms of the rites regarding the new millet.

Another case is the rites held by the members of both boys' and mens' houses, which so far I have referred to only briefly. With these rites, the bereaved households of the year effect a resolution of their bereavement,

and a kind of 'regeneration' is therefore brought about through these communal efforts. Accompanying these rites is the significance of *karumaan*--- particularly in the case of the two leading families. The Puyuma distinguish between the headmen whose families have been associated with a *karumaan* as a ritual locale of the 'community' and those who have emerged in later periods (due either to the intervention of the colonial regime, or to the introduction of the election system).

These features suggest that rites (and associated customs) have played an important part in constructing and demarcating a 'community' in indigenous terms, even though the Puyuma's dwellings have been surrounded by Han-Chinese inhabitants, and their 'community' is part of the settlement under the contemporary administrative system (see also Chapter 3).

However, the demarcation of a 'community' and its 'boundary' in indigenous terms is not always unproblematic or free from dispute. On the contrary, not only does the 'boundary' change, the definition of 'community' membership is also contested and ambiguous, particularly with respect to the changing environment. Moreover, even in indigenous terms, the internal construction of the 'community' is itself questionable. As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, the 'community' that the Puyuma were trying to appropriate had been built on and been shaped by the territory imposed by the Japanese colonial regime. In other words, the process represents a juxtaposition of coordination with conflict, and its constitution is 'in history' rather than being 'immune from history'.

A crucial issue thus emerges: how can a 'community' be constructed in a way that not only transcends the former dualistic internal division, but can also re-appropriate the endless challenges originating beyond the 'community'?

In this chapter I will focus my study on several annual rites that are held by the Puyuma up to the present day. I would suggest that, just as they express the Puyuma's concern with the 'community' and its welfare, these rites also expose the interrelationships between the individual, the household and the 'community'. These intimate relationships are further demonstrated in the ways that the deceased are dealt with: in other words, mortuary rites, particularly in the cases of bad death.

However, as Dirks and George have both argued in the quotations prefacing this chapter, the fact that the ritual occasions are themselves full of conflicts, due to competition between various parties and participants, is frequently neglected. In other words, while the Puyuma hold annual rites to demarcate their 'community', to demonstrate their emphasis on the interests of the 'community' over those of the individual, and therefore to re-appropriate potential challenges, the field where the rites are held can be manipulated by certain Puyuma to legitimize their own positions and authority in the name of the 'community'.

Annual Rites

A rite sanctifies and marks off 'a space and a time', as Dirks (1992: 214) properly remarks: therefore it is very likely that rites regarding the 'community' will be characterized by some sort of specific 'time and space'. According to previous studies, the Puyuma calendar and rites were intimately related to agricultural activities and were concerned with the cultivation of *dawa* ('millet') and *vindoang* ('hill rice'), particularly millet (Utsurikawa 1936; Wei et al. 1954: 24; see also W-T. Chen 1989: 61) (see Table 7-1). But the situation has changed since the turn of the century, when new crops--- for instance, rice as a staple food, sugar and pineapple as cash crops--- and a new calendar system were introduced by the Japanese colonial regime. Furthermore, since the 1960s, partly due to increasing sales of farm land to the Han-Chinese and partly to increasing industrialization and urbanization on the island, agricultural activities ceased to be the main source of the Puyuma's livelihood.

As Sung (1964: 73-74) noted, for instance, some 37.78% (68 out of 180) of the Puyuma households were landless when he undertook his research (1963-1964). In addition, both rice (due to the establishment of Peinan Dam in 1901) and other cash crops, like pineapple and sugarcane, had replaced millet and hill-rice as the main agricultural products. A decade or more after Sung's studies, C-M. Tseng (1983: 36) reckoned that only about 21.1% (193 of 924) of the Puyuma had jobs which were related to agriculture. Although (until 1995) some 45% (98 out of 214) of Puyuma households still had cultivated crops like rice, sugar apple, sugar cane

Table 7-1 The Puyuma Calendar, Agricultural Activities and Rites*

Names of Months	Meaning	Agricultural Activities	Solar Calendar	present	Rites Wei et al. (1954)
<i>Kamaumauan</i>	<i>uma</i> means 'dry land'	weeding (millet)	Apr.		weeding rite
<i>Kaduayan</i>	<i>dua</i> means 'two'	weeding (millet)	May		
<i>Kaduluan</i>	<i>dulu</i> means 'three'	harvesting	June		millet rite
<i>Kapatan Arunugan</i>	<i>pat</i> means 'four'; 'first Apr.'	harvesting	July	<i>Muraliyavan</i>	rite of sowing hill-rice
<i>Kapatan Kaduayan</i>	'second Apr.'	weeding (hill-rice)	Aug.		rite of millet
<i>Kapatan Taruvillivin</i>	'third Apr.'	potato planting and weeding	Sep.		rite of potato planting
<i>Kalawatan</i>		no activities	Oct.		harvesting rite of hill-rice
<i>Kaneman</i>	<i>nem</i> means 'six'	planting taro and onion, harvesting hill-rice	Nov.		<i>Vasivas</i> and <i>Mangayau</i>
<i>Kapituan</i>	<i>pitu</i> means 'seven'	harvesting hill-rice, <i>Vasivas</i>	Dec.	<i>Vasivas</i> and <i>Mangayau</i>	rite of farming
<i>Kawaluan</i>	<i>walu</i> means 'eight'	<i>Mangayau</i>	Jan.		rite of sowing millet
<i>Kaiwayan</i>	<i>iwa</i> means 'nine'	sowing millet	Feb.		repelling insects and praying for rain
<i>Kapuluan</i>	<i>pulu</i> means 'ten'	weeding	Mar.	<i>Mugamut</i>	praying for fine weather

* The first three columns are adopted from Utsurikawa (1936), in contrast with the last one, reported by Wei et al. (1954: 24). While most months' names are similar in each study, differences are found in the 'first' and the 'second' April: in Wei et al. they are called *Kapatan gawagawai* and *Kapatan rarumugan*. In addition, while it is noted that both *Vasivas* and *Mangayau* were held in *Kaneman*, they were conducted in *Kawaluan* according to Utsurikawa's study. During my fieldwork, I was told by some elders that *Kawaluan* is the beginning of their new year. Even so, fixing the date of the male adults' return from the mountains on every December 31 seems to be a result of accepting the Japanese calendar system, in which January 1 is the beginning of the new year. Recently Sung published the data he collected nearly three decades ago. From this article, it seems that his Puyuma informants themselves had differing views about their own calendar system (Sung 1995: 82-84). I am told by Dr. Y-M. Chen that the sequence and months' names in Table 7-1 is the same as that adopted by the Yami on Orchid Island. She did her PhD thesis among this people.

and so on, substantial parts of the family income also came from non-agricultural jobs, like the civil services, workers, and so on. Furthermore, only 39 households (18%) still hold the *vini* (including eight cases whose housemistresses are *tamalamao*).

Accompanying the changes in their social life (e.g. their economic activities, education, and so on) and their acceptance of the calendar systems introduced by the foreign regimes, the Puyuma also changed the dates on which they carried out their annual rites. For instance, while the female Puyuma celebrate the *Mugamut* on March 8, an officially recognized holiday for the female nationals,¹ the male Puyuma carry out *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan* on a certain Sunday in July, when the Puyuma have harvested the rice. As explained by the incumbent head of the settlement at that time, 'it is best to carry out the rite on Sunday because male Puyuma who have jobs, such as civil servants, can then attend'. Likewise, the date for *Vasivas* is fixed on December 25, a national holiday (Constitution Day), taking into consideration the fact that the rite's protagonists (male teenagers) attend either junior or senior high schools. Furthermore, the Puyuma annually conduct the *Mangayau*, a three-day rite celebrating the arrival of the new year (Furuno 1945) from December 28 to 31, following the calendar systems that have been imposed by the regimes since the turn of the century: for the Japanese colonial regime, January 1 was the beginning of the new year, while for the later Nationalist government it is the day commemorating the foundation of the Republic of China.²

Fixing these annual rites on certain holidays or on Sundays certainly displays how the Puyuma have adapted to changing patterns of agricultural activity, work, study and so on. However, such an

1. Although the selection of this date reflects the fact that this activity is female-oriented, with the exception of housewives a lot of younger women cannot attend this celebration due to their work. Therefore, a few years ago certain Puyuma suggested changing the date to a Sunday in early March. I was informed that this change occurred in 1996.

2. It is worth noting that the Puyuma have distinguished two calendar systems, viz., solar and lunar. They call the solar calendar system *zibon* ('Japanese'), while the lunar one is *bailan* ('Taiwanese', referring to the Han-Chinese who speak the main language on the island).

arrangement also has its consequences: (1) when the Puyuma carry out these annual rites on certain days, they represent and objectify some parts of the rites as standing for the whole process, due to the limitations of time--- a feature that is often reinforced by mass-media reporting; (2) because of this, some important activities that are held before or afterwards, and may shed some light on the aforementioned rites, may be neglected; (3) consequently, a kind of dichotomy is created or over-emphasized; for instance, female vs. male, or individual and household vs. 'community'.

With respect to the main protagonists of these rites, a dichotomy appears to exist. While *Mugamut* is a celebration mainly held by the female Puyuma, for instance, *Kiaamian*, *Muraliyavan*, *Vasivas* and *Mangayau* are not only male-oriented activities; the female Puyuma are actually excluded from participating in parts of these rites to prevent misfortunes from occurring.³ However, as I shall explain below, although some parts of the activities manifest such dichotomies, some parts show instead a complementarity--- for instance, between the sexes, between male and female specialists, and between the household and the 'community', if we take into account the whole procedure of the rites rather than the parts that are held on holidays.

Furthermore, choosing a certain Sunday(or Sundays) as the day(s) for carrying out the rites automatically excludes the Puyuma who are Western religious followers, as they will be holding their church services at the same time. here are some rites which are thought improper for Christians, and which they may not attend. If these rites are annually held and are concerned with the 'community' in indigenous terms, this exclusion suggests that the sense of 'community' is variously conceptualized by the Puyuma, depending on their religious affiliations (see Chapter 8).

On the other hand, even though the Puyuma have now ceased to cultivate millet and hill-rice as their staple food, and rice is treated as a kind of *vini* and is associated with similar prohibitions to millet, it is

3. I have mentioned in an unfortunate case in Chapter 6. This prohibition is called *pakaidu*.

notable that both millet and hill-rice are still the main focuses of the rites conducted today.⁴ In other words, these rites indicate a kind of mixed practice: the Puyuma's accommodation with the changing situation in their annual rites shows how they re-appropriate, but simultaneously make a distinction between, 'the autochthonous' (e.g. millet) and 'the introduced' (e.g. rice).⁵

In the following section I will try to describe in sequence the annual rites that are still held by the Puyuma,⁶ which include (1) *Mugamut* (the 'women's festival') in March; (2) *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan* ('officiating over new millet') in July, and (3) *Vasivas* (the 'monkey-killing rite') and *Mangayau* ('headhunting') in December.

Mugamut

The female Puyuma annually celebrate a festival of their own on March 8 (see note 1). As I have been told by the female elders, this activity was related to weeding in former times. When millet was still their staple food and was widely cultivated by the Puyuma households, the female Puyuma --- ranging in age from 12 or 13 to the upmost limit of physical

4. As Furuno (1945: 123, note 2) acutely indicates, it is particularly interesting that the Puyuma have applied the rites for millet to rice. However, even though the *Muraliyavan* rite is usually held after the Puyuma have harvested their rice, millet is used to officiate in the *karumaan*, at the seashore and at the place north of the Peinan Stream. The Puyuma still make distinctions between millet (as well as hill-rice) and rice, see Chapter 4.

5. When these terms are used in quotations here or elsewhere in this thesis, they are intended in a relative sense. For instance, according to legend, millet is a crop that was brought from Orchid Island by two ancestors (a couple) (see below). In other words, relativizing these terms will help us to investigate the process by which things or objects that have been introduced are re-appropriated and become something 'autochthonous'.

6. For the sake of space I will limit my descriptions of these rites to some features that are directly relevant to the issues I am concerned with here (cf. W-T. Chen 1987, 1989, 1993). The following descriptions represent the general situation that I have encountered since 1985. Some explanations will be added as necessary.

capability--- organized themselves to cooperate in the weeding. This was called *misao*, and its main purpose was to prevent the weeds from growing rapidly and widely. After the act of weeding,⁷ the female Puyuma celebrated this accomplishment together. This was called *Mugamut*. Although the cooperation ceased to function as early as the 1930s,⁸ the celebration continues to be held by the female Puyuma up to the present day.

A couple of days before *Mugamut*, several male Puyuma (usually the heads of the neighbourhood) will be asked (and paid for their efforts) by the incumbent head of the 'community' to collect *taker*, a species of betel-leaf-bearing rattan that grows in the hills.⁹ The male Puyuma explain that this expresses their thanks to their female counterparts for their hard work in weeding. During *Mugamut*, most of the female Puyuma--- apart from women whose near kin (e.g. their husbands) have died recently¹⁰--- wear colourful clothes, have fun with each other, and sing and dance. When they have been brought together in the square (i.e., *wakasayan*) and the *tamalamao* have cast a spell blessing the celebration, the

7. Some female elders in their mid-eighties or more told me that such cooperative teams had been organized when they lived in the Peinan area. At that time, the teams were organized into Puyuma who lived in one of three locations: *Tutuul* (in the north), *Pupuul* (in the west) and *Tatimul* (in the south). When they resettled in Nan-wang, this cooperation still existed and functioned, being organized into two teams (one in the north, the other in the south).

8. A female elder told me that after the death of two team leaders--- *Smaliao's* wife (of the *Masikal* family) and *Pakiwaya's* wife (of the *Konkwang* family)--- in about 1931, this cooperation ceased to exist. This elder (born in 1911) also mentioned that she started to participate in a cooperative team in 1926.

9. Before it was replaced by a new kind of cultivated rattan a few years ago, this wild species of rattan was widely used by the Puyuma with the betel nuts. It was even used as a precious gift on occasions such as the marriage ceremony, and was then distributed to the elderly female kin.

10. Accompanied by other female kin, these women attend the place where their female peers are brought together, but they do not dress in ceremonial clothes. After *Mugamut*, they (particularly those women whose husbands have died since the last *Mugamut*) will be visited and consoled by their female kin.

attendant women will run slowly and rhythmically along the main roads within the precinct of the Nan-wang segment. At the front of the parade march two women who are usually from the two leading families; each of them bangs an iron board (called *daliu*) to produce resonant sounds. After this the women will take a break, eating their lunch in a square on the outskirts of Nan-wang.

Throughout the day, with the help of certain attendant male Puyuma, the women will also play games and have competitions for singing and dancing. The competing teams are organized depending on the location of the participants' houses: there are four spatial divisions (*kumi* in Japanese) within the territory of Nan-wang, which were instituted by the Japanese authorities (see Chapter 3). Finally, the female Puyuma will sing an older song to end their festival. This song is called *Qemaiaqaiam* (*aiam* means 'bird'; this literally means 'to sing like a bird').

The *Mugamut* celebration on March 8 attracts observers, local correspondents and even researchers. However, it is worth noting that a purification rite is conducted on the previous afternoon (i.e. on March 7),¹¹ which I would suggest sheds more light than *Mugamut* itself on the activities centred around the female Puyuma. This purification rite is called *Mulapalapas*.

Mulapalapas

Before the female Puyuma celebrate *Mugamut*, the purification rite must be undertaken by the *tamalamao* for households bereaved since the last *Mugamut*. Regardless of the sex of the deceased, one female member of each bereaved household attends during this rite. The *tamalamao* say that the main purpose of it is to purge the grief afflicting these female relatives of the dead.

The purification rite begins with an invocation by all attendant *tamalamao* in *wakasayan*, where the female Puyuma will come together the following morning. After the invocation, the *tamalamao* prepare the betel

11. During my period of fieldwork in Nan-wang, I have not seen any other people apart from the Puyuma themselves participating in this purification rite.

nuts and other ritual implements for the rite. Apart from the betel nuts that respectively stand for bad dreams, fates, whispers, the unintended sneeze and so on, every Puyuma who has died since the last *Mugamut* is represented by a betel nut. As with other ritual occasions, a distinction is made between those who have died of 'natural causes' (e.g. illness) and those who have died in bad ways (car accidents, suicide and so on). Then, at the centre of the square a *tamalamao* (usually one of 'senior' status) casts a spell, while another *tamalamao* (usually 'junior') follows the former's spells, turning around the banana leaf on which the aforementioned betel nuts have been put three times in a counter-clockwise direction. Then a *tamalamao* takes this banana leaf to the entrance of the square and folds it up with the betel nuts inside. At the same time, another *tamalamao* takes a broom in her left hand and sweeps from the central spot (where the rite has been conducted) to the entrance. This ritual act is called *benlin*,¹² and signifies that all bad things (e.g. fates, whispers, and the spirits of the deceased) will be taken away from this square, and will not cause trouble for the Puyuma in the following celebration.

Taking the folded banana leaf (with the betel nuts inside it), the *tamalamao* and all the attendant women representing the bereaved families (sometimes accompanied by their female near kin) go to a place some small distance away from the northern entrance of the 'community'.¹³ While the others stay there for a time, some *tamalamao* go looking for *taker la lutung* (*lutung* means 'monkey'): a small rattan with leaves that are collected by the male Puyuma. Instead of *taker*--- which will be held by the women when they parade to celebrate *Mugamut*--- it is *taker la*

12. A similar purification rite is held on other occasions. For instance, when the Puyuma prepare to build a house on a piece of land, or to move into a new house, this kind of purification rite will be conducted by the *tamalamao*. However, unlike *mulapalapas* and other 'communal rites' (see below), on the latter occasions, there is only one betel nut for the deceased (representing deaths by 'natural causes'). A second betel nut will be added, however, if the Puyuma know that a person once died a bad death in the place concerned.

13. Referring to this rite and other ritual practices, both 'boundary' and 'community' are used in indigenous, rather than administrative, terms.

lutung that is used by the women of bereaved households at this moment. Moreover, *taker la lutung* must be put by the male Puyuma in a place outside the northern boundary of the 'community';¹⁴ and once put there, it cannot be taken into the 'community'.¹⁵

Having found *taker la lutung*, a *tamalamao* casts a spell, picks it, and calls the people who have stayed at the boundary of the 'community' to the place where they have found *taker la lutung*. Later, all the attendant women from bereaved households and their accompanying female kin divide into two lines and, holding *taker la lutung*, slowly run back to the boundary of the 'community'. Arriving there, they put *taker la lutung* down on the road. Then a *tamalamao* unwraps the banana leaf and puts the betel nuts on the leaf in sequence: both the leaf and betel nuts are then put behind *taker la lutung*. After this, a 'senior' *tamalamao* casts a spell. This rite, also called *benlin*, is for *taker la lutung*. After it, all the attendants again form two lines, hold *taker la lutung*, and run towards a place near the new railway station--- that is, further away from the 'community'.

Having located a spot among the weeds, a *tamalamao* begins to cast spells while other *tamalamao* put the betel nuts back on the ground in sequence, and roll up *taker la lutung* and put it among the weeds. This ritual act is meant to get rid of all the bad things that may be associated with the place where the women will conduct *Mugamut*, and with women from bereaved households. Then all the people present, including the *tamalamao* themselves, throw an *inasí* behind them while stepping over a string of nine *inasí* left on the road, and go directly back to the

14. I was told that one year when *Mugamut* had been celebrated, some misfortunes occurred. This was explained by the fact that *taker la lutung* had been put in a place south of the 'community' that year. When I pressed the female elders further as to why it should be put in the north, some replied that '*ami* ('north') was the 'greatest'.

15. In 1994 a *tamalamao* told me of her own experience. She said that one year a *tamalamao* insisted on the attendant women taking *taker la lutung* into the "community", and going along the main roads within the 'community'. On hearing about this, the most senior *tamalamao* reported the situation to this *tamalamao*'s tutor, who later corrected this *tamalamao*. 'But something bad happened to the "community" that year', she remarked.

'community'. This string of *inasí* is considered by the specialists to be a barrier that can efficiently prevent all malevolent forces from following them.¹⁶ As they come back to the boundary and are about to re-enter the 'community', all the attendants wash themselves with water that has been prepared by a certain Puyuma living nearby.¹⁷ After that, the women go back to their homes and prepare for *Mugamut*, while the *tamalamao* go to *wakasayan* to officiate over the wine, and to inform the spirits goings-on that afternoon.

What, then, does this purification rite imply? Its procedure suggests a remarkable feature regarding the Puyuma's sense of 'community' and 'boundary', a feature that becomes more manifest and significant when this rite is contrasted with *Mugamut*. Contrary to the latter, all the activities in the purification rite are held outside the 'community'; even the *taker la lutung* collected by the male Puyuma is put in a place beyond the 'community'. And the first ritual practice conducted at the centre of *wakasayan*--- the place where activities and meetings regarding the 'community' are often held--- is meant to expel all bad influences from the 'community'.

The method of calculating the deceased Puyuma is another notable feature of the *Mulapalapas*, when compare with the other two kinds of calculation: those used in *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan* and in a purification rite held in the two greatest *karumaan* when the new year is approaching (see below). In *Mulapalapas* the deceased are defined as those who have

16. A similar act is found in the following cases: when bereaved families come back from the riverside where they have been purged by the *tamalamao* in the *kiswap* rite, they will put this string of nine *inasí* on the road when they approach the boundary of the 'community'; and when the male adults carry out *Kiaamian*, *Muraliyavan* and *Mangayau*, the specialists also put it on the road when they are half way to their destination, and all attending Puyuma (with the exception of the Christians) are given an *inasí* to prevent the malevolent forces from following them. *Inasi* is a clay bead, which can be bought from the stores in Nan-wang. The specialists either insert them into betel nuts to represent the deceased or other things, or use them when they cast a spell.

17. Washing with water is usually found in ritual practices. If the rite is conducted for a person or a household, the water is put in a place outside the entrance of the house.

died since the last *Mugamut* (from the previous March to the present one), while in the latter two they are defined as those who have died since the last *Mangayau* (from January to July in the case of *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan*, and from January to December in the case of the rite held in the *karumaan*). A feature shared by *Mulapalapas* and the rite held in the *karumaan*, however, is that no gender or age differentiations are made among the deceased members of the 'community'. By contrast, only the deceased male adult Puyuma (i.e., members of men's houses) are counted in the rites of *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan*.

There is yet another important difference between *Mulapalapas* and the rite held in December when the new year is approaching: while in the former case the rite is carried out in the *wakasayan*, it is held in the two greatest *karumaan* (those of the *Pasaraat* and the *Rara*) in the latter.

To sum up: the total procedure of the *Mulapalapas* rite confirms the sense of 'community' in indigenous terms. Moreover, although this activity is female-centred, contrasting with male-centred procedures such as the *Kiaamian*, the *Muraliyavan*, the *Vasivas* and the *Mangayau*, the method of calculating the deceased members of the 'community' suggests something important. In other words, taking into consideration these features--- the inclusion of the deceased regardless of their sexes and ages, calculated from the last *Mugamut* rather than from the *Mangayau*--- this rite makes problematic both a rigid distinction between the spheres of male and female, and the view that the female sphere (due to its concern with the household and associated activities) is unrelated (or peripheral) to the affairs regarding the 'community', which occupies the male Puyuma (whose concerns centre around the age organization and associated activities) in a seemingly more obvious way.

Kiaamian and Muraliyavan

Previously, the Puyuma only officiated over their new millet at the *raliyavan* ('seashore'). One day something terrible happened: some Puyuma were swept away by the current when they tried to cross the Peinan Stream (a wide river north of the 'community'), although it was only a foot or so deep. Later, some Puyuma went hunting and collected firewood in the northern mountains. When they opened their lunch boxes they found snakes inside, of a species the Puyuma call *unan la tumuamuan*

(*unan* is 'snake'; *tumuamuan* is 'ancestor') (*Agkistrodon acutus-GUENTHER*, a species of poisonous snake widespread in the island's mountains).¹⁸ The elders thought that these events could have occurred because they had never officiated towards Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*, called *maidan* in indigenous terms.¹⁹ Therefore they decided to make an officiation towards this mountain. After that, these incidents no longer occurred. And now we observe this rule: every year after the millet harvest, we conduct the rite at a place north of the Peinan Stream. This is the origin of *Kiaamian* (*ami* means 'north').

Since beginning my fieldwork in the mid-1980s, I have always heard the Puyuma refer to the rite of officiating over the new millet as *Muraliyavan*. Etymologically, *Muraliyavan* means 'going to the seashore' (*mu* means 'going'; *raliyavan* 'seashore'). One Sunday in July, various *kankankal* cast spells in the *Rara's karumaan* to inform the spirits that it is the date to officiate over the new millet. The supervising family hang new stocks of millet inside the *karumaan*, and the specialists and certain accompanying Puyuma use wine and the new millet to invoke the spirits. After that, they leave for the seashore close to Taitung city, and officiate over the new millet and the wine towards Orchid Island. This rite is limited to male adults (i.e., members of the men's house).²⁰ On the way to their destination, some rites are followed to prevent malevolent forces and spirits of the dead from following the participants, in which the

18. I have often been told that it is forbidden to kill this kind of snake. If they see it in their path, the Puyuma ask the snake: 'Why are you here? Mightn't you be hurt by people who are drunk or careless?' After this, the Puyuma say that the snake will go away.

19. The Puyuma use the word *maidan* to refer to the elders (see Table 5-1), while the other word, *matina*, means 'big'. However, the Puyuma in other settlements use the word *maidan* both to refer to the elders and to describe something 'big'. In invocation, this mountain is referred to by the paired terms, '*Duangazan, Aranun*'.

20. In July 1994 when the Puyuma conducted the *Muraliyavan* rite and went to a place near the seashore to carry out a rite preventing bad forces from following them, a female Han-Chinese journalist arrived to cover this celebration for the news. Some Puyuma told her that this rite was forbidden to women. She therefore kept some distance away from the male Puyuma at the seashore.

specialists represent the deceased male adult Puyuma who have died since the last *Mangayau* with betel nuts.

The Puyuma say that there was a time when did not have millet. Two legendary ancestors, a man called *Aderusau* and his wife *Aderumau*,²¹ went to Orchid Island and brought back the original millet seeds. Since then, the Puyuma have annually brought the new millet, *dawa*, to the seashore and officiated towards Orchid Island to express their thanks, although nowadays rice (*Jumay*) is their main crop and staple food.

In contrast with their reports on the *Muraliyavan*, the Puyuma seldom mention the *Kiaamian*, nor do they tell observers about it. At most, they will admit that a few male Puyuma certainly cross the Peinan Stream and conduct the rite, but will then add that the *Muraliyavan* is their main rite for the new millet. The numbers of the participants in both rites bears out what the Puyuma say: while there are often over ninety male adult Puyuma in the *Muraliyavan*, only about ten are present for the *Kiaamian*.²² Certainly, judged by their accounts and the level of their participation, the *Muraliyavan* is well-known and may even be seen as the only example of a millet rite in the case of the Puyuma. However, the actual situation is more complicated than the focus on the *Muraliyavan* suggests.

21. Some variations exist in the pronunciation of these two ancestors' names. For example, the Japanese scholar Koizumi (1929: 21) not only recorded their names as *Saderumau* and *Saderusau*, but also reversed their sex.

22. Probably due to the difference in the numbers of the participants between the *Muraliyavan* and the *Kiaamian*, there are few reports alluding to the *Kiaamian*: neither is the term much used. And some of the details that have been reported are questionable. For instance, Sung mentions in his recent publication that when he undertook fieldwork between 1962 and 1964, the *Kiaamian* was abolished due to the decline of the men's house in the north, the *Patabang*; and that due to the decline of the men's house in the south (the *Karunun*) and the establishment of a united men's house in the central square (*wakasayan*), the *Muraliyavan* had become the concern of the whole 'community' (Sung 1995: 106). A decade after Sung's study, Hung undertook her fieldwork in Nan-wang (between 1974 and 1977). She noted that few male adults went northward, but said that the Puyuma used rice rather than millet in the rite (Hung 1978: 81). Nevertheless, based on my fieldwork since 1985, not only do some male adults cross the Peinan Stream to conduct the *Kiaamian*, they also use millet rather than rice to officiate.

In their monumental book on the Taiwanese aborigines, Utsurikawa et al. (1935) noted a specific feature characterizing the Puyuma. Unlike the Puyuma in other settlements, the Puyuma of Nan-wang did not officiate towards *Panapanayan* (a legendary place of origin for this people) in former times (ibid: 362). They officiated in various directions, which were associated with several leading families: (1) members of the men's houses that were associated with the *Rara* and *Sapayan* families officiated towards Orchid Island; (2) members of the men's house that was associated with the *Arasis* officiated towards Sanasan (i.e., Green Island); and (c) members of the men's houses that were associated with the *Pasaraat* and the *Balangato* looked towards Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*; while the case of the *Longatan* family was not clear (ibid: 361) (cf. Table 3-1).²³ For the sake of the later discussion, I will quote here some legends documented by Utsurikawa et al. (1935: 361-362) at length.

(I) the *Rara* and the *Sapayan*

A long time before the establishment of the Peinan tribe--- that is, during the time of *Panapanayan* [i.e., the legendary place of origin]--- there was a couple called *Adurusao* and *Adurumao*, who were the ancestors of the *Sapayan* family. [One day] they crossed the ocean and landed on Orchid island, because they had heard that a lot of millet was cultivated on this island, this crop being unavailable in *Panapanayan*. First, they hid some millet under their arms. But this act was discovered by the people on this island, [and the millet was taken back]. Then they put some millet inside their mouths. However, it too was found. Finally, this couple hid the millet seeds respectively in their vulva and foreskin, and [successfully] brought them back....In order to express their thanks to the people on Orchid Island, the *Sapayan* family annually went to *Katunuman* (a bay south of Taitung street) after the harvest and officiated over the new millet. They built a bamboo rack and officiated towards this island with wine, millet, and betel nuts. Since the *Rara* family was branched from the *Votol* [*Butul*], who came from Orchid Island,²⁴ the *Rara* accompanied the *Sapayan* and they officiated together

23. I heard varying opinions from the elders: some said that this family worshipped with the *Rara*, others reported that it did so with the *Balangato*.

24. The Puyuma call Orchid Island *Butul*. Nowadays there are some households in Nan-wang whose family name is *Butul*. I have heard a partially similar report from a male elder in his mid-seventies. This elder is a member of the *Butul* family. He says that there used to be three siblings; while the eldest one stayed in the *Butul* family, the second one

towards the island.

(II) the *Arasis*

In the *Arasis* family there were two brothers, called *Atakiu* and *Kuralui*. *Atakiu*, the older one, was a bad character. He often pretended to his fellow villager that enemies were approaching, and took the chance to steal the cakes they had made. His family were ashamed of his behaviour, and planned to get rid of him. At that time, the root of a banyan tree connected *Kawasan* [a place north of the Peinan Stream] to Green Island like a bridge. Telling him about the plentiful animals on Green Island, *Kuralui* convinced *Atakiu* to go hunting there. After they had landed on the island, *Kuralui* returned to *Kawasan* and left *Atakiu* stranded by cutting down the root of this banyan tree....[However], with the help of a whale *Atakiu* came back. Because this whale had told *Atakiu* that he should officiate every year, the *Arasis* family annually officiate with wine, millet and betel nuts towards Green Island at a bay called *Korao*, south of the estuary of the Peinan Stream....

(III) the *Pasaraat* and the *Balangato*

In former times, a male Ami named *Vunosisi* lived on Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*, and was reputed to grow rice. A person of the *Balangato* family called *Surung* went to ask this Ami to give him rice...Bringing it back, *Surung* distributed it to everybody....Since then they have had rice. Thereafter, the *Balangato* and the *Pasaraat* went to *Avaayun* together, a place north of the Peinan Stream, in which they build a bamboo rack, and officiate towards Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* with rice, millet and betel nuts. Since the *Pasaraat* and the *Balangato* were kin, and the former was superior to the latter, the right to officiate was taken over by the *Pasaraat*.

The time when several leading families officiated in different directions with the new millet can still be recollected by the elders who participated in these activities. Nowadays the Puyuma only conduct these rites towards Orchid Island and Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*. As recounted by the elders, the role of the *Arasis* family was abolished as early as the first few decades of this century, which reflects the family's disappearance from Nan-wang (see Chapter 6).

I have heard the Puyuma tell different stories from the ones above. Not only do these variations suggest how the Puyuma re-appropriate

founded the *Rara* and the third the *Miyakan*. Later, the eldest sibling gave up the *karumaan*, which was taken over by the second one, the *Rara* family. Therefore, the *Butul* family does not have a *karumaan* nowadays; but the *Rara* does.

legends in their interests: they also provide some clues for us to understand how an important object can be appropriated through ritual practices by people who were not the first to introduce it. This point has already been indicated, if not fully developed, by Utsurikawa et al, although with regard to rice rather than millet. For instance, as they noted, although the rice was brought back by a member of the *Balangato* family, the right to officiate towards *Tu-luan-shan* was held by the *Pasaraat*, because the latter's status was superior.

A similar, but ritual, appropriation is clearly indicated in the reason given by the Puyuma why they must officiate towards Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*, as I have quoted at the beginning of this section. This legend is widely accepted by the Puyuma themselves. Although the rite officiating towards Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* developed later, it has become a rule that the specialists responsible for conducting *Kiaamian* must start before their counterparts holding *Muraliyavan*. Moreover, all rites regarding the cultivation of millet--- for instance, sowing it, harvesting it and storing it in the *karumaan*--- must first be conducted by the *Pasaraat* family which supervises the *karumaan*, then by the *Rara*, followed by the other 'original stem households' which supervise their own *karumaan*, and finally by ordinary households (see also Wei et al. 1954 and Chapter 4).

If *Kiaamian* provides an example of the *Pasaraat* family's ritual appropriation of millet, whose origin was related to the *Rara* (and the *Sapayan*), the case of the *Sapayan* family offers us a contrary example. As I mention in the last chapter, the emergence of the *Rara* was not related only to marriage and the articulation with outside forces; it was also based on the fact that this family's *karumaan* was a ritual locale of the 'community'. The *Rara* built a *karumaan* with the help of a man who married into the family (cf. Utsurikawa et al. 1935: 363-364).

Nevertheless, the very existence of *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan* suggests the inherently dualistic constitution of the 'community'. Therefore, while the male Puyuma may participate in the rite at the seashore after they have accomplished the simpler ritual practice of *Kiaamian* (cf. Hung 1978: 61), it is forbidden for male specialists (i.e., the *kankanka*) to conduct

rites for both sides at the same time.²⁵

Apart from this ranked but equal feature, it is noteworthy that, regardless of the distinction between *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan* and the variations in their ritual practices, the number of deceased--- represented by betel nuts in the rites held halfway to the final destination--- is the same on both sides. 'The deceased' refers to the male adults of the 'community' who have died since the last *Mangayau* (i.e., from January to the July when the rite is being conducted), rather than to the members of the men's houses associated with each side.

Furthermore, an intimate relationship between the 'community' and the individual household and person is also manifested in *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan*. Customarily, the Puyuma will not take new millet (and new rice, nowadays) out of the 'community' until this rite has been completed, or they will suffer misfortune.²⁶ Only after the rite can the Puyuma give others the new millet to be sown in the coming year, and can bereaved households whose members have died during the harvest period ask the *tamalamao* to conduct the *kiswap* rite for them. Furthermore, during the harvest period, the betel nuts used for purification rites are not taken to the entrance of the 'community', but must be put in the yard or some other place near the house (see Chapter 4).

25. In December 1994, when a *kankankal* who was often responsible for the rites conducted in the *karumaan* of the *Pasaraat* family was ill, another *kankankal* who was responsible for the *Rara's karumaan* took over to conduct the rites in both *karumaan*. However, in the *Pasaraat's karumaan* when it was time for him to take the banana leaf--- on which betel nuts representing the year's deceased 'community' members had been placed (i.e., *benlin*, like the above *Mulapalapas*)--- in the *Rara's karumaan*, he instructed another elder to do this, although he continued to cast spells. In April 1995, this specialist--- who was responsible for the rites held in the *Rara's karumaan*--- died. Therefore the specialist responsible for the *Pasaraat's karumaan* took over the position and conducted the *Muraliyavan* rite, when he had prayed in *Kiaamian*. Not only was he criticized by some Puyuma for undertaking rites for the two sides, his later illness was discerned by a *tamalamao* as being related to his act (i.e., conducting the rites for both sides).

26. Several years ago a man and his son were swept away by the Peinan Stream. Some informants explained that the misfortune was due to their taking the new rice out of the 'community' when *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan* had not yet been conducted (cf. Hung 1978: 82).

Vasivas and Mangayau

Of the annual rites conducted by the Puyuma nowadays, *Vasivas* and *Mangayau* are the most spectacular: the former is held by members of the boys' house, i.e., the *takovakoban*, and the latter by members of the men's house. The reason why these two rites are so grandly celebrated is that they signify the coming of the new year in indigenous terms. Mainly due to the fact that male adults return from the mountains on December 31 (which is followed by three nationally established holidays) many Puyuma who live and work in the cities come back to celebrate the new year with their kin and friends.

The meaning of the word *Vasivas* is explained as *tunbas la ami* (*tunbas* means 'breaking'; *ami* means 'year'. It literally means 'the opening of a new year'). Regarding the word *Mangayau*, however, various explanations exist. To my knowledge, while the Puyuma in other settlements construe it as 'head-hunting', the Puyuma of Nan-wang only interpret it as 'hunting'.²⁷ However, the *ilailao*--- songs that the Puyuma sing during this period--- particularly one called *Pwalybunan* ('taking revenge'), suggests that 'head-hunting' might once have existed. In addition, there is an old song, called *Revauvau*, which vividly depicts the excited but nervous feeling that the headhunters experienced when they had beheaded the enemy and were returning to the men's house after a long journey. Although variations exist, the celebration of *Mangayau* is regarded as the 'new year' in indigenous terms (see Furuno 1945). By means of these rites (from *Vasivas* to *Mangayau*), the year's bereaved households will also be re-incorporated into ordinary social life in its full sense.

As I will argue below, these rites not only foster a sense of 'community' in indigenous terms, but also demonstrate the intimate relationships between individual, household, and 'community'. In order to illustrate these features, I will begin with the rites that are carried out

27. In his notes about the head-hunting conducted by Taiwanese aborigines, the Japanese ethnologist Furuno (1945) remarked that the word *mangayau* meant 'head-hunting', and that it was related to revenge, rather than to any blessing of the harvest.

before *Vasivas* and *Mangayau*, which really constitute inseparable parts of the two main ritual practices, and which may shed some light on our understanding of the two main ritual practices. These rites are *pubaaw*, *smirap la zekal* and *smaliki*.

Pubaaw

In former times, when the hill rice, *vindoang*, was harvested, and was first ritually hung inside the *karumaan* of the leading families and then brought into the granaries of ordinary Puyuma households, the Puyuma would prepare for their 'new year'. I was told by the elders that on a certain day, if they heard a good omen in the song of certain birds, they would begin a series of activities. This started with the repair of both the men's and boys' houses, which was called *pubaaw* ('refurbishing'). Previously, this task was undertaken respectively by the *takovakoban* for the boys' houses, and by the *miyaputan* and *vansalang* for the men's houses. Nowadays, however, due to study, work, military service or other considerations, many of the boys, male teenagers and young men cannot be present to undertake this task. Instead, it has been taken over by certain middle-aged men (often neighbourhood heads) and some male elders. It is usually held in late December.²⁸

Accompanying the repair of the boys' and the men's houses is *benlin* (cf. note 12), a rite which banishes any bad forces that may be attached to the straw and bamboo which the Puyuma collect for re-thatching the roofs and other parts. This rite is conducted by the male specialists, the *kankankal*. After it, the specialists put certain betel nuts inside the boy's and men's houses as talismans. Although nowadays there is only one boys' and one men's house in the central square (*wakasayan*), the specialists still put two sets of betel nuts in the boys' house and two in the men's house, representing the prominent boy's and men's houses in each section (see Chapter 3).

In other words, the dualistic distinction between the north and the south is still expressed regardless of the existence of united boys' and

28. But the date is not definite. For instance, it was held on December 21 in 1986 and 1989, on December 18 in 1993, and on December 22 in 1994.

men's houses nowadays. However, not only must the numbers of betel nuts and *inasí* for the northern boys' and men's houses be more than those of their southern counterparts, the ritual practices for the north must also be conducted before those for the south.²⁹ In indigenous terms, it is due to the fact that the *Pasaraat* family--- and its associated boys' and men's houses in the northern section--- is *marumáidan* (*maidan* means 'older, elder'), while the *Rara* family and the boys' and men's houses in the south are *manalak* (*alak* means 'child', used by speakers to refer to themselves when talking to the elders).

Smirap la Zekal

A couple of days later, a rite called *smirap la zekal* (*smirap* means 'to sweep clean') is undertaken by both the *kankankal* (male specialists) and the *tamalamao* (female specialists), and its purpose is to purge the 'community' of any bad forces which have accumulated during the year (including those resulting from the death of any of its members). The *kankankal* and the *tamalamao* conduct broadly similar rituals, but the *tamalamao* only start their practices when the former have finished theirs.

The *smirap* rite consists of a series of acts. Firstly, the *kankankal* and several accompanying elders who are their assistants arrive in the *wakasayan* to discuss the task, which includes calculating the deceased of the year (and the causes of their death). Then they divide into two groups, one leaving for the *Pasaraat's karumaan*, and the other for that of the *Rara*. The *kankankal* prepare betel nuts representing the deceased 'community' members of the year in the two greatest *karumaan*, and then conduct the rite.

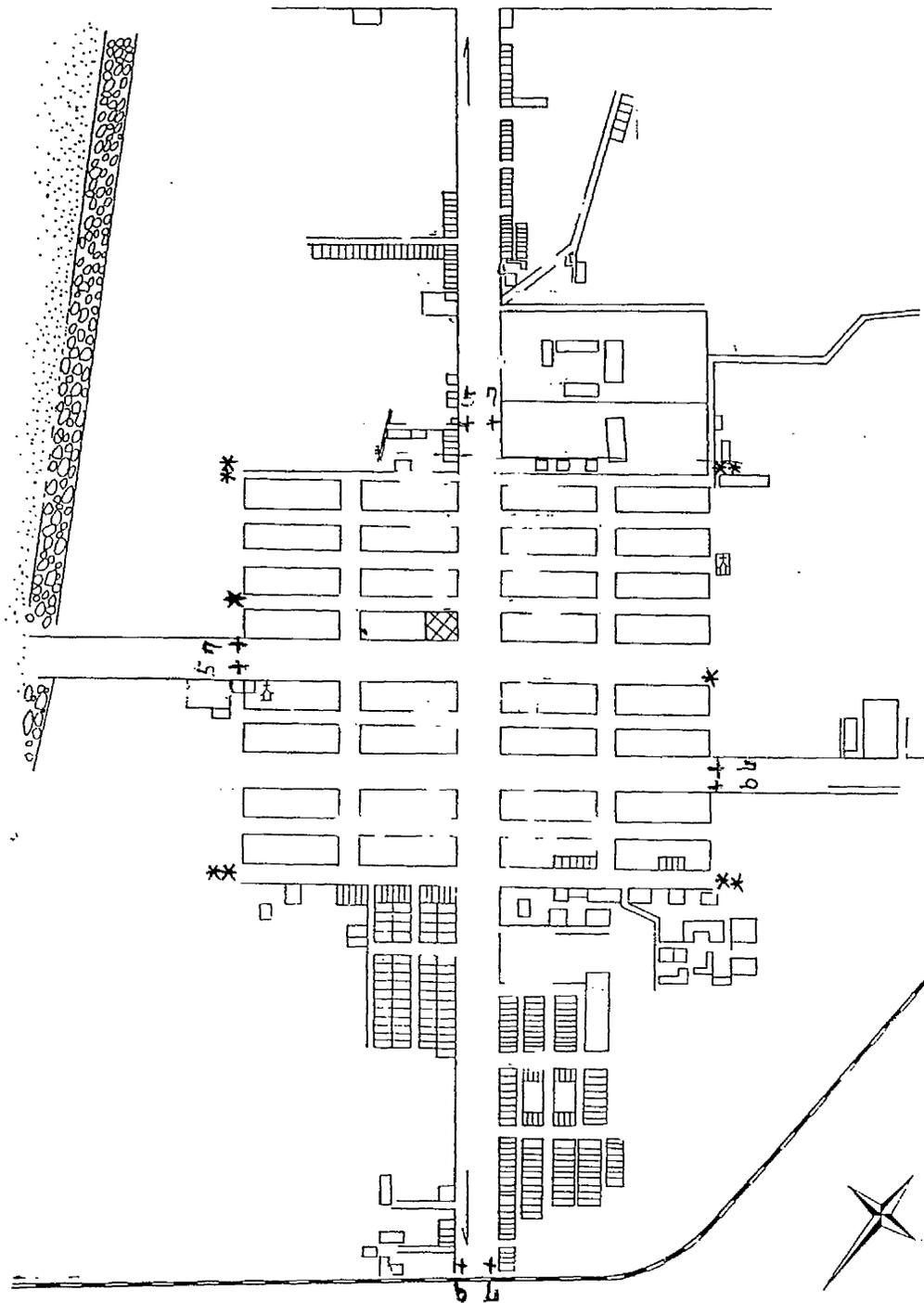
29. In December 1993, for instance, male specialists conducted the *benlin* rite for a newly established two-storey cement building. The ground floor of this multi-functional building was to be used as a men's house, replacing one which was destroyed when the building was put up. After that, specialists prepared twelve betel nuts as *pinamuder* ('talismans') for the new men's house: seven of them stood for the men's house of the north section, the *Patabang*, and five for that of the south, the *Karunun*. The rite conducted for the *Patabang* (by a specialist who was a member of the *Pasaraat* family) anteceded the one for the *Karunun* (held by another specialist who was from the *Sapayan* family).

While the ritual practices conducted in the two *karumaan* by the *kankankal* take place at the same time and are broadly similar--- both including the same number of betel nuts representing the deceased--- one significant difference exists: before the rite begins in the *karumaan*, a certain *kankankal* will visit the four corners of the Nan-wang segment, i.e., the four-hundred-square-meter territory demarcated by the Japanese authorities where the Puyuma were resettled. Probably accompanied by some elders, the *kankankal* goes first to the northeastern corner, puts a betel nut there, then takes it away along with a little soil, after he has cast a spell.³⁰ Then he sequentially visits the other three corners in a counter-clockwise direction and conducts the same ritual act (see Map 7-1). The four betel nuts in the four corners represent the territory of the 'community'. Having done this, he returns to the *Pasaraat's karumaan*, and using these four and various other betel nuts (including those representing the deceased, the unintended sneeze, and so on) a certain *kankankal* begins to conduct the rite inside the *karumaan*. Later, folded in a banana leaf, these betel nuts will be taken to a place outside the northern boundary of the 'community' to be thrown away. At the same time, an attendant Puyuma takes a broom in his left hand and sweeps the *karumaan's* interior. (In the case of the *Rara's karumaan*, the betel nuts will be taken to a place outside the southern boundary). In other words, betel nuts representing the territory of the 'community' are only used in the rite held in the *Pasaraat's karumaan*.

After they have finished the last part of the procedure, throwing away the betel nuts at the boundary, the *kankankal* return to the *karumaan* and invoke the spirits (of the earth, the four directions, the ancestors and heaven) with wine (called *kimadadaus*).³¹ Only after this procedure

30. The spell alludes to *punapuyon* (*puyon* means 'the field, or the territory').

31. When the *kankankal* or *tamalamao* have finished the rites (for the 'community' or for the individual), they will conduct this ritual act. The bottle of wine must be a new one. A difference between the *kankankal* and the *tamalamao* is that while the former may drink the rest of the wine with their clients, the latter will take it back to their *lalauinan*, in which they invoke their *kinidalian* (the deceased *tamalamao* whom they succeeded).

Map 7-1 The Location of Ritual Items Used in *Smirap* and *Smaliki* Rites

* The *dirwazekal*

** The four corners referred to in the *smirap* rite.

+ Where bows and arrows are erected during the *smaliki* rite.

is finished, do the *tamalamao* (similarly divided into two groups for the two *karumaan*) begin their tasks. The overall ritual procedure conducted by the *tamalamao* is similar to that of their male counterparts. That is, certain *tamalamao* go to the four corners, cast a spell, and bring four betel nuts with a little soil back to the *Pasaraat's karumaan*. Otherwise, the rest of the procedure is the same in both *karumaan*. What, then, does this rite imply?

While the *kankankal* precede the *tamalamao* in conducting the rite, the similarity of their tasks suggests that they are complementary and that both are needed to carry out the rite for the 'community'.³² In some respects, the *tamalamao's* practices display a clearer sense of the territory of the 'community' than those conducted by the *kankankal*.³³ For instance, unlike the *kankankal*, the *tamalamao* walk through the outskirts of *Nan-wang* rather than on the roads within it as they go from corner to another.

Secondly, while this shows that the two greatest *karumaan* constitute the ritual locales of the 'community', it is notable that it is only in the *Pasaraat's karumaan* that the betel nuts representing the territory of the 'community' are put. As it was expressed by a certain *kankankal*, somewhat exaggeratedly: 'The *smirap* rite conducted in the *Rara's karumaan* is only for this *karumaan*. But the *smirap* rite in the *Pasaraat's karumaan* is held for the "community" as a whole'. Nevertheless, I shall argue that the implications of this annual purification rite for both the construction and the legitimation of the indigenous 'community' become more manifest, if we contrast this annual rite with that for a new (bought

32. As will be shown below, this complementarity is not only found in the *smaliki*. It is also, and more illustratively, displayed in the rite for bereaved households and their accompanying kin, when they re-enter the 'community' after camping for three days in the wild areas due to the bad deaths of their family members (e.g. car accident, suicide and so on). See also Chapter 4, note 13.

33. In private, the *tamalamao* sometimes criticize the *kankankal*. In their view, the latter sometimes do wrong. Even so, the *tamalamao* are forbidden to remove or change any betel nuts or other ritual implements that the *kankankal* have arranged. If necessary, they can inform the *kankankal* of their misgivings.

or rented) house; the latter rite is also called *smirap*.

In the case of the house, the specialist first puts a betel nut in each of the four interior corners. Then s/he casts a spell, and collects the four betel nuts with a little (cement) soil in a counter-clockwise direction as detailed above, and temporarily puts them in front of the front door. Then the specialist conducts the rite with other betel nuts at the centre of the house's interior. Later, all these betel nuts are taken to an entrance of the 'community' (often following a divination). It is notable that this kind of rite is only conducted once for a house, a single betel nut being used to represent the deceased; although a second one is needed if it is known that any former occupants have died in bad ways.

Comparing these ritual procedures, we find several significant features. First of all, in terms of territory the 'community' is a house writ large, and the two leading *karumaan* are to the 'community' what the interior part is to the house. But interestingly, in the *karumaan* it is not one or two betel nuts that represent the deceased--- the number corresponds to the actual number of deceased 'community' members throughout the year. As I have mentioned in Chapter 4 (see also the mortuary rites), if a person dies (of 'natural causes') the *kiswap* rite is held in the house to banish his (or her) spirit from it and from the family survivors. But this ritual act is not repeated in a *karumaan*. In this sense, the features characterizing the household (as well as the house as a building) cannot be totally effaced, even though the individual households are contained by the 'community' (cf. Chapter 4). However, the putting of the betel nuts that represent the dead of the year in the *karumaan* is really significant. This is well displayed in an interesting act: while all the betel nuts used in a rite for a house are put towards the interior of the house--- in order to banish the bad forces from this territory--- in the *karumaan* they are placed facing towards the altar (see Figure 4-1, F), the place where the new millet and hill-rice are hung on the wall, and where the ancestors and spirits will arrive. In this sense, the annual purification rite has threefold implications: it banishes any malign forces attached to the 'community', represents the 'community' as a household writ large, and contains its component households.

In a nutshell, the *smirap* rite not only displays the 'community' in

indigenous terms, from the viewpoint of its territory, boundary and members: it also demonstrates the important position occupied by the two greatest *karumaan*; they are the centre of the 'community', which is ritually defined. Moreover, the rite manifests the fact that even though both *karumaan* constitute ritual locales of the 'community', the territory of the 'community' as a whole is represented by the *Pasaraat's karumaan* and this differentiates it from the surrounding environs.

Smaliki

Two rites are conducted on the following morning.³⁴ One centres around the *dirwazekal* (the sacred stone), and the other is *smaliki* (*saliki* means 'boundary'). While the *smaliki*--- like the *smirap*--- is sequentially conducted by the *kankankal* and the *tamalamao*, only the *kankankal* officiate for the *dirwazekal*. In the case of Nan-wang two *dirwazekal* exist--- signifying its dualistic character (see Chapter 3)--- which have been erected near the former boys' and men's houses, one in the northern entrance, the other in the southern one (see Map 7-1).³⁵ An invocation to the spirits is held in the *Pasaraat's karumaan* before the *kankankal* split into two groups to officiate over the *dirwazekal*.

The ritual practice for the *dirwazekal* is generally similar on both sides. Firstly, standing by the *dirwazekal* the attendant *kankankal* takes betel nuts and casts a spell for the spirits (of the earth, the four directions, and the ancestors and heaven). Then he sets them in front of the *dirwazekal* and burns a bundle of *ziazan* (a species of pine) that is placed among the betel nuts. To burn the *ziazan* is to 'enliven' or 'strengthen' the *dirwazekal*. It is notable that more betel nuts, *ziazan* and

34. I was told that this rite was once conducted immediately after the *smirap*, but since 1985 I have only seen it undertaken on the following day.

35. During my fieldwork in Pinaski, the elders of the settlement told me that this kind of stone was formerly erected near the boys' and men's house. When the *Vasivas* and the *Mangayau* rites were approaching, male specialists would officiate towards this stone. (In the case of Pinaski, there is only one boys' house and one *dirwazekal*). Considering the fact that this stone is erected near the boys' and men's houses, it may be reasonable to suppose that only the *kankankal* conduct the rite there.

other ritual paraphernalia are used in officiating towards the *dirwazekal* on the northern side than in its southern counterpart--- nine in the former, seven in the latter--- and that this signifies the former's superiority. In addition, it is interesting that five Chinese characters have been written in red ink on the *dirwazekal* of the north: *Nan wang hu shen wei* ('the guardian spirit of Nan-wang').³⁶

Having officiated towards the *dirwazekal*, both groups of the *kankankal* return to the *Pasaraat's* *karumaan* and meet to start the *smaliki* rite at the four entrances (i.e., the 'boundary') of the 'community', whose purpose is to prevent any malign forces from entering the 'community' when the 'new year' is approaching. This rite is firstly conducted by the *kankankal*, followed by the *tamalamao* when the former go to another entrance. The four entrances are visited in a counter-clockwise sequence: from the northern entrance to the western one, then to the southern entrance and finally to the eastern one. On both sides of each entrance betel nuts are placed, *ziazan* are burnt and spells cast, and a small bow and arrow is also erected with the heads outside (see Map 7-1). The ritual practices conducted by the *kankankal* and *tamalamao* are basically the same, except that the bow and arrow is only erected by the *kankankal*. In addition, all the ritual items used by the *kankankal* are put in front of a stone that is erected on each side of each entrance, while the *tamalamao's* are put behind it.³⁷

It is notable that (facing outside) more ritual items are put on the right-hand than on the left-hand side of each entrance, and that the number of these items is the same in the eastern and the northern entrances, and in the western and southern ones. In other words, the number of ritual items in the northern and eastern entrances is more than in the south and west (see Map 7-1, the numbers put on both sides of each entrance). As the specialists say: 'The former two entrances are

36. I was told that this was written by a male Puyuma who was a member of the *Pasaraat* family, and whose house was built on the land formerly occupied by the boys' and men's houses of the northern section. He was the second-term president of the elderly association and died in 1992.

37. The *tamalamao* have told me that this rear position means that they follow and support what the *kankankal* have done, see also note 32.

more significant than the latter two, because the *Pasaraat* (and their associated men's house, and other ritual features) are more significant than their southern counterparts' (see also Chapter 3, notes 21 and 22). It is therefore interesting that the rites at the former entrances--- and in particular at their right-hand sides, if the rites at the two sides are conducted by different specialists--- are usually undertaken by senior *kankankal* (or ones who are members of the men's house in the north, the *Patabang*) or senior *tamalamao* (or ones who are related to the *Pasaraat* family). However, the rites at the latter two--- particularly at the left-hand sides, if the rites at the two sides are conducted by different specialists--- are conducted by junior specialists (or ones who are related to the *Karunun* or the *Rara* family).

To be brief, we find in these two rites that the boundary of the 'community' is emphasized as a barrier preventing malevolent forces from entering it. Furthermore, a ranked relationship between the two sections is legitimized by the differences in ritual items and in the ritual sequences.

The *Vasivas* Rite

With the end of *smirap* and *smaliki*, it is time for the *takovakoban* to begin their activities, of which the most remarkable is *Vasivas*. Nowadays, this rite is fixed on every December 25, a national holiday, to accommodate the fact that many teenagers are studying nowadays (cf. Hung 1981; Sung 1965b; see also Chapter 5, note 14). Even so, many tasks that were formerly undertaken by the *takovakoban* themselves have been taken over by male adults and elders: for instance, re-thatching the roof of the boys' house, constructing the *bangayangawan* (the place where the *takovakoban* kill the monkey) and singing the ritual song (called *gumulao*). Even *ngumamu*--- an act that was mainly conducted by the *malatawan* and several *malanakan*, in which the new hill-rice was sprinkled around a specifically erected stone to thank the spirits who gave the Puyuma the seeds of this crop--- has also now been taken over by several attendant male adults and elders. Today, only two activities are carried out exclusively by the *takovakoban*: *Halavakai* and *Vasivas*.

Halavakai

Nowadays, the *takovakoban* start their activities on the night of December 24.³⁸ That night, led by *malatawan* all the attendant *takovakoban* visit the Puyuma households. This is called *Halavakai*, probably due to the fact that whenever they visit a household the *takovakoban* loudly call out '*Halavakai ta! Halavakai ta!*'. '*Avakai*' means 'filling up', and the *takovakoban* are asking the households to give them candy and food, and to fill the baskets hung up by the *malatawan*. But it also means that anything dirty and bad in the house will be taken away by the *takovakoban*.³⁹ The sequence of their visits to Puyuma households nowadays starts from the 'original stem household' of the *Pasaraat* family that supervises the *karumaan*, then its *Rara* counterpart, and then the rest of the households along the lanes, due to the combination of the two formerly separate boys' houses in the early 1950s (see Chapter 3). Occasionally, if asked, the *takovakoban* also visit Chinese-run stores. Since the night of December 24 is also the time when the Christians visit each other, *Halavakai* is often nicknamed *pao chia yin* ('the angel's annunciation' in Chinese). Ironically, because the Puyuma Christians visit each other on the same night, they often come across the *takovakoban* on the roads instead of being visited in their houses.

The visits to Puyuma households usually end at three o'clock in the morning. All the candy and cakes are put together in the meeting house, and will be thrown from the elevated platform of the boys' house in the morning.

Vasivas

The morning of December 25 is the time for the *Vasivas* rite. In this rite the *takovakoban* previously killed a monkey, but nowadays an effigy of one is carried in the procession. It is made by a certain middle-aged

38. This act seems to be found only in the case of Nan-wang.

39. The elders say that the *takovakoban* would previously bring dry rice straw and banana leaves to sweep the interior of the houses they visited.

male adult from a bundle of leaves.⁴⁰ In the morning, the *takovakoban* firstly go to the boys' house and go upstairs. After a *kankankal* casts a spell and puts two betel nuts in front of the ceremonial stone at the bottom of the ladder--- one representing the former boys' house in the north, the other its southern counterpart--- the *takovakoban* leave for *bangayangawan*, where they intend to kill the 'monkey'.⁴¹

When the parade arrives at the boundary of the 'community', two groups of the *takovakoban*--- each consisting of two *malatawan* and one *malalakan*--- are dispatched to visit households bereaved during the year: one group visiting the northern section, and the other the south. The requirement for all these *takovakoban* is that both their parents be alive.⁴² Instructed by a certain middle-aged male Puyuma, these three *takovakoban* rush to open the back doors of the bereaved households, and run out of the front doors. When they run through the interior of the house, they loudly call '*pua*', which means 'to spit'. Having accomplished their task, they run back to the boundary to meet their peers, and the parade leaves for its destination, *bangayangawan*, to prepare to kill the 'monkey'. The kill is conducted by the *malatawan*. Formerly, the Puyuma told me, the senior *malatawan*, (i.e., *dinumaidan*) would shoot an arrow three times towards Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*, to inform the spirits who had bestowed the seeds of hill-rice that the *Vasivas* was being held and the monkey was being killed.⁴³ Then the *dinumaidan*

40. As the male Puyuma who had killed live monkeys told me, partly due to the cruelty involved and partly to the laws protecting wild animals, this custom was banned by the Nationalist government in the 1950s.

41. Because it is only a united boys' house nowadays, *bangayangawan* is alternately built in a place north of the 'community' (near the new railway station) and a place west of the 'community' (near Upper Nan-wang).

42. In the case of Pinaski, some variations exist. Opening the bereaved households' doors, for instance, was done after the *takovakoban* had killed the monkey, and they entered by the front door rather than the back one. In addition, boys whose parents were either alive or dead could be chosen to do it.

43. Although I began my fieldwork in Nan-wang in 1986, the first time I saw this act was in 1993. Its revival was due to the fact that both the

stands in the centre of the gathering with a junior *malalakan* (i.e., *rangan*);⁴⁴ and they swing a stick to and fro to which the monkey's effigy is tied, and two middle-aged male Puyuma--- representing the former two boys' houses--- sing the song (*gumulao*) of this ritual killing.⁴⁵ The other *takovakoban*, who formerly sang the *gumulao* themselves, stand by and wait for the end of the song. After that, the parade returns and the *takovakoban* go up the elevated boys' house.

Later, several *malatawan* stand on the raised platform (see Figure 5-1, M) and throw down the candy and food they have been given in *Halavakai*, along with some short sticks decorated by themselves. All of

Vasivas and the *Mangayau* conducted that year were part of a National Festival of Culture and Arts, a programme planned by the Council for Cultural Planning and Development. I will discuss several consequences of this Festival for the Puyuma in the following chapter. The direction in which the arrows were shot seems uncertain. Koizumi (1929: 22) noted that three arrows in turn were shot towards Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*. However, a male elder in his seventies once told me that in his own experience the *dinumaidan* shot the arrows in the direction of the sunrise. He himself was a member of the boys' house in the south.

44. The elders explained that the *rangan* occupied an important position regarding the rite. Formerly he took care of the monkey that the *takovakoban* had captured and would kill in the *Vasivas* rite. When the boys entered the boys' house and became *malanakan* (the most junior grade of the *takovakoban*)(cf. Table 5-1), the senior *malatawan* would ask one of them to volunteer for this position. The elders said that, as it was not considered good to be a *rangan*, there were often no volunteers. Therefore, the *malatawan* would order them to choose one by beating their hips until they no longer bear it and thus to choose one of their peers, who was not physically strong enough to endure the beating. When the *Vasivas* rite was approaching, the bed of the *rangan* would be put with the *malatawan*'s. Otherwise, he stayed with his peers (see Figure 5-1, L). As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, while among every other Puyuma settlement there was (and is still in some cases) a male specialist, called *rahan* and responsible for conducting rites regarding the whole settlement, no such ritual position existed in the case of Nan-wang.

45. The elders told me that there were differences between the two boys' houses regarding the *Vasivas* rite. With respect to *gumulao*, for instance, while only one kind of *gumulao* was sung by the *takovakoban* in the south, there were three in the north: one in the place where they killed the monkey, one in the boys' house where they took the monkey's body, and finally in the place where they threw it away. As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, the ritual differences between the two former boys' houses was the main reason why the elders complained about their unification.

these are picked up by the waiting children and adults, regardless of sex. After this, all the *takovakoban* come down from the boys' house, and instead of themselves some middle-aged male Puyuma sing the *gumulao* again. Then the parade leaves for the place where the monkey's effigy is thrown away, and the accompanying male adults sing the *gumulao* for a third time.⁴⁶ When this part has been accomplished, the *Vasivas* rite ends.

Returning to the boys' house, the *takovakoban* go upstairs and enjoy the food their families have brought for them. At night, the *takovakoban* dance in the square of *wakasayan*, accompanied by the younger girls who are of their age.⁴⁷

The Mangayau Rite

'Three days after the *Mangayangayau* [i.e., the *Vasivas*] was conducted, all the *vansalang* and their seniors hunted for deer' (Koizumi 1929: 23). Interestingly, the date for the male adults to go hunting, as reported by this Japanese ethnologist more than sixty years ago, coincides with the day when Puyuma now conduct the *Mangayau* rite, on December 28.

On the night of December 27 and the early morning of December 28, the female Puyuma are usually toing and froing between households, giving their seniors or close male kin cake, tobacco, betel nuts, light drinks and even money. This act is called *putavu* (*tavu* means 'lunch box'). The male adults are busy preparing their paraphernalia for the three days of camping and hunting. On the morning of December 28, various Puyuma drive their cars or motorcycles to *wakasayan*. Accompanied by their parents or senior kin, several young men aged 18 or above will also be there. These young men are the correct age to be

46. Previously, when the monkey's body was taken back to the elevated boys' house and hung under it, any elders who had discomfort in their bodies used the bamboo arrows to touch these places and then threw them back at the monkey. The intention was to make the monkey take away their illnesses (Koizumi 1929: 22).

47. Previously, the *takovakoban* danced every night until the return of the male adults from hunting in the mountains, viz., from conducting the *Mangayau*. Nowadays, this dancing only continues for a couple of days.

initiated as *miyaputan*, the initiates of the men's house. The initiation is usually held inside the men's house (or in the camp-site in the mountains).

Partly because they now drive to the mountains in cars or other transport, partly because the destination is usually the same, and partly because they have jobs, the male Puyuma adults do not leave the 'community' at the same time in a parade, as the *takovakoban* do. Instead, they either arrive at the camp-site later that day, and even on December 30 when the Puyuma prepare to return, or leave beforehand and wait for the others at a halfway point, where some purification rites must be held. But the accompanying *kankankal* will be busy with many tasks until the Puyuma have sorted out everything about their camp-site: for instance, the purification rite at the halfway point, the invocation before the Puyuma start to build their camp, the purification rite for the camp and so on.⁴⁸

In contrast with the *Vasivas*, no rites conducted during the *Mangayau* show any distinction between the northern and southern sections. Instead, the camp area is divided into two main, separate, parts: *karwanan* ('crowd, many people') and *kalaman* (*laman* means 'pity'; this refers to male Puyuma from bereaved households and their accompanying close kin).⁴⁹

During the daytime when they are in the mountains, most Puyuma go off and hunt; a communal dinner is only held at night.⁵⁰ On the last afternoon (December 30) the elderly association will convene and the

48. The purification rite for the camps is similar to that for a house, also called *smirap*. However, unlike the case of the house, no *pinamuder* is installed for the camp, because it is only temporarily inhabited.

49. Previously, the elders said, not only could the camps inhabited by these two gatherings not be connected, food was also separately prepared by each part. It was particularly forbidden for bereaved families to collect dry rice-straw for the whole camp and to cook for *karwanan*. However, I found that these regulations are occasionally not observed nowadays.

50. Every Puyuma present must donate some rice for communal use. In addition, every Puyuma household must give NT\$ 200 for the general expenditure and other gifts.

attendant members will discuss the issues and problems that confront them,⁵¹ and welcome those Puyuma who are now aged 55 and are about to become their new fellow members. On the last night the camp and its vicinity are usually crowded with civil servants and other Puyuma who due to their jobs could not come to it earlier, but anticipate a warm welcome from their female kin. Around midnight, the elders take their seats around the central fire and sing songs called *ilailao*. Early next morning (December 31) the kills made by the participating Puyuma during these three days are distributed to the male Puyuma according to their chronological ages. After breakfast, the elders sing the *ilailao* again, and then the Puyuma sort out their own items and prepare to go back to their 'community'.

When male Puyuma camp out in the mountain areas, their womenfolk are busy at home making cakes and floral garlands. In particular, one woman per household will build two *rarwanan* ('triumphal arches') in a vacant square near the new railway station. Before they start their task, the attendant *tamalamao* must cast a spell to ensure that everything will turn out well. Of these two *rarwanan*, one is bigger and much prettier, and is decorated with colourful paper strings and flowers. It is built for the elders who are not members of bereaved households (i.e., *karwanan*). The smaller and less decorated one is for the elders of bereaved families (i.e., *kalaman*).

The male Puyuma usually approach these two *rarwanan* in the early afternoon, by which time it is already crowded with children, women wearing colourful ceremonial clothes and pretty floral garlands, and those Puyuma who have returned from the towns and cities of the island early that morning or late the previous night. The scene is grand and spectacular. Later, escorted by a parade of middle-aged and young Puyuma wearing ceremonial clothes, the male elders enter the *rarwanan*. In the bigger *rarwanan* the elders wear the colourful and striking clothes

51. For instance, there are cases of young men aged over 18 who have not yet been initiated due to study, work or other reasons. But, because of their ages, they (and their parents) do not want to observe the three-year regulation (for a *miyaputan* to become a *vansalang*); instead they hope to be initiated and to graduate in the same year.

prepared by their female kin; they sit down and sing the *ilailao*, while the young men stand outside the arch.

In contrast with the jolly crowd assembling around the bigger *rarwanan*, the elders of bereaved households sit silently in the smaller *rarwanan* and women of these households accompanied by their female kin sit on the periphery beyond the two *rarwanan* and cry. The women whose husbands have died in the year wear on their heads the plain green wreaths that are made of *lagelau* (*Eupatorium tashiroi* Hay).⁵² Later, one or two widowed male elders visit these women and use a stick to take the wreaths away from the widows. These wreaths are gathered in an area and covered with a stone.

After the *ilailao*, all the male Puyuma start to enjoy the food and drink with their female kin. Later, the men parade to *wakasayan*. Along the way, they may visit the incumbent head's house and the local police station. When they reach *wakasayan* they start to dance. The bereaved families are led by their close male kin in the dancing parade, but they keep their heads lowered as if in mourning. After a while, they leave and return to their homes with their accompanying kin.

It is on this night that the young men, particularly those who are upgrading from *miyaputan* to *vansalang* that year, will visit Puyuma households, led by some veteran middle-aged males. This is called *muazangi* ('visiting'). Like the visits of the *takovakoban* in the *Halavakai*, the young men first visit the household that supervises the *Pasaraat's karumaan*, then that supervising the *Rara's*, followed by the other Puyuma households. Entering the houses they visit, the young men dance and sing, and tear off the covers of the new calendars hanging on the wall.

On the morning of January 1, the first day of the new year, the main activity (apart from a running-race for the new *vansalang*) is the elders' meeting in *wakasayan*. They then visit the bereaved households (now of the previous year!). Singing the *ilailao* in these houses,⁵³ the elders

52. Similar wreaths are worn by young men who are in the state of *kitubansal* (see Chapter 5, note 22).

53. There are several principal kinds of *ilailao*, with various lyrics, and these will be sung on different occasions, such as in the mountains and

console the bereaved families and tell them not to feel sorrow, because it is now the new year. In the afternoons of the following two or three days, also national holidays, the Puyuma of both sexes wear colourful ceremonial clothes and dance in *wakasayan* to welcome the 'new year'.

In this series of rites and activities--- from the re-thatching of the boys' and men's houses (i.e., *pubaaw*) to the accomplishment of the *Mangayau*--- we have seen how the Puyuma prepare for the arrival of the new year, '*vudezan, amian*'.⁵⁴ Not only is it the period in which both boys and young men become members of the boys' and men's houses, and the initiates become marriageable young men; it is also a time when the 'community' purges itself of the misfortunes that have occurred throughout the year. Furthermore, with a series of ritual acts conducted by members of the age organization, bereaved households are purged of their mourning: through the opening of their doors by the *takovakoban*, the dancing of the members of the men's house (excluding the *miyaputan*), and finally the visits of the male elders.

Indeed, after the *kiswap*, the bereaved households (whose members have died of 'natural causes') will be invited to the houses of their close kin. Nevertheless, until the accomplishment of the *Mangayau*, they are still

in the visits to bereaved households. Sometimes, some parts of the lyrics of *ilailao* with the same title are different due to individual variations. Both in the mountains and in the place where the male Puyuma meet their womenfolk, the elders may sing the following kinds of *ilailao*: (1) *Benasaspas* (literally meaning 'straw blossoms, an abundance of animals, and the proper time to hunt'); (2) *Kemaayaman* (*ayam* means 'bird'; this literally means 'listening to bird-song to judge when to hunt'); (3) *Pwalybunan* (literally meaning 'to take revenge'); and (4) *Sanga* ('hero'). By contrast, when visiting the bereaved households, the elders will sing the following kinds of *ilailao*: (5) *Benanban*; (6) *Kalaman* (*laman* means 'pity'); (7) *Ilailao la bali la timul* ('the south wind'); this *ilailao* is specifically for the case of bad death; and (8) *Ilailao la bali la ami* ('the north wind'); this is in the case of natural death. Nevertheless, the elders can also sing (4) *Sanga* for a deceased person who was a hero such as a champion of the marathon race.

54. *Vuder* refers to the division of the sugarcane, while *ami* means 'year'.

seen as being in the state of *lalivu*⁵⁵ and are expected to lower their heads whenever they walk outside.⁵⁶ During my fieldwork, I often heard the Puyuma allude to a certain family as not being in too bad a condition, if the date on which its member died was close to the *Mangayau*. However, they said that it was bad for the families if their members died early in the year or during the harvest season. In the former situation, there was a longer period before the *Mangayau* was accomplished. In the latter one, only a few kin of the family or the Puyuma of Western religions will visit and participate in the funeral, due to the belief in *vini* (and perhaps in the Chinese deity images and 'ancestral tablets', see Chapter 8). Furthermore, the *kiswap* must be delayed until the accomplishment of the *Kiaamian* and the *Muraliyavan* in the summer season, or the *Vasivas* in winter, even though the funeral has been conducted.⁵⁷ In other words, in this series of rites not only is a sense of 'community' acknowledged by the Puyuma, but an intimate relationship is also displayed between individual, household and 'community'. This interrelationship is manifested in the methods of dealing with the dead, particularly in the cases of bad death. It is this issue which I will discuss in the following sections.

The Ways in Which the Deceased Are Dealt With⁵⁸

The Puyuma formerly observed an indoor burial custom for their family members. They abandoned their houses only when the space for putting

55. This means that a woman will wrap a piece of black cloth around her head, particularly if her husband has died.

56. Perhaps we can now understand why the camps and the triumphal arches must still be separate for male Puyuma of bereaved households and non-bereaved ones.

57. For instance, a male Puyuma in his early sixties died in early December 1989. The *kiswap* rite for his family was not held until December 26, the day after the *Vasivas* rite.

58. I have dealt with this issue in some earlier publications (W-T. Chen 1987, 1993), in which I did not, however, fully discuss its implications with respect to the 'community'.

the corpses was approaching the central beam that demarcated the line distinguishing the living from the dead (Kono 1915: 386).⁵⁹ From the recollection of the elders, it seems that the Puyuma continued to observe indoor burial, but that this was no longer conducted when they resettled in Nan-wang, mainly due to the prohibition ruled by the Japanese authorities (cf. Fann 1995).

However, once a case of bad death occurred, not only did the family have to leave the house and change their dwelling three times before they re-inhabited in a more enduring one: the other Puyuma of the same 'community' also suffered a kind of emergency. As the Puyuma note, 'Previously, as soon as the news that a Puyuma had died in a bad way was disseminated, we would immediately prepare rice, water, firewood and other daily necessities. And this state would only end with the *kiswap*'. Even the weavers had to cut off the unfinished cloths on their looms (T-I. Wang 1980: 43). In other words, this case became a concern of the whole 'community', by which the 'community' as a whole became isolated and closed off from other settlements for a period (Ino 1910; Kono 1915: 382-386; Sayama 1913: 488. see also Chao 1976). The concern of the 'community' became more manifest after the Puyuma were resettled in a demarcated territory: far from their funerals being dealt with in their houses, it was forbidden for the corpses of these cases to be brought into the 'community' (cf. Kono 1915: 384-385).⁶⁰ Even now, the Puyuma still make a distinction between those who have died of 'natural causes' and those who have died in 'bad ways'.⁶¹

59. I once heard a female elder in her late nineties say that the house would be abandoned when the only place to bury the deceased was near the stove. Judging by the *kiswap* rite for a deceased person and other customs regarding the household, this explanation might be a more appropriate depiction of the actual situation (cf. Chapter 4).

60. Even if a Puyuma dies in a car accident on the main road that passes through the settlement, the corpse will be taken to the government-run funeral parlor, rather than to the person's own house.

61. A most remarkable differentiation is that regardless of age and sex, the family customarily put a string of *inasi* on the deceased's thumbs: seven on the right thumb, nine on the left one. This is called *walima* (*lima* means 'hand'). A senior *tamalamao* has explained that the ancestors of the

People Who Have Died in Ordinary Ways

If a Puyuma dies of illness, the house where s/he lived is the main place where the funeral will be prepared, and where the *kiswap* rite will be conducted.⁶² On hearing of the misfortune, close kin and affines will visit the bereaved family to express their sorrow. The funeral rite varies from case to case, but primarily depends on the person's age and status. For instance, the Puyuma say that if the deceased is a boy, a small knife should be put in his right hand. With it the spirit of this child can confront the dangers on the way to *virwarwa* ('the spirit world'). If the deceased is an elder, the situation is more complex. For instance, a betel palm will be cut on the day when the funeral rite is held. This custom is called *pakasu*, meaning 'the portion the elder should take with them'. Furthermore, if the elder is a person who supervised the *vini* of the household, his (or her) children will conduct an act to ask the deceased to transmit their property to them, which is called *kivulas vini*.

Generally speaking, when the funeral rite is finished a series of acts are conducted by the bereaved household and its close kin. For instance, after the funeral rite and when they have had a break, male kin will go to the riverside to collect crabs, fish and shrimps. This is called *puruvu*. By contrast, the female kin will conduct *demaliumauma* (*uma* means 'hill land'): they go to the bereaved household's hill land, collect some wild vegetables, and cook and eat them there. Before they leave, they will

deceased will smell them and say 'Ya! These are our children, our offsprings' (*nanko warak lia, tumuan i lia*). But this custom is not applied to the cases of bad death. I suggest that this distinction will shed light on the implications of installing 'ancestral tablets' for those who have died in 'bad ways' (see Chapter 8).

62. Nowadays, the young Puyuma may work in the towns or cities and temporarily rent houses there. If it occurs that a Puyuma dies (of illness) there and the funeral is held in the funeral parlor in the vicinity, the *kiswap* rite is not held for his (or her) natal household in Nan-wang, although the *takovakoban* will open the door, and the elders will visit. However, his (or her) natal household members will ask the *tamalamao* to conduct the purification rite for them. If the case was a bad death, the situation may become complicated, and the deceased's natal household in Nan-wang must observe certain ritual regulations (see below).

provide some food or other items for the deceased.⁶³ The food collected by both male and female Puyuma will be cooked and eaten by the attendant people in the house. The following afternoon, the invited *tamalamao* will conduct the *kiswap* rite to purify the house, the household, and the accompanying kin. After this, close kin can invite the bereaved household to their homes (see Chapter 4).

A few days after the funeral, male kin will hunt in the mountains, and stay there for one night. This is called *kubalibali* (*bali* means 'wind'), meaning that the wind in the mountains dissipates their sorrow. During this time the female kin either stay at home or go to the city centre to make the rounds and visit the hospital where the deceased has stayed. The kills brought by the male Puyuma, such as rats and other animals, will be eaten by the attendant kin in the house. After that, the near kin either come to accompany the bereaved household, or invite them to their houses.

Due to varying religious beliefs, different situations are found. In general, the Puyuma households adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion still observe such significant customs as stated above (see also Chapters 4 and 8), even though they ask the Chinese experts to pray at the moment when the person dies and follow some Han-Chinese funeral rites, such as the forty-nine day ceremony and so on.

The Puyuma Christians (Presbyterians and Catholics)⁶⁴ have forsaken a lot of customs, particularly the *kiswap* rite and others that they consider indigenous ritual practices. For instance, if they conduct *puruvu*, *demaliuma*, and *kubalibali*, they do not use betel nuts and *inasi*, the necessary paraphernalia of the 'indigenous' rites, but pray in the

63. Nowadays, this act may be conducted near the house if there is a yard. In addition, the Puyuma do not conduct the *demaliuma* for children if they die. As they Puyuma say, 'S/he is just a child and has not done any farm work'.

64. Nevertheless, there are differences between the Presbyterian and Catholic Puyuma. For instance, while the Catholics use incense and install 'ancestral tablets', neither of these customs are observed by the Presbyterians. In the following chapter I will discuss these differences and their implications for the issue of the 'community' (and the constitution of the house and the household).

ways prescribed by their religion.

Certainly, even if a general pattern can be discerned among these three kinds of religious affiliation, the practices observed at funerals and their associated activities vary case by case. Many cases show a sort of mixture and flexibility.⁶⁵ Beyond these variations, however, a certain custom is still observed by the Puyuma of Nan-wang. Called *mazgeza*, this custom means that once the news is heard that a Puyuma has died (of 'natural causes'), some female Puyuma other than the kin and other acquaintances visit the bereaved household. They are people who have also recently experienced the death of a household member. As the Puyuma have told me, *mazgeza* is the custom practiced within and confined to the same 'community'.

Indeed, the sense of 'community', realized by its 'boundary', is well demonstrated in the above customs and rites, even if funerals are affairs which centre around the bereaved households. Taking *puruvu* as an example, when the male kin prepare to leave the riverside some purification rites will certainly be held to prevent malign forces and the spirit of the deceased from following the participants. Moreover, when they come back from the riverside and reach the 'boundary' of the 'community', someone (often an accompanying *kankankal*) will use a small knife to take some hairs from each participant. The Puyuma say that through this act the malevolent forces are prevented from following them into the 'community'.

The prevention of bad forces (including the spirit of the deceased) from entering the 'community' is also demonstrated in the *kiswap* rite. When they have been purged of dirt and taint and prepare to come back to Nan-wang, a simple but important act is performed by the bereaved household and its close kin. A string of nine *inasí* will be put on the

65. This feature of option and flexibility has been indicated by Chiao (1973) in his study of another Puyuma settlement, Rikavon. However, he seems to analyze the funeral ceremony as consisting of several cultural traits, and discusses the distribution of this mixture, rather than investigating how the features are combined and what their implications are, for instance, for the conceptualization of the house, the household and the 'community'.

road at the outskirts of the 'community', and everyone present will throw an *inasí* behind them when they cross it.

The significance of the 'community' for the bereaved households is more clearly demonstrated in the annual rites, as I have mentioned above. Not only must the *kiswap* rite be delayed until the accomplishment of the *Kiaamian*, the *Mangayau* and the *Vasivas* if a person has died during the harvest season, but (in indigenous terms) bereaved households completely purge their pity and sorrow only after the celebration of *Vasivas* and *Mangayau*.

In other words, even in dealing with death--- which seemingly preoccupies only the household concerned--- not only is a sense of 'community' recognized; its welfare and significance is also emphasized to deal with the interests of the component individual and households. The following report from a male Puyuma in his late forties illustrates this interrelationship:

[A] few years ago, I did not lead the newly upgraded *vansalang* to visit my now younger brother-in-law's home. The reason for this was that his family had not carried out the *kiswap* rite for his mother, who had died a couple of days after the *Vasivas* rite. Nor did they go with the male Puyuma to the mountains to conduct the *Mangayau*. In other words, because my brother-in-law's family--- a family of the Han-Chinese folk religion--- did not finish what a bereaved family had to do, his home was *alilya pakavukal* (*vukal* means 'new'; this literally means 'not yet renewed'). A case occurring on December 28 1993 was different: a male elder died in the afternoon when the male Puyuma had already been to the mountains. Once the unfortunate news was transmitted to the camp site, a middle-aged male returned to Nan-wang to help deal with the funeral. He was the son-in-law of a female elder who had lived with this deceased elder. After the funeral, on December 30, he went back to the mountains. Because the elderly deceased was a Catholic, his family did not carry out a *kiswap* rite. The funeral rite sponsored by a Catholic father is similar to the *kiswap* rite. Moreover, the kin of this elder also went to the mountains. So even if this family did not conduct the *kiswap* rite because of its religious affiliations, it was considered to be purified and was visited by the *vansalang* on December 31.⁶⁶

66. The male Puyuma who led the *vansalang* in 1993 to visit the Puyuma households was a civil servant. When they passed this elder's house, I asked him whether or not the *vansalang* would visit this household. On knowing that the funeral rite was over, he instructed the young *vansalang* to enter the house, singing and dancing but not too joyfully. Meanwhile, some close kin of the elder were in mourning inside.

This report indicates the importance of the *kiswap* rite for the bereaved households (at least those of the Han-Chinese folk religion). It also shows that with their participation in the *Mangayau* rite, these households were thought of as clean and purified.

In a nutshell, we see in the case of 'ordinary death' an intimate relationship between the individual household and the 'community'. However, as I will describe in the following section, that the interests and welfare of the 'community' are put above those of the individual households is particularly demonstrated in the case of bad death.

People Who Have Died in Bad Ways

In a way, the Puyuma phrase '*ali malisan la dazan*'⁶⁷ vividly captures their attitudes to cases of bad death (*kwadis kinidayan* or *kigamli kinidayan*).⁶⁸ This situation is not only a great misfortune for the families of the deceased; it also entails an unusual state for the households concerned, their kin and the 'community'. Even if the Puyuma do not now observe the custom of abandoning their dwellings and moving three times until they re-build their houses, some customs still reveal the seriousness with which they take this kind of case.

Nowadays, if such a misfortune happens, the household concerned (accompanied by their near kin) will place the corpse in a government-run funeral parlor (even if the death occurs on the main road inside the 'community'). And they must not come back until the funeral, and a series of rites, have been conducted: all their necessities are brought to them

67. *Ali* is a negative expression, *malisan* means 'the same' and *dazan* 'road'. The phrase literally means 'not the same road'.

68. *Kwadis* means 'bad', while *kigamli* means 'different'. Sometimes the Puyuma may make further distinctions among bad deaths. They say that it is a kind of *umei* (in Japanese, this means 'fate') when people die in car or other accidents. By contrast, they refer to *kwangele* ('thinking'), a decision made by the deceased themselves in cases of suicide. The specialists say that the situation in the latter cases is worse than that of the former ones, and that betel nuts representing them are therefore put in the last place during ritual practices.

by their kin.⁶⁹ After the funeral, accompanied by their near kin and some specialists, the household observes a custom, called *makataruntarun* (*tarun* means 'grass'): all these people, instead of returning to the 'community', must camp out in wild places that are seldom frequented by people--- such as the embankments--- for three nights.

In the daytime, they must change the place where they stayed and slept the previous night for another one, and hold a purification rite when they leave. They must also avoid approaching the other settlements (even those of the Han-Chinese) unless they must pass them to reach another place. On the third night, these people will camp near a brook some distance south of the 'community'. In the morning, several *kankankal*, *tamalamao* and elders will come to this place. After the last protective rite has been conducted by the accompanying specialist(s), all these people, including the accompanying specialist(s), must be purged of their pollution through rites separately conducted by the *kankankal* and the *tamalamao*: the former precedes the latter. Only after these two purification rites have been accomplished can these people re-enter the 'community'. Likewise, at the boundary of the 'community' a string of nine *inasi* is put in the road, and everyone in this gathering throws an *inasi* behind them when they cross it.

Entering the 'community' and approaching their house, the bereaved household and their accompanying kin still cannot enter it, instead they erect a provisional tent to the rear of this house, where they will sleep for one night. Similarly, all necessities are fetched from the house by other kin or neighbours who are not following the *makataruntarun*. Next afternoon, the *tamalamao* come to carry out the *kiswap* rite.⁷⁰ Before it, they invoke the spirit of the deceased to meet his (her) family. This ritual invocation is called *kiabait*, during which the spirit of the deceased

69. Even though it is difficult to forbid people who have gone to the funeral parlor to re-enter the 'community' until the series of rites has been conducted, the bereaved household at least should observe this custom. Otherwise they must stay at home.

70. These specialists are invited beforehand and paid later by the person or the households concerned, even if these acts are important for the interests of the 'community'.

will arrive (by possessing a *tamalamao's* body) and speak to the family and kin, who in turn ask if anything needs to be done. This possession does not take too much time.

After the *kiabait*, the *tamalamao* start to conduct the *kiswap* rite: the distinction between ordinary and bad death is manifested here. In the former case, the *kiswap* rite is held inside and around the house: for instance, the spirit of the deceased is called from the place where the coffin has been put, a rite is held in front of the stove to separate the deceased from the living members, and other ritual procedures are engaged in. But in a case of bad death all these are conducted in and around the provisional tent. For instance, at a corner of this tent a three-stone stove is erected like the cooking place in the kitchen. Instead of standing inside the house, the bereaved family and their accompanying kin stand in the centre of the tent, and the *tamalamao* carry out the purification rite like that for a house and the people inside it. After this, all of them go to the Peinan Stream, where they are purged of taint and uncleanness. Only after they return to the 'community' can the family now re-enter the house.

Unlike the cases of ordinary death, even when the *kiswap* rite is finished the close kin visit the bereaved household, rather than inviting the latter to their own houses. In indigenous terms, this is not called *puazangi*, but *gizbanawa*. Moreover, it is not called *kubalibali* (i.e., the male kin camping in the mountains to alleviate their sorrow) but *malapalapas*. After a period, perhaps a month or so later, a *kankankal* will be asked by the bereaved household to come to the place where the misfortune occurred. Called *parugi*, this rite invokes the spirit of the deceased back to his/her tomb, to stop it from wandering around.⁷¹ Notably, unlike cases of ordinary death, neither the money paid by the bereaved household, nor the items bought with this money can be taken

71. Although the *tamalamao* conduct a similar rite for the deceased in the house or in the provisional camp, this rite is exclusively conducted by the *kankankal*. The betel nuts representing the deceased will be folded in a banana leave and taken back and buried in some spot near the tomb. If the corpse of the deceased is burned and the ashes are supervised in a temple, the above items will be put in a place near the temple.

by specialists into their homes.⁷²

The distinction between these two kinds of death is vividly demonstrated in the following case.

In April 1994 a specialist committed suicide in his old house. His corpse was moved to the hall of the new one. When the news of his death was disseminated, the cause of his death was not mentioned. A woman in her late sixties visited his house to express her sorrow. However, I was later told by her daughter that this woman felt angry when she found out that this specialist had died by committing suicide, rather than through illness. When this woman visited his house, her daughter continued, she had grieved and asked the spirit of this man to inform her ancestors of the situation of their descendants in the living world.

Thus, we see that the Puyuma deal very differently with cases of bad death. The above descriptions suggest that the deceased in this situation is not a real member of the household, neither will s/he subsequently be with the ancestors (see note 60).⁷³ If *mazgeza*, the custom described above, reflects and defines the features of the same 'community', the divergence in the cases of bad death demonstrates that these people do not belong to the 'community' either in the living world or that inhabited by the ancestors.⁷⁴

Rites as Contested Fields

Throughout this chapter I have described the annual rites and mortuary rites in the case of Nan-wang. With respect to the annual rites,

72. Instead they usually put this money in a store to cover their costs. While the towels for purging the bereaved families in the Peinan Stream can usually be taken back by the *tamalamao*, this does not occur in the case of bad death.

73. Nowadays, when Puyuma adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion officiate for ancestors and spirits in the yard, it is interesting that the family members who have died in bad ways are put with the wandering spirits on the left-hand side, while ancestors who have died an ordinary death are put with the other spirits (those of the land, the heavens and so on) on the right-hand side.

74. If the 'community' is conceptualized as a household writ large, it seems reasonable that the corpses of those who have died in bad ways will not be allowed to be brought into the 'community'.

no matter whether the protagonists are members of the age organization, female Puyuma or certain specialists, a sense of 'community' is displayed. This feature is also manifested in the mortuary rites, affairs which appear to be preoccupied with the bereaved households and their kin. As we have seen, however, all these households are 'contained' by the rites held in the two greatest *karumaan* and are 'regenerated' through the *Vasivas* and *Mangayau* rites. The prominence of the 'community' in terms of its interests and welfare is also illustrated in the delaying of the *kiswap* rite for the bereaved households and particularly in the methods of dealing with cases of bad death. These (annual and mortuary) rites demonstrate the intimate relationships between individual, household and 'community', and the priority of the 'community' over the individual and the component household. Moreover, these rites (and their associated customs) also provide an important means by which the Puyuma constitute and represent their 'community' and demarcate its boundary regardless of the presence of Han-Chinese inhabitants, the unbounded territory and the flux of their daily life.

Even so, certain stories are absent from the above discussions. The ritual procedures, for instance, certainly demonstrate a ranked relationship between the two leading families and their *karumaan*, which is tightly concentrated on the construction of an indigenous 'community'. But the rites also show how these two leading families are juxtaposed with each other and cannot completely contain each other. In other words, the rites are not mere 'mechanisms' that justify the existing 'order' or 'hierarchical relationship', as so readily assumed in previous approaches; they also display internal conflicts and divisions (Dirks 1992). These characteristics become significant if we shift our focus to the ritual practitioners themselves. Although it is only a thumbnail sketch drawing together several instances that occur on different occasions, the following account illustrates the conflicts and competitions that characterize the field of the rites.⁷⁵

75. In the following chapter I will mention again some of these protagonists (particularly a specialist and a former missionary), because it is through them that we can begin to understand how an individual's ambition can be expressed in the name of the 'community', and how a

One particular specialist seemed to have become the main authority dealing with the rites regarding the 'community', after another senior specialist died in early 1994. However, he often made comments about a bamboo diviner--- who was famous and was also capable in rites and prayers--- and treated the latter as a prospective opponent. What he said about this diviner was interesting and significant: 'Because this person had not conducted rites for the "community", he was not regarded as being experienced (*alilia zimiges*),⁷⁶ although he could cast spells and was adept in ritual language'. Meanwhile, this specialist taught a middle-aged Puyuma ritual practices and spells. The latter then took the challenge and was responsible for the *Smaliki* rite of December 1994. In June 1995 when a *pubiaw* ('deer rite') was to be held in the *Pasaraat's karumaan*, this specialist was ill and could not conduct the rite himself. But he told another middle-aged Puyuma⁷⁷--- who with her mother prepared the main items (including the deer) for this rite--- to contact the above middle-aged Puyuma, rather than the others (e.g. the aforementioned bamboo diviner and a former missionary). By contrast, when another two *pubiaw* were conducted by the *Kunas* and the *Rara* before this one, this specialist was not informed; these were conducted by the bamboo diviner. Furthermore, when the question 'Where Were the Ancestors From?' was discussed and debated, the former missionary and other Puyuma visited Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* to erect a stone in memory of the ancestors. During this, the missionary cast a spell and the middle-aged man (who had prepared the *pubiaw* rite in the *Pasaraat's karumaan*) held the betel nuts. With other Puyuma as his assistants to hold the betel nuts,⁷⁸ this missionary sometimes even conducted purification rites for new cars as if he was a *kankankal*. In addition, on several occasions he showed the Puyuma a notebook he compiled in 1992, The Traditional Puyuma Beliefs

different conceptualization of the 'community' can be advocated by articulating with outside forces.

76. The word *zimiges* ('to do, or carry out') refers particularly to ritual practices. For instance, if someone feels a little uncomfortable and asks a *tamalamao* for a simple cure, the *tamalamao* will only use the *inasí* (not with the betel nuts) to pray, touch and stroke the client's body as in a healing rite. This is called *zimiges*.

77. In 1994, when the boyhood age group of the boys' house and the young members of the men's house visited the Puyuma households in sequence, they visited this man's house first, rather than the 'original stem household' of the *Pasaraat* family as usual. This man's father was a member of the *Pasaraat* and had an uxori-local marriage. Later, his parents returned to Nan-wang and were allowed by a local representative to build their house on the land where the boys' and the men's house in the north had been. This man now installed his paternal grandparents' tablet, which had formerly been worshipped by his parents, in his new house.

78. In other words, casting a spell can be separated from holding the ritual items.

from Time Immemorial and Their Relation to *Pei nan shan* (i.e., Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*) (*Ku-chin Nan-wang Pu-yu-ma ch'uan-t'ung hsin-yang yu Pei-nan-shan*), recording various kinds of ritual practices.

In this 'compiled' case, the rites are themselves obviously contested fields, because they authorize both 'ritual practitioners' (widely defined) and 'laymen' (e.g. the middle-aged man who prepared the *pubiaw* rite) to assume a privileged position concerning the 'community'. The missionary proved himself with his knowledge about these rites (both in a written document and in practice), and about the legends relating to them (e.g. the origin of the *Muraliyavan* and the place of origin of the Puyuma).⁷⁹ But it is interesting that these competitions are seldom phrased directly in terms of individual interests,⁸⁰ but rather in the name of the 'community'. The comments made by the aforementioned specialist on a bamboo diviner are illuminating. The latter now lives within the precinct of a neighbouring village (but close to Upper Nan-wang). Addressing the issue in the name of the 'community' provides an efficient means by which the opponents can be 'incorporated' into the same 'field', and in which a kind of relationship can be defined (e.g. 'senior' vs 'junior'). It is here that rites as processes become more 'profoundly integrated into the complex and shifting social worlds', more concerned with 'power/ authority of both secular and sacred kinds' as Dirks has succinctly remarked (Dirks 1992: 214, 217).

However, the above situation does not seem to have the same significance for the Puyuma who follow Western religions. Although they certainly participate in some annual rites and 'community' organizations, they have rejected and replaced not only the rites regarding the *vini*, but also the mortuary rites that are still followed by their counterparts

79. For instance, in a newsletter published in June 1996 by the Youth Association of the Puyuma the missionary reported that the protagonists to whom the Puyuma officiate with the new millet was a pair of siblings, not a married couple. And he reported that these ancestors landed on Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*, which is where the Puyuma's history began (see Chapter 8).

80. An important reason for this may relate to the Puyuma's emphasis on formality, politeness and other 'impersonal' behaviour patterns in their interactions, speech, and so on.

of the Han-Chinese folk religion, for instance, the *Makataruntarun* which deals with bad death. Moreover, their church activities are often held beyond the confines of the 'community'. In this sense, a 'community' constituted, represented and defined in ritual terms does not appear to be relevant to them. Nevertheless, the situation of the Puyuma who follow the Han-Chinese folk religion is also complicated. At first sight, the adoption of the 'ancestral tablet' and other ritual practices by these Puyuma seem to reinforce their observance of indigenous rites and customs. But at the same time, it may also transform the indigenous constitution of the house and household: for instance, installing the tablet for a family member who died in a bad way, juxtaposing it to the 'ancestral' one in the interior of the house, or even combining it with other 'ancestors' in the same tablet. What, then, do these transformations imply for the construction of an indigenous 'community'? I will address these issues in the next chapter, focusing on several important developments within this 'community'.

CHAPTER 8 PROBLEMS IN THE MAKING AND REMAKING OF A 'COMMUNITY'

In September 1993 I returned to Taiwan from London and re-started my fieldwork in Nan-wang. Although much still seemed familiar about the people and the place even after my two-year absence, I was told a new version of the Puyuma's place of origin: now it was at *Tu-luan-san* (or *Maidangan* in indigenous terms) (H-H. Lin and K-J. Chen 1994: 9-13), rather than at *Panapanayan*, a place reported by earlier studies (Sung 1965b; C-T. Tseng 1993-1994; Utsurikawa et al. 1935; Wei et al. 1965) and previously acknowledged by the Puyuma themselves (see Figure 6-2). This version was contended by a former missionary, who had been translator for a Dutch researcher in the 1950s.

In the new version the Puyuma of Nan-wang did not share their place of origin with the Puyuma of other settlements, and their dualistic features also became plain. The six leading families were depicted as being founded by six siblings, rather than being from different origins. In addition, the word Puyuma--- interpreted by the missionary as an older term meaning 'gathering together; solidarity'--- apparently referred to the fact that these six siblings had once dispersed and met again after a period of time;¹ and this term was later extended to the whole Puyuma people, including the Puyuma of Nan-wang (H-H. Lin and K-J. Chen 1994: 10).

Leaving aside the possibility that this new version reflected a personal concern,² the conflicts it has raised are certainly significant and widespread. For instance, many Puyuma maintained that the debate about

1. During a personal interview in 1994, this missionary showed me a painting hanging on the wall. Drawing on his version of the place of origin, his second son had painted this picture portraying the place where these six leading families had inhabited. The missionary added that there were some thirty households at that time.

2. As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, in 1957, led by a local representative, the Puyuma went to *Panapanayan* to fetch a branch of bamboo, and planted it on a hill near today's local junior high school. A few years later, the missionary's father committed suicide by hanging himself near this spot. After that, the missionary hired a Catholic Puyuma to cut the bamboo and throw it away.

it (which occurred in the *Mangayau* in December 1993) indicated the competition for the position of the settlement's head in a local election held in July 1994. In addition, as I heard, these conflicts were expressed either as the youth's defiance of the elders' authority,³ or as a serious misrepresentation of the 'historical authenticity' of the 'community'.

As early as 1986 I had already heard this version on various private occasions, but at that time it was so insignificant as to seem merely conversational. Why, then, did it now have these serious consequences? The new version implies a specific kind of 'community': no internal divisions, nor any relationship to the other Puyuma. The concept of a non-differentiating 'community' was reminiscent of one that some Puyuma had previously advocated (see Chapter 3). But why did this emphasis on the 'closure' of an indigenous 'community' raise so many internal controversies and conflicts?

As I mentioned in the last chapter, an indigenous 'community' can nowadays be defined and represented in terms of rites and customs. Obviously though, those cannot be observed by Western religious followers: so what kinds of 'community' do their activities imply? The situation of the Puyuma households adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion has also become complicated, when Han-Chinese 'ancestral tablets' and deity images preoccupied by individual households have gradually replaced the notions about *vini*-- an important feature by which certain households are connected and through which they subordinate themselves to the two leading families in the name of the 'community'. What, then, are the consequences of this replacement for an indigenous 'community' defined by and represented in rites?

In the rest of this chapter I will firstly describe the distribution of various religious divisions among Puyuma households: in other words, the followers of the Han-Chinese folk religion, the Presbyterians and the Catholics. I would argue that comparing them with each other will not only illustrate how the features characterizing a house and a household (see Chapter 4) are variously transformed: it also will shed some light on

3. The establishment of the Association for Cultural Development by the Youth of the Puyuma of Nan-wang illustrates this tension well; see later.

the implications of these transformations for the construction and maintenance of an indigenous 'community'. Secondly, I will address the new version of the place of origin and discuss its implications (and the conflicts it has raised) for the 'community'. We find here that while the elderly association can provide a 'valve' imposing behaviour restraints on followers of Western religions, it is itself a contested field for ambitious individuals. In other words, what is demonstrated is a picture full of contests and conflicts among varieties of 'authority' and 'power', both 'internal' (i.e., the elders, leading families, and specialists) and 'external' (i.e., the position of the settlement's head). And the perpetual problem behind it all is the making and re-making of an indigenous 'community'.

A 'Community': Views from Different Religious Divisions⁴

Considering the complexity of 'conversion', 'vernacularization', 'syncretism' and so on in anthropological studies (cf. Stewart and Shaw 1994), a rigid categorization of religious divisions will certainly have shortcomings. For instance, it may neglect the fact that in actual situations not every believer of the same religious division has the same attitude towards their religious activities, and that religious followers can 'synthesize' various religious practices and realize them in different ways for their own ends.⁵ Furthermore, treating the household as a coherent unit in its religious activities may ignore the fact that its

4. A Puyuma in his early fifties often expressed surprise at my participation in church services of both Western religious divisions, which did not seem to relate to my study of Puyuma customs. His response suggests that if the 'community' is ritually defined, those Puyuma who do not follow the rules for behaviour become questionable regarding the definition of the *Puyuma* (see below). In my following descriptions I do not make value judgements about whether or not activities undertaken by the Puyuma of different religious divisions are appropriate. Instead, my main concern is with indicating the paradoxes inherent in the 'community'. I apologize if these discussions cause further misunderstandings or controversies, a situation that seems unavoidable considering the general thrust of my thesis.

5. As Show and Stuart (1994) vividly point out, in studies on 'syncretism' it is problematic to ascribe agency to religious sects rather than to the religious participants themselves.

members actually consist of various religious divisions, a feature that has been characteristic of the Puyuma people (e.g. Schroder 1967; Suenari 1970; Sung 1964: 75; see also Chiao 1973).⁶

Problematic as it may seem, categorizing the Puyuma households into various religious divisions does offer us a good starting point to enquire as to which of their activities regarding the house (e.g. about the *viní*) are specific, and therefore what their implications are for issues regarding the 'community' (e.g. the boundary). Generally speaking, customs and rites concerning the house (household) and the 'community' are mostly observed by the Puyuma households adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion, decline in their Catholic counterparts, and are least followed by the Presbyterian households.

Puyuma households of the Han-Chinese folk religion

Nowadays, more than four fifths (179 out of 218) of Puyuma households⁷ in Nan-wang can be defined as adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion in terms of the installation of Chinese deity images and/or ancestral tablets, or judging from their observance of rites and customs

6. Indeed, if we address the actual situation (see below), there are not just three clear-cut religious divisions. In order to avoid the assumption that the Puyuma of various religious divisions must have clear pictures about the religions they accept (i.e., kinds of orthodoxies), in the following discussion (and throughout this thesis) I instead use terms like 'the Han-Chinese', the 'Presbyterians' and the 'Catholics' and other religious branches as descriptive, but without suggesting something essential. The Han-Chinese folk religion is no exception to this (cf. Y-K Huang and C-R. Yeh 1997). In addition, except for some information that I feel will be helpful in illuminating the issues I am concerned with in this thesis, I would rather leave the important, but complicated, issue about the 'conversion' of different religious branches to my further studies.

7. These figures include only households consisting of Puyuma and their (Puyuma and non-Puyuma) marrying-in spouses, excluding those composed of non-Puyuma and their marrying-in Puyuma spouses. Unless further explanations are needed, this kind of calculation is also applied to the other two religious divisions.

(if the aforementioned two features are absent).⁸ Although the Puyuma (esp. the elders) realize that these features are newly introduced,⁹ and make distinctions between autochthonous ritual practices and ones accompanying this religion, the households of this category follow some of the latter's ritual practices and regulations. For instance, many aspects of the funeral ceremony are now conducted and prayed over by Han-Chinese experts--- from putting the corpse into the coffin to burying the dead in the cemetery--- even though the *kiswap* rite is followed and carried out by the *tamalamao*.

In a sense, the Puyuma households of this category display a kind of 'syncretism' and 'option and flexibility' (cf. Chiao 1973). Or, more properly, it is a kind of appropriation (cf. Chapter 4, note 31) through which these households still adhere to certain customs regarding the house and the 'community', and by which they differentiate themselves from their Western religious counterparts.¹⁰ Nevertheless, accompanying this process of appropriation are changes in indigenous notions about the 'deceased' and the 'house'; consequently notions about the 'community' have been simultaneously shaped and transformed. It is this 'appropria-

8. For instance, some branched households have not yet installed the 'ancestral tablets', or the Chinese deity images. However, they can be included in this category because they follow similar regulations and participate in rites regarding the 'community' as those households who do possess one or both of the aforementioned features.

9. As I have noted on several occasions, the way in which the Puyuma have installed their 'ancestral tablets' is different from that of the Han-Chinese, who often duplicate one from their natal households when they divide. When they lived in the Peinan area, several Puyuma households--- for instance, the *Konkwang*, *Mabaliyu*, *Masikat*, *Rara*, *Taliyalep*, and *Tamalakaw*--- had 'ancestral tablets' because some of their ancestors were Han-Chinese. Even so, this did not mean that every branched household installed a tablet. On the contrary, many of them installed it only after the death of household members. In addition, the Puyuma say that the acceptance of Han-Chinese deity images came later than that of 'ancestral tablets', and was widespread only after the 1950s.

10. The Puyuma call the Han-Chinese folk religion *paipai* ('worshipping' in Mandarin) or *Vukyu* ('Buddhism' in Japanese), Catholicism *Tianshiukyu* (in Japanese) and Presbyterianism *Kiristo* (in Japanese). However, the Puyuma adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion often use the term *shinzia* ('believers' in Japanese) when referring to the Christians.

tion-cum-transformation' characteristic that I shall discuss in the following section, particularly regarding the installation of the 'ancestral tablet'--- which not only sheds light on the Puyuma's notion of the constitution of a house, but also demonstrates that some important changes about it (and the 'community', to some extent) are underway.¹¹

The 'Ancestral Tablet'

The Puyuma call the 'ancestral tablet' *patengazawan* or *katazegiyan*.¹² Nowadays, out of 179 households fifteen do not install tablets: instead, 'ancestral tablets' are kept in places inhabited by close kin (e.g. parents, siblings, or children).¹³ Twenty-seven of the remaining 164 households have two or more tablets, which consist of (A) twenty-two cases, all of which have one tablet for the 'ancestors' of the house and another for deceased household members, and (B) five cases, each of which has one tablet for the 'ancestors' of the house and another for those of a 'marrying-in'¹⁴ spouse (see Table 8-1). It is through these twenty-seven cases that several important points can be further demonstrated.

Let me begin with the 'simpler' column B. When two 'ancestral tablets' are installed, those for the marrying-in spouses' 'ancestors' (or parents) are not installed along with those for 'ancestors' of houses. Instead, they

11. To my knowledge, the most coherent study about the implications of the Puyuma's installation of the 'ancestral tablet' was undertaken by Suenari (1970, 1983, 1994, 1995; see also Chiao 1989). Nevertheless, there are certain serious shortcomings in his arguments. I will come back to this issue in the concluding chapter (see also Chapters 2 and 4).

12. *Katengazao* means 'to sit down', while *zegi* means 'rites, ritual prohibitions'. The act of installing an 'ancestral tablet' is called *patengazao*.

13. For instance: a couple live with their second son and daughter-in-law in a new house, and give their old house to the 'family of procreation' of his first son, where the 'ancestral tablet' and the Chinese deity image are installed. Similarly: a couple move to a new house and leave the old one for their divorced daughter, where the 'ancestral tablet' and the Chinese deity image are installed.

14. With the exception of one case (see Table 8-1, note 4), the other four are obviously cases where another tablet has been installed for the marrying-in spouse's 'ancestors'.

Table 8-1 The Distribution of 'Ancestral Tablets' among the Puyuma Households Adhering to the Han-Chinese Folk Religion

Category ¹	A				others	B
	two spouses		one spouse			
	a	b	marrying-in a	not marrying-in b		
Number	6	0	5	2	4 ²	5 ³
	6		7		4	5
Total	22					5

note:

1. A: one tablet for 'ancestors', another for a family member.
B: two lines of 'ancestral tablets'.
a: uxori-local marriage; that is, the deceased were male.
b: viri-local marriage; that is, the deceased were female.
2. All four cases were male Puyuma who had married virilocally; with one exception the other three were 'bad deaths' (one in a car accident, one by being drowned, and one by committing suicide). Although I tried to find out why the tablet of the deceased of the exceptional case was separate from his 'ancestral' one, I could not acquire any further information, even from the deceased's wife.
3. Two cases were unmarried young male Puyuma, both of whom had died overseas working as crew, and had pensions. It was said that their installation was due to the trouble their spirits caused to the families.
4. Two cases have three tablets. In one case, apart from two tablets for both partners' 'ancestors' (parents), one is for an unmarried son, whose spirit asked his family to install a tablet for him. Thereafter, one of his younger brothers' sons undertook this responsibility. This table is juxtaposed to the 'ancestral tablet' in the parlor, but the tablet was installed facing towards the wall rather than the front door; its direction was changed a few years later. The other case is a man formerly living in his wife's house, who returned with his wife to his natal home to take care of his mother. Meanwhile, his wife brought his mother-in-law's tablet (his mother-in-law's first husband was divorced and was not available to be worshipped). At that time, his mother-in-law's tablet was installed in another nearby house. When he died and his family moved to their present two-storey building, his and his mother-in-law's tablets were put on the first floor, while his 'ancestral tablet' was put on the ground floor.

are put in other places: either in the yard where a small building is specifically erected, in a nearby house, or on another floor. It is notable that the elders explain this kind of 'separation' in terms of *vini* (i.e., *ali mukasa la vini*). In other words, 'ancestors' (or parents) of both partners (particularly the marrying-in spouse's) cannot be worshipped in the same house because they do not have the same *vini* (see Chapter 4, particularly case 20). Although other explanations are also offered and have their implications (see below),¹⁵ the method of dealing with two lines of 'ancestral tablets' reveals the significance of the indigenous notions about the *vini* in the construction of a house (and household) and in its spatial arrangement.

The functioning of autochthonous notions is similarly found in the cases in column A. For instance, there are no cases in which tablets for spouses of multiple marriages are put together. Instead, one spouse (i.e., the second marrying-in one) is worshipped with a separate tablet--- which one day will be taken away and worshipped by his (or her) own offspring--- while the tablet for another spouse (i.e., the first marrying-in one) is put together with the 'ancestral' one. This feature is found in all six cases,¹⁶ and suggests the significance of couple relations in indigenous terms (see Chapter 5). However, the situation is becoming complicated and a kind of 'appropriation-cum-transformation' appears when we shift our attention to other categories in column A (and certainly some of the cases in column B).

15. For instance, I was told by a woman in her early sixties: 'I heard the Han-Chinese say that it was not good to worship the marrying-in spouse's ancestors'. She then cited a misfortune her fictive younger brother's family had suffered to prove it. As I will discuss below, the replacement of the Puyuma notions about the house, the *vini* and so on with 'ancestral tablets' and Chinese deity images is a remarkable transformation unfolding in individual households.

16. This does not mean that there are only six re-married cases, but that there are six examples in which we find the installation of another tablet for the second spouse. In a sense, this situation is very different from the 'ordinary' Han-Chinese cases. The case of a male elder provides an illustration. He has married three times, all virilocal marriages. As he told me, the tablet for his first wife was put with the 'ancestral' one, while that for his second wife was put in a temple. Now he lives with his third wife (see Chapter 5, note 39).

Let us first look at the category (comprising seven cases) in which deceased marrying-in spouses are worshipped with separate tablets, rather like many other cases nowadays--- one year¹⁷ after their death the tablet for the deceased will be combined with that of the 'ancestors' of the house into which s/he married. Several reasons were given by the Puyuma for this separation: for instance, discord with one's parent(s)-in-law when one was alive; that it was shameful to be combined with 'ancestors' of the house when the partner was still alive; and so.

Something interesting emerges if we make certain comparisons within these seven cases: while five deceased out of the seven cases were marrying-in males, only two were marrying-in females. Interestingly, combination seems to have been considered with respect to the latter two cases. For instance, I was told in one case by the husband of the deceased that because his father had died in a 'bad way', he thought it incorrect to combine his wife's tablet with his parents'. In another case the tablet of the deceased was firstly combined with her husband's 'ancestral' one but was later divided, because some misfortune which occurred to the family was attributed to this combination. However, considerations like the above did not occur in the former five cases.

This contrast suggests that marrying-in males may be more 'slowly' incorporated than females into the houses into which they have married.¹⁸ In distinction to another category consisting of four 'non-marrying-in' cases (see Table 8-1, note 2), it seems that regardless of sex, people who had died of 'natural causes' and who had not married in are more readily worshipped along with the 'ancestors' of houses than

17. Generally speaking, in the Han-Chinese custom the tablet for a deceased person will be put with the ancestral one after a year. But I have found many cases in Nan-wang of Han-Chinese experts conducting the funeral rites for the Puyuma; some of them often doing this during the 'forty-nine days' ceremony. Even though this practice was privately criticized by other Han-Chinese experts, the Puyuma seemed to follow the instructions of the experts when they asked them to conduct the rites.

18. This contrast was particularly revealed in the following two cases. In 1992 two male elders died, both of whom had uxrilocal marriages. Their tablets were separate from and juxtaposed to their wives' 'ancestral tablets'. It was notable that while one household adhered to the Han-Chinese folk religion, the other was Catholic.

their marrying-in counterparts.¹⁹ These cases clearly illustrate the indigenous treatment of marrying-in people, and their relationship to the houses into which they have married (see Chapter 4).

However, the distinction between males and females who have married in suggests that some changes of attitudes towards the house (and household) may be in train--- if the practices for the elders (see note 18) are considered to be more autochthonous. That is, if previously the female Puyuma usually stayed in their natal homes (practicing uxorilocal marriage) and supervised their *vini* (i.e., *zimiges la vini*),²⁰ virilocal marriage should have raised important questions: should the husband take care of the *vini* of the house himself, or should his marrying-in wife do it, if there were no other female members remaining at home (e.g. a mother-in-law)? Both alternatives display a combination of continuity and change. If the first alternative is chosen, continuity is manifested by a born household member's supervision of the *vini*, and change by a male rather than a female performing this function.²¹ If the latter alternative

19. I once had a conversation with a male specialist in his seventies, and mentioned that a household of my acquaintance had combined a deceased male elder's tablet with his parents-in-law's. Because this elder had an uxorilocal marriage, the specialist replied 'How is it possible? If a marrying-in person (i.e., *musavak*) has died, the tablet cannot be combined with the ancestors of the house into which he married until three years have passed'. And he told me that I had to verify the story. Later, I had a chance to ask this elder's daughter and was told that the 'ancestral tablet' was for her father's parents, not for her mother's.

20. When I asked the Puyuma why the females supervised the *vini*, I was told that it was because males were characterized by their 'incessant movement' (i.e., going in and out). But it was notable that, as recounted by several female elders, when they were still very young (a year or so old) they were chosen by bamboo divination to take care of the *vini* of their houses when grown. It was thus presupposed that these chosen females had to conduct uxorilocal marriages when they grew up. Moreover, I had seen and been told that when the *pubiaw* rite was conducted, millet (or hill-rice) and the internal organs of deer were mixed, and a female member of the family who supervised the rites concerning the *vini* in the *karumaan* fed them to her male counterpart (also a member of this family, even he had married out). Then the man fed the woman; and this act was repeated three times (see also Hung 1981: 80).

21. This distinction is still recognized on several occasions. For instance, a female elder in her eighties died in 1994, but her children did not

was chosen, change was manifested by a marrying-in member supervising the *vini* and continuity by a female doing it.²²

This complexity is displayed in other sub-categories in column A, particularly the installation of tablets for those who died in 'bad ways'. By 1995 there were seven such cases (see Table 8-1, notes 2, 3 and 4).²³ Indeed, installing separate tablets for 'bad deaths' illustrates that the Puyuma still make a distinction between a 'normal death' and a 'bad death', a feature that is manifested in a rite held in the yard (called *senbah*)--- in which offerings for the spirits of the deceased who have died in 'bad ways' are put with those for wandering spirits on the left-hand side, while those for the spirits of 'normal death' and for indigenous deities are on the right-hand side. If we consider the methods by which the Puyuma have dealt with people who have died in 'bad ways' (see Chapter 7), however, installing these tablets in houses--- let alone

conduct the *kivulas la vini* rite. When her husband died a year earlier, however, they did. This female elder had a virilocal marriage; in other words, she was not a natal member of the house she married into. In another case, it was a male Puyuma who supervised the *vini* rather than his marrying-in wife; he did not have any female siblings.

22. Admittedly, I do not have enough data to propose or argue the theoretical significance of virilocal marriage for the construction of an indigenous house, even though certain middle-aged women who conducted kind of this marriage did express their feelings about it (cf. Chapter 5).

23. Another case occurred in a Catholic household (see later). There were several cases in which tablets for the deceased had been combined after a period of time. Although the *makataruntarun* rite is usually observed by the Puyuma to deal with their family members who have died in 'bad ways', variations exist. For instance, a male Puyuma in his mid-fifties once told me that the way in which he had dealt with his father-in-law's tablet might no longer be observed. The latter died more than a decade ago, and his tablet was not taken into the house and combined with his 'ancestral' one until a year after his death--- during which time it had been put in a place in the yard. In addition, while there are other cases in which tablets for the deceased (regardless of marriage patterns) have been separately installed for more than a decade, there is an extreme contrasting case in which the tablet was combined only forty-nine days after the individual's death (see the following case in the main text). In spite of these variations, it is common nowadays for a provisional tablet for the deceased (if they were married and had offspring) to be taken into the house immediately after the *kiswap* rite.

combining them with 'ancestral' ones after a period of time--- suggests significant changes.

In a sense, the installation of this kind of tablet in the house exemplifies a Han-Chinese influence, particularly that of the Han-Chinese experts who have prayed for bereaved households.

A male Puyuma was drowned in southwestern Taiwan. Because his family could not find his corpse, they buried his clothes and certain personal items. After the burial, they conducted the *makataruntarun* rite. Forty-nine days after his death, his family asked a Han-Chinese expert to carry out a rite to add a wooden board on which his name had been written, and put in the 'ancestral' tablet. Later, it was reported that all was not well with his family; for instance, disturbing sounds had been heard at midnight. Having conducted a bamboo divination, the family asked a *tamalamao* to carry out a rite. In this rite, the wooden board was taken away from the 'ancestral tablet'; the invited *tamalamao* asked the family to put a table in the yard, and invoked the spirit of the deceased to come into the newly-bought tablet. After this, the new tablet (for the male Puyuma) was put near the 'ancestral' one, facing the wall obliquely rather than the front door. Later, I asked this *tamalamao* how long it would be before this tablet could be combined with the 'ancestral' one. She replied that it depended on the family's attitude. When I asked her whether tablets of those who had died in 'bad ways' could also be combined, she said: 'Wasn't my younger' brother's tablet combined with my "ancestors"'s ?' Her younger brother had died fighting for the Japanese regime in Southeast Asia.

The above case demonstrates that some indigenous customs and notions are still functioning, and it also shows that installing such a tablet in the house near the 'ancestral' one is an accepted pattern nowadays. But I find the case of this *tamalamao*'s younger brother interesting, as it illustrates another important feature--- installing tablets for people who died unmarried but left some money.²⁴

'*Uniyān warak, uniyān papakan*' is the phrase the elders often used to refer to a person's dying without offspring (even if they were married). It literally means 'without child(ren), without being fed

24. When I began my fieldwork in Nan-wang in 1985, I discovered that a separate tablet near the 'ancestral one' had been installed for her younger brother. But in the late 1980s, a new 'ancestral tablet' was bought to include the former 'ancestral' one with her brother's. The wherewithal for this was a sum of money (compensation for her younger brother's death from the Japanese government) which she had received.

(worshipped)'. Thus, the aforementioned *tamalamao*'s brother's case and other cases (e.g. Table 8-1, notes 3 and 4) exemplify something interesting. Even though certain acts demonstrate that the indigenous notions are still functioning,²⁵ and notwithstanding the relationship between worship and inheritance,²⁶ installing tablets for young people who died unmarried or without offspring--- but leaving some property--- suggests another kind of change.

So the cases in Table 8-1 suggest that some significant changes are underway. But as I will discuss below, the implications of installing 'ancestral tablets' and Han-Chinese deity images are not only demonstrated in these (twenty-seven) 'specific cases' but also in 'normal ones' in which only one 'ancestral tablet' is installed. Moreover, the consequences are not limited to the sphere of an individual house (household), but are also demonstrated in this household's relationship to the 'community'. That is, due to the installation of 'ancestral tablets' and Han-Chinese deity images, not only is the 'individualization' of a house (household) emphasized and reinforced, but the interests of the 'community' are sometimes put second to those of the house (household).

As I have discussed in Chapter 4, a Puyuma household was characterized by two significant items, *pinamuder* and *vinz*; while the former displayed the independence of a house (household), it was through the latter that households were connected, and were subordinated to the two greatest *karumaan* in terms of 'communal rites' concerning the *vini*. However, it is notable that while 147 out of 179 Puyuma households (82.1%) adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion still install *pinamuder*,²⁷

25. For instance, this kind of tablet is usually angled obliquely towards the wall, rather than facing the front door as an 'ancestral tablet' does. Moreover, worship of it is usually undertaken by the younger generation (e.g. Table 8-1, note 4) or by the younger sibling(s) of the deceased.

26. During my fieldwork I often heard that the installation or duplication of one's parents' tablet was related to the inheritance of property. There were also cases in which the branched Puyuma households did not duplicate the tablet (called *kisbah la abu*) because they did not have a share in the property of their natal households.

27. Among the remaining thirty-two cases that do not have *pinamuder*, four houses are rented, and eight are new ones. Even though these

only thirty-nine households (21.8%) keep *vini*,²⁸ including eight cases whose housemistresses are *tamalamao*.²⁹ This figure suggests that while the significance of an individual house (household) is still recognized, the mechanism connecting households is in decline.

In a sense, the indigenous notion of *vini* is intimately related to, and can be expressed (if not represented) by, the installation of the 'ancestral tablet'--- which is well illustrated by the prohibition of two lines of 'ancestral tablets' in the same house.³⁰ Even so, the connection between households in terms of *vini* has become obscure, partly because of the decline of the *vini* in individual households, and partly because

houses do not have *pinamuder*, the *smirap* rite was conducted before the families moved into them. The main reasons for non-installation of a *pinamuder* are the families' apprehensions about the inconvenience which might ensue, should they participate in funeral rites or other ill-omened occasions.

28. Apart from this, one Catholic household keeps *vini*, while a Catholic elder kept the wooden material of *alili* after her conversion. A fuller description of the first case is necessary. The housemistress told me that in the early 1980s she was considering installing a Han-Chinese deity image in her new house. When she visited a bamboo diviner, however, she was told that her foster mother's ancestors did not approve: so she only installed an 'ancestral tablet' in the house. This is an 'original stem household' that formerly supervised a 'private' *karumaan*. Her foster mother was a Catholic, who had converted as early as 1963 and died in 1992. Although the *karumaan* was abandoned when the family converted to Catholicism, *vini* is still kept up to now.

29. There are only two *tamalamao* in Nan-wang who do not cultivate millet and keep *vini*. The reason for one *tamalamao*'s abandoning of this was due to her tutor's having been a *Puyuma* of Murivurivuk, where there was no such custom. The other *tamalamao*, initiated in the early 1990s, told me that she did not do it because there were *alili* and *vini* in her nearby foster parents' house which she could ask for if necessary. She now lives with her mainlander husband.

30. Nowadays the cases of *Puyuma* living in two- or three-storey houses are increasing. It is notable that each floor of these houses is sectioned off, and different lines of 'ancestral tablets' may be separately installed on the various floors (see Table 8-1, note 4). This spatial compartmentalization is also reflected in the spatial distribution of the house, the yard and the main gate, and the changes that have occurred to them (see Chapter 4).

the Puyuma seldom duplicate an 'ancestral tablet'.³¹ Furthermore, the installation of people who have died in 'bad ways', but were married with offspring, has become notable: although the deceased of this kind were formerly excluded by both their houses and the 'community', they are now included by their families³² even if they are still excluded by the 'community'. When the 'individualization' of a household has developed to a certain extent, however, the breaching of some customs concerning the 'community's interests becomes unavoidable.

In July 1994 a male young Puyuma died in a car accident. Although his corpse was put in a city funeral parlor where the funeral rite was conducted by Han-Chinese experts and his family observed the *makataruntarun*, they asked Han-Chinese experts to install a provisional tablet for him under the eaves of his house, and they went to and fro between the house (inside the 'community') and the funeral parlor (outside the 'community'). But the most remarkable thing was that his family and accompanying kin re-entered the 'community' without being purified by *kankankal* and *tamalamao* at a place some way from the southern entrance of the 'community'. It was said that due to a serious flood the bereaved family and its accompanying kin entered the 'community', although they remained at *wakasayan* (the site of today's meeting house) and asked some people to inform the specialists. After a discussion, these people returned to a place outside the 'community', and entered again after the purification rites had been conducted.

Although some rites were later conducted to rectify it, re-entering the 'community' in this way contradicted the regulations imposed on the 'community's boundary'.³³

31. In this regard, it is probable that the individuality of each household is more emphasized, even if *vini* is still taken into account. I heard varying opinions about the relationships between households holding the same *vini*. For instance, some elders said that when a person died all the households holding the same *vini* should visit the bereaved household without serious ritual prohibition, while others held that some avoidance was needed, particularly for those households not in the immediate vicinity.

32. Nevertheless, judging by the *kiswap* rite (and the *senbah* rite in the yard) it seems that these deceased are not included in their houses along with their 'ancestors'.

33. I heard some *tamalamao* say: 'What is the point of conducting these rites, when they have already entered the "community"?' A few months after this case occurred, the wife of a male specialist--- who had

On the other hand, although *pinamuder* is still widely installed (more so than *vini*), its significance (as well as that of *vini*) seems to be decreasing for the younger generation. Instead, the importance of 'ancestral tablets' and Han-Chinese deities are emphasized; both of them demonstrate the 'individuality' of a house (household).

A woman in her sixties had suffered discomfort for a long time. A bamboo diviner attributed it to her family's neglect of the *vini*. She then built an *alili* outdoors. This *alili* had not been carefully supervised, and the area around it was a place where newspapers and other items were stored. One day, I heard this woman's eldest son's wife (in her late thirties) say: 'It does not matter at all if my husband has a rest in the parlour on the ground floor when he comes back from visiting a bereaved family, because the *shen-ming* (Chinese deity image) and the 'ancestral tablet' are installed on the second floor'. She also told me that her husband would not go upstairs to the second floor if he was drunk or had not yet taken a bath. I was surprised that she did not mention the *alili*, or the *pinamuder* which was installed on the first floor.

Several other cases demonstrate even more poignantly than the one above both the significance of the Han-Chinese deity image (*shen ming*), and the replacement of Puyuma ritual practices with Han-Chinese ones.

A male Puyuma in his early forties once told me that although his house was rented from a Han-Chinese, he had asked indigenous specialists to conduct the *smirap* rite and install a *pinamuder*. As he said, 'Even though this house is not mine, I still need to carry out these rites, because of the installation of *shen-ming* ('the Chinese deities').

A female Puyuma in her late forties had lived with her husband and children in southwestern Taiwan for a long time. A few years ago they came back to Nan-wang, and as hawkers they sold shoes in Nan-wang and the vicinity. One day her mother died, and she stayed in her natal house until the funeral rite was accomplished. After the funeral, I came across her and her husband in her mother-in-law's house. I was so surprised that I asked her if the *kiswap* rite for her mother had been conducted; otherwise, surely they should remain in her natal house? She replied, 'Never mind, I have burnt a paper charm given me by a Han-Chinese

mediated in this case and himself conducted a purification rite for the bereaved family--- was ill. A *tamalamao* traced the illness to the specialist's handling of this case. It was noticeable that in the healing rite for this specialist's wife, betel nuts were included representing both the boys' and the men's houses, the *dirwazekal* ('sacred stone') and the *saliki* ('boundary' of the 'community').

expert in a basin of water, and we have purified ourselves with this water. So we are clean now, and we can come here'.

The installation of the Han-Chinese deity image can become an important necessity for installing an 'ancestral tablet'.³⁴ A case in which a male Puyuma re-converted from Presbyterianism to an acceptance of the 'ancestral tablet' vividly demonstrates this situation.

A male Puyuma in his early sixties was formerly a Presbyterian. In 1994 he decided to install an 'ancestral tablet' for his house. (Although he explained to me that he had decided that one should worship one's ancestors, I was told by other Puyuma that this installation was related to his long-term illness. He died of cancer in mid-1996). However, he did not duplicate an 'ancestral tablet' from his younger brother's nearby house, probably because they were on bad terms. Instead, he bought himself a tablet and wrote his ancestral names on it. However, he did not get better. His family then employed a *tamalamao*, who divined that the spirits of the ancestors had not come into the tablet. So a *tamalamao* was invited to invoke the spirits of the ancestors. But this *tamalamao* replied that no Han-Chinese deity image was installed in the man's house: without the help of these deities' help ancestral spirits could not come into the tablet. Because the man insisted that he would not install a Han-Chinese deity image, the *tamalamao* finally conducted the rite without reference to the Chinese deity. Later, I came across this man and he told me why he would not consider installing a Han-Chinese deity image. 'To my mind,' he said, 'the worshipping of ancestors is a descendant's obligation. However, the Han-Chinese deity image is something introduced by the Han-Chinese; it is not autochthonous. How can I reject something colonialist like Presbyterianism on one hand, but accept another sort of colonialism like the Han-Chinese folk religion on the other?'³⁵

34. To my knowledge, by 1995 only two Puyuma households adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion had installed an 'ancestral tablet' without the accompanying Han-Chinese deity image. One was the following case, where a middle-aged male Puyuma had re-converted from Presbyterianism and installed an 'ancestral tablet'. The other case was a house inhabited by a male specialist. This specialist died in 1994 and the funeral rite was carried out in a 'traditional' way that I had not seen previously. No Han-Chinese experts were invited; instead, the process and its associated prayers and spells were conducted by another specialist.

35. He once showed me a genealogical grid of his family that he had compiled, and a book in which he had written instructions on dealing with his death. For instance, he noted that his funeral had to be carried out in an indigenous way: not only should *tamalamao* be invited to conduct the rite, the music played during the funeral should follow the tune of the old Puyuma songs. His younger daughter is a student of anthropology.

In a sense, the aforementioned *tamalamao*'s opinion can be seen as a kind of appropriation, if we have known that the Puyuma refer to the deity image as *Tu-ti-kong* (i.e., 'Earth God' in the Chinese Pantheon) and interpret this deity as *Mialup* ('the deity of the land' in indigenous beliefs), which is always referred to at the beginning of casting a spell.³⁶ Even so, significant differences exist: for instance, while the latter is invoked outside the house, the former is installed inside it and constitutes an inseparable part of a house.

In other words, this appropriation (and that of other Han-Chinese customs) constitutes a kind of constraint not just for ordinary Puyuma, but also for indigenous specialists.³⁷ Although at first sight the significance of 'ancestral tablets' and Han-Chinese deity images may seem to be confined to the individual person and the household, they become issues of importance to the 'community' if certain rites concerning the 'community' are neglected by the specialists--- due to their consideration of the 'ancestral tablets' and Chinese deity images in their houses. This situation is well illustrated in the following case.³⁸

36. *Mialup* is an indigenous deity of the land, or the 'place' (*alup* means 'field, hunting field'). When they arrive and start to cast a spell, the specialists refer to this deity's name at the outset.

37. For example, in celebrating their annual rite in 1993, a *tamalamao* was not present because it was not yet been forty-nine days since her husband's death. I was told by this *tamalamao* that she had inherited two *kinitalian* (one from Nan-wang, the other from another Puyuma settlement), and that the annual celebration of *tamalamao* in the latter was in lunar July. Because lunar July was 'ghost month' in the Han-Chinese view, she changed the date to a day in lunar August when she conducted a celebration for her *kinitalian* she had succeeded from this settlement.

38. A case related to the male specialists was also notable. In December 1993 when the Puyuma were preparing for the coming of the new year, some annual purification rites had to be carried out. At that time, because a two-storey cement building had been newly established as the Puyuma's men's house, male specialists had to install a *ruum* ('talismán') inside it. Two sets of betel nuts were prepared, representing two former men's houses. I was struck by the fact that a specialist used a Han-Chinese scale to measure the length and height of two small wooden boxes, inside which two sets of betel nuts would be put. This measure--- often used by Han-Chinese carpenters--- had Chinese characters indicating which length was auspicious and which was not.

It was close to the Chinese Lunar New Year of 1995. A young female Puyuma died in a car accident. As a rule, her family conducted the *makataruntarun* rite. On the third day (Chinese New Year's Eve), the bereaved family and its accompanying kin approached a place some distance away from the southern entrance of the 'community', where they had to be purged of uncleanness by *kankankal* and *tamalamao*. However, while some male elders arrived there, no *tamalamao* was present. The excuse for their absence was that they were busy cleaning their own 'ancestral tablets' and Chinese deity images for the Lunar New Year, and that it was bad to conduct this rite at this time. Therefore the male specialists who were present conducted the rite, and after this the bereaved family and their near kin re-entered the 'community'. They camped out in the rear of the house and waited until January 2 for some *tamalamao* to arrive and conduct the *kiswap* rite.

To sum up: the Puyuma households adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion and its associated rites and customs display a complicated feature of 'appropriation-cum-transformation'. When these 'introduced' customs and rites impose constraints of behaviour on the Puyuma regarding the households and the 'community', this can both shape the way in which they constitute their houses (households) and have some consequences for the 'community'. In other words, the installation of 'ancestral tablets' and Chinese deity images reinforces the 'individualization' and significance of the individual households more than ever, and in some respects replaces the indigenous notions about *vini* (and even *pinamuder*) are substituted in some respects. These changes also suggest that Han-Chinese experts³⁹ may replace the indigenous specialists usually thought of as the keepers of the indigenous customs,⁴⁰ among whom similar situations are found.

39. On several occasions, for instance, I found that invited Han-Chinese experts had attached Chinese paper charms to spears erected at the front doors of bereaved households. The Puyuma will usually erect a spear, *gudang*, if a household member dies: they explain that in former times the spear was used to prevent the enemy from taking away the head of the deceased.

40. Even if she does not provide persuasive data in her main text (merely appending a note to the end of the English summary), Hung (1976: 57) states that the *tamalamao* in Nan-wang are 'the group of people who [exercising] the persisting force of maintaining the old social rules in the wake of overwhelming impact yielded by acculturation with the dominant Chinese culture representing by the Minnan Chinese live near-by'. Nevertheless, as I have mentioned above, it seems problematic to take her opinion for granted.

If we shift our focus to the two leading families supervising the two greatest *karumaan*, we will see other changes. Up to the present, these two *karumaan* are the 'community's ritual locales (see Chapters 4 and 7). But it is notable that while the 'original stem household' supervising the *Pasaraat's karumaan* has converted to Catholicism and pays little attention to the rites conducted there, its southern counterpart has followed the Han-Chinese folk religion since the turn of the century--- some of its ancestors are ancestors Han-Chinese--- and has installed a 'traditional' kind of 'ancestral tablet'.

As I have mentioned throughout this thesis, the *Pasaraat's karumaan* is the greatest one in this 'community', and represents the 'community' in some rites. The fact that the household supervising it has converted to Catholicism explains why some rites are no longer conducted in this household but in that of the *Rara*. For instance, the enaction of a curing rite by a newly initiated *tamalamao* for a member of the leading family is now only conducted in the 'original stem household' of the *Rara* family, no matter where the *tamalamao's lalauinan* is built (cf. Chapter 3, note 18).

Probably perceiving this problem, in 1993 some members of the elders' association--- all of them were adherents of the Han-Chinese folk religion --- ordered the right of supervising the *Pasaraat's karumaan* to be transferred to a male Puyuma.⁴¹ Even if this transfer provided a solution, the decision made by the leaders of the elders' association suggests that the role of the age organization, particularly the elderly grade, has become more important nowadays, and needs further investigation. That is, this indigenous organization provides some important counters to the problems confronting the Puyuma in their present attempts to construct a 'community'. However, this organization itself becomes a contested field: not only is there a competition for some of its important positions, but conflicts also occur between certain elders and some local agency representing the administrative system introduced from outside.

41. Although his father had an uxorilocal marriage, this middle-aged Puyuma has now installed his paternal grandparents' tablet. His paternal grandmother was the sister of the housemistress's foster mother, who remained at home and supervised the *karumaan*.

Although the above case concerns the household supervising the *karumaan*, it shows that the Catholics (and the Presbyterians) constitute a problem for the 'community' defined in ritual terms. I will come to these two Western religious affiliations in the following sections.

The Catholic Puyuma households

Although the Puyuma households which follow the Han-Chinese folk religion are becoming more 'individualistic' due to the installation of 'ancestral tablets' and Chinese deity images, they are not connected by any 'collective' activities in terms of this religion, other than the indigenous rites. Both their Western religious counterparts, however---the Catholics and the Presbyterians--- provide interesting contrasts: they do not express this tendency of 'individualization', and although their prayers and activities are centred around the local churches, they have made connections beyond the confines of the 'community'. Let me begin with the Catholic Puyuma households: by installing 'ancestral tablets' (at home and in the church) and calling the church '*karumaan*' they provide parallel with both the Puyuma adherents of the Han-Chinese folk religion and the Presbyterians.

The introduction of Catholicism to Taitung by priests from a Swiss religious sect began in 1953 (L-S. Huang 1995). It was not until 1957 that some 19 Puyuma were baptized, and one year later a Catholic church was built (see Map 3-2) (T. Lo 1964: 99). A church-run credit union was founded in August 1970, which in 1985 was combined with the one already established by the Presbyterian church of Nan-wang (see Chapter 3).

In 1995 twenty-two out of 219 Puyuma households in Nan-wang (10 %) could be defined as Catholics in terms of their interior decoration. The participants in church services and activities also included some Puyuma households living outside Nan-wang, some non-Puyuma households in Nan-wang, and some individuals whose families followed the Han-Chinese folk religion (see Table 8-2).

Ordinarily, the local church is the place where the Catholics carry out their Sunday services, daily morning prayers and other activities. They also visit their fellow believers on occasions like birthdays or other

Table 8-2 The Constitution of the Catholics Attending Nan-wang Church

Category	Puyuma Household ¹		Non-Puyuma Household ²	Individual ³
	Nan-wang	Vicinity		
Number	22	3	1	15

Note:

1. These households' interior provisions will include a picture of Jesus Christ and a crucifix, below which are the 'ancestral tablets'. However, this calculation does not mean that all household members have been baptized (although most of them have) and actively participate in church activities. Of the three households two live in Peinan, and one in Pinnang village.
2. This household is in Nan-wang, and consists of a Paiwan woman, her mainlander husband and their children.
3. These individuals' households follow the Han-Chinese folk religion with one exception (a Presbyterian household). Among them, one is an Ami, two are marrying-in Ami, one is a marrying-in Puyuma, and one is a Yami living in the vicinity.

household celebrations. Church services are mainly superintended by a parish priest, a Puyuma of Katipol, who also oversees church services at other Puyuma churches in the vicinity. Sometimes Puyuma lay volunteers will lead the believers in prayer if the priest is absent.

As a local parish church, the Catholic church in Nan-wang constitutes part of a series of higher church organizations (local, regional, and island-wide), under which some 'united' church activities are carried out. For instance, the Catholic church in Nan-wang and four other parishes (*t'ang ko*)--- all of which are Puyuma settlements--- constitute a higher-level parish (*Nan-wang t'ang ch'u*). In conjunction with three others, this higher-level parish (*t'ang ch'u*) constitutes a pastoral centre (*Pei nan mu ling ch'u*),⁴² which in turn forms part of a deanery (*Taitung tsung dwo*

42. A pastoral centre consists principally of fellow believers who speak the same language, such as Paiwan, Bunun and Ami. But while another pastoral centre consists of fellow believers who speak Mandarin, Taiwanese and Hakka (i.e., they are all 'Han-Chinese'), *Peinan mu-ling-*

ch'u). Finally, this regional deanery and its counterpart in Hualien constitute a diocese (*Hua-tung chiao-ch'u*), one of seven on the island.⁴³

Even though the Catholic church in Nan-wang is part of a series of higher-level church organizations, there are no 'united' Sunday services held by all fellow believers of the same higher-level parish (i.e., *Nan-wang t'ang ch'u*) like those held by the Presbyterians (see later). Nan-wang's Catholics only join the congregations of other local churches on a few specific occasions: for instance, an annual commemoration in memory of Jesus' suffering is in turn organized by local churches (i.e., parishes) constituting the higher-level parish (*Nan-wang t'ang ch'u*), a celebration of the Holy spirits is held by Catholics of the same pastoral centre (*Pei nan mu ling ch'u*), and so on.

In other words, unlike the devotees of the Han-Chinese religion, the Puyuma Catholics in Nan-wang pursue certain 'collective' activities: and in distinction from their Presbyterian counterparts, they usually confine their activities to the local church (although connections are made with fellow believers beyond the boundaries of Nan-wang). It is here that features such as the installation of a tablet in the church and the Catholic church as '*karumaan*' become significant.

Today, fifteen out of twenty-two Puyuma Catholic households (68.2%) have installed 'ancestral tablets',⁴⁴ which are usually put on a table

ch'u includes believers speaking Rukai and Paiwan, although many believers of this pastoral centre speak Puyuma.

43. I must thank the Reverend Hung for kindly giving me the information about the organization of the Catholic church on the island. I would also like to thank both Dr. Shiun-wei Huang and Alessandro Dell'Orto for their help in translating the names of the Catholic and Presbyterian church organizations.

44. Among the remaining seven households, 'ancestral tablets' are installed in households inhabited by their siblings (or/and parents). Sometimes, I heard the Catholics say that the Presbyterians did not install 'ancestral tablets' to worship 'ancestors', and that this was why not many Puyuma had converted to Presbyterianism even though this religion was introduced to Nan-wang earlier than Catholicism.

under the picture of Jesus and the crucifix.⁴⁵ Out of these fifteen households five have installed two tablets. I would suggest that further investigation of these cases could reveal something important about the ways in which various indigenous notions--- about the house (household) or *vini*, different kinds of death, the role of marrying-in people, and so on--- have been expressed and shaped.

The first case is 'simpler': in it, a newly deceased middle-aged woman's tablet had not yet been combined with the 'ancestral tablet' of the house. A common feature found in another two cases is of a separate tablet being installed for a deceased man who married-in: one died of illness (in 1993), and the other through committing suicide (nearly twenty years ago). When I asked about these two deceased male Puyuma, I was told by their wives (two elders--- one in her early seventies, the other in her eighties) that while the tablet for a person who had died a 'normal death' might be combined with his parents-in-law's a few years later, this was impossible for those who died in 'bad ways'. In this regard, it seems that there is no religious difference between the Catholics and their Han-Chinese counterparts.

However, the remaining two cases provide a striking contrast with the Puyuma households adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion (see Table 8-1, note 4). In these households two lines of 'ancestral tablets' are juxtaposed: one for 'ancestors' of the house, the other for the parents of marrying-in spouses. As I have discussed above (see Chapter 4), the reason why the Puyuma do not juxtapose and worship two lines of 'ancestral tablets' in the same house is because of notions about *vini*; quite simply, because the *vini* they hold are not the same (*ali mukasa la vini*). If so, the juxtaposition in these two Catholic households demonstrates that the notion of *vini* has been transformed with respect

45. The installation of an 'ancestral tablet' is widely observed by the Puyuma Catholic households. They began installing their 'ancestral tablets' around the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the Vatican recognized the significance of a kind of vernacularization for the church's development in the non-Western world. But this does not mean that all Catholics on the island have 'ancestral tablets'. For instance, many Ami Catholics in Taitung do not install tablets. In other words, this feature needs further investigation.

to the household.⁴⁶ Thus, the line formerly drawn between households that did not share the same *vini* has now been erased. Instead, all Catholics are treated as 'members of the same family' (*sarumanan*) and the Catholic church as *karumaan*, where the baptized deceased members are worshipped together.⁴⁷

As with the other Puyuma Catholic churches, a tablet has been installed inside the Catholic church of Nan-wang. A large wooden board hangs on a side wall; in the centre of it a crucifix has been drawn, and some Chinese characters are written on it. Reading vertically from top to bottom, they say *Nan-wang t'ang-ch'u i-ku chiao-yu chi-nien-chih-wei* ('The tablet in memory of the deceased fellow believers of the Catholic church of Nan-wang'); and, horizontally, the four characters *An hsi chu huai* ('Rest in Jesus Christ') from right to left. The remaining space on the board is hung with many small wooden slats, each representing a deceased baptized Catholic (blue for males, yellow for females). On the front of each is the name of the deceased, and on the back are the dates of their birth and death. In front of this large board is an 'ancestral tablet', on which is written *Nan-wang t'ang-ch'u li-tai tsu-k'ao-pi chih p'ai-wei* ('The tablet for the male and female ancestors of the Catholic

46. Taking into consideration the installation of a tablet for the deceased fellow believers in the church (see below), I would say that the notion of *vini* has been 'transformed' rather than abandoned. However, this does not mean that there are no variations among the Catholics themselves. For instance, a few years ago a Catholic household installed two 'ancestral tablets': one for the wife's parents, the other for the marrying-in husband's. The couple asked a *tamalamao* to trace the cause of the pain that the husband had been suffering, and she attributed it to the juxtaposition of two tablets. The couple then moved the tablet for the husband's parents to the rear of the house, putting it in a dark corner. When their eldest son later built a new house nearby, the husband's parents' tablet was taken and installed in it. In addition, while one female elder retained the former *alili*'s wooden materials, another retained the *alili* and *vini*, which are now supervised by her son. Both of them were baptized more than thirty years ago.

47. Thus, the installation of an 'ancestral tablet' has different implications for the Puyuma households adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion and the Puyuma Catholic households. In the former case the 'ancestral tablet' reinforces the individualization of a household and ritual prohibitions are observed, while in the latter these features are not displayed.

Church of Nan-wang'). In addition, the worshippers are referred to as 'the believers of the church', and the date of installation is recorded as 1990.⁴⁸ A small censer is put in front of this tablet, into which incense is inserted.

A common feature was that all the deceased (including the cases that were not Puyuma of Nan-wang)⁴⁹ had been baptized, no matter what the cause of their death:⁵⁰ for instance, in five cases the deceased had died in car accidents. However, people who had not been baptized when they died were not installed in the church. In other words, while it seems that no religious differences exist (i.e., between the Han-Chinese religious followers and the Catholics) regarding the household installation of separate tablets for people who have died in 'bad ways', it is significant that the Catholics install the baptized deceased in the church (i.e., all in the same place), whether or not their households hold the same *vini*. In this sense, the situation in the church is analogous to that of the aforementioned two Catholic households--- which have installed two

48. This tablet is definitely a new one. According to a report in 1976 a tablet was installed in the church, but the Chinese characters on it were different from the ones I have described (see F-F. Chang 1976: 13). At the top of it there were four horizontal characters, *tsu te liu fang* ('The virtuous deeds of the ancestors will be handed down through the generations'). Vertically, there were three lines. The characters in the middle line read *Chung-kuo lieh-tsu hsien-tsu chi-nien* ('In memory of the ancestors of various Chinese peoples'; i.e., not just the Han-Chinese). On both sides two lines read as Chinese couplets: the right-hand line said *tsu-te chia-shen-yan* ('The Virtuous deeds of the ancestors make the family's reputation widespread and well-known') and the left-hand one *tzung-kung shih-tse-ch'ang* ('Ancestral merits are beneficial to the descendants for many generations'). In contrast with the old one, the new tablet is marked 'Nan-wang'.

49. For instance, they included four Puyuma of Tamalakao and one who lived in Nan-wang, whose father was a mainlander and whose mother was a Paiwan. As I have mentioned above, the Catholic church in Nan-wang is itself a parish (*t'ang ko*), but it is also a headquarters of the higher-level parish (*t'ang ch'u*). Therefore it is notable that the Chinese characters on the tablet are *t'ang ch'u*, not *t'ang ko*.

50. Baptism seems to be an important factor. I was told by a middle-aged woman that the reason why she thought it was acceptable to install her parents-in-law's tablet in the house along with that of her 'ancestors', was that as far as she knew all of these deceased had been baptized.

'ancestral tablets'--- writ large. In my view the implications of these features for a notion of 'community' will become clearer if we take account of how some indigenous terms and notions are appropriated for the church and church services.

Based on my own observations of both the Catholic and Presbyterian churches,⁵¹ many indigenous customs (e.g. ritual prohibitions concerning the *vini* and death) have been abandoned by their believers. However, it is interesting to find that the Catholics use some key autochthonous terms more often than their Presbyterian counterparts do, which include allusion to the names of indigenous spirits. But the Catholics use them in different connotations and contexts, in which the importance of some indigenous spirits are minimized and rendered subordinate to Almighty God, while others are not mentioned at all.

For instance, the indigenous term for the creator of human beings, *Pagtau*, has been replaced by another indigenous word, *Demawai*. This substitution not only naturalizes, or ameliorates, a rather 'supernatural' quality suggested by the former term; it also extends its scope, now referring to the Creator of all living things in the world--- whose creations are by no means confined to the species of *homo sapiens*. Likewise, *Mialup* (*alup* means 'land'; the word literally means 'the deity of the earth')--- an important indigenous spirit that is in charge of the land and should be prayed to at the beginning of any rites (cf. Wei et al. 1954: 23; see also note 36)--- is now translated as 'angel', an emissary from God. Conversely, some spells formerly cast for the 'territory' (*mivavuyon*, *mivavunga*) and 'boundary' (*vannisin*, *saliki*) are no longer mentioned in Catholic prayers.

Accompanying this replacement and extension of religious terms and neglect of former customs, a remarkable feature is that the Catholics call the Catholic church *karumaan* rather than *kuikai* ('church' in Japanese),

51. I participated in both churches' activities as often as possible, but there were unavoidable limitations. For instance, because both churches' services were usually held on Sunday, I could only participate in one. Besides, I often needed to attend to other issues that I found more interesting; for instance, participating in annual rites such as *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan*, which were held on certain Sundays.

a term often used by the Presbyterians for their church. This usage once again demonstrates that the former distinction between households of different *karumaan* or *vini* has now been eliminated. In the eyes of the church (a *karumaan* in its new sense) all baptized Catholic Puyuma are like members of the same family, *sarumanan*.⁵²

To conclude: by replacing *Pagtau* (and the *bwanan* rite for a new-born baby in the house) with *Demawai* (and the baptismal ceremony in the church), and conceptualizing the local church as a *karumaan*--- thus transcending the former differentiations among households (and *karumaan*) that did not hold the same *vini*--- the baptized Catholic Puyuma now constitute a 'family'. Therefore, the installation of the large board hung with smaller ones representing the baptized deceased reflects this significant transformation.⁵³ However, while these activities are aimed at transcending internal differentiations among the households and representing members of the local church as a 'family' differentiated from other churches, this does not mean that the members are confined to a 'locality' centred around the church. This feature is demonstrated both in the phrase *t'ang ch'u* which is inscribed on the tablet (see note 49), and in the prayer's neglect of the indigenous spells referring to 'boundary' and 'territory'.

So the case of the Puyuma Catholic households contrasts with both the other two religious groups. Unlike the Han-Chinese devotees, the Catholics

52. Elderly Catholics sometimes told me that they felt happy if I was present in the church or participated in church activities. As they said, 'It is great that you come to the church. It means that we are *sarumanan*.'

53. Replacing the former *karumaan*, the church has become a 'ritual locale' for the Catholics. As I was told by a woman in her late sixties, whose household had supervised a *karumaan*: when she converted to Catholicism she took the new millet she had cultivated to the church along with the other Catholics' annually to give to God, *Demawai*. This celebration was called *kan en chieh* and (although millet is not used now) it is still held by the Catholics and Presbyterians in July, usually after the *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan*. Another notable feature is that during Easter, after the priest's blessing in the church, the Puyuma Catholics will take a species of palm and insert it in the statuettes of Jesus in their houses. The Catholics call Easter *pusuvul la amian* (*pusuvul* means 'sprout', *amian* means 'new year'), see Chapter 4, note 23.

do not follow the former distinction between households holding different *vinî*; instead, they transcend this differentiation through a more all-encompassing definition of *karumaan*. On the other hand, although not completely confined to the 'locality' of Nan-wang, their activities do not --- like those of the Presbyterians--- entail a more extensive web of connections and relationships beyond the local church.⁵⁴

The Presbyterian Puyuma Households

Like the Catholics, the Presbyterian Puyuma have now abandoned a lot of customs and rites that are observed (and have also been transformed) by their Han-Chinese religious counterparts. However, the Presbyterians seem to have gone further in eliminating customs that are still carried out by the Catholics, for instance, holding *puruvu* after the funerals. Neither do they install 'ancestral tablets' in their houses (let alone in the church) nor use incense, as the Catholics do.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, I found that on some occasions the Presbyterians appropriated 'indigenous' items in a striking way that I had never observed in Catholic activities. For example, in the church's Christmas service the Presbyterians added to or changed various parts of the lyrics of the old Puyuma songs (while retaining the scores) to display their adoration of omnipotent God.⁵⁶

54. In this respect, a correspondence seems to exist between a tendency towards 'confinement' displayed in the church's activities and a sense of 'community' implied in the new version of the place of origin that was advocated by a Catholic.

55. Other differences between these two Western religious branches would reward further investigation: for instance, how indigenous notions and phrases are used and re-appropriated in the translation of Bible scripts and other messages; why certain Puyuma are predisposed towards particular religious affiliations (including the Han-Chinese religion); and so on.

56. For instance, they changed the lyrics of a song composed in 1985 by a well-known Catholic Puyuma musician in memory of the pair of ancestors who had brought the original millet seeds from Orchid Island: in its new version, the song celebrated the gospel being brought from the western world to eastern Taiwan.

Moreover, some elderly female Presbyterians wore the male elders' ceremonial robes at a Christmas church service, although this was explained as a way of improving the spectacle, because there were few elderly male Presbyterians.

The introduction of the Presbyterian message to Nan-wang can be traced back as far as the 1930s, when the island was still under Japanese rule. At that time a male Puyuma was the first convert to Presbyterianism; he left for Tokyo to study at a Bible College. Later, this Puyuma returned to Nan-wang and endeavoured to preach the gospel, but his efforts were in vain. This failure was not due only to prohibitions imposed by the Japanese authorities, but mainly to the Puyuma's discrimination against Presbyterianism because it forbade ancestor-worship (H-C. Lo 1984: 444-445).⁵⁷ The evangelism ended with the death of this Puyuma in the early 1940s, and was not resumed until the late 1940s. In 1953 a Puyuma household converted to Presbyterianism and provided their house as a venue for preaching. Three years later, in 1956, a simple bamboo-hut church was built nearby to allow the increasing number of fellow believers to participate.⁵⁸ In 1966, the Presbyterian Puyuma built a new church on today's site, partly because the bamboo building had been destroyed a year previously by a strong typhoon, and partly because disputes had been raised over rights to the land on which it had been built. It was not until 1984 that a long-term pastor (himself a Puyuma of Nan-wang) took charge of the Presbyterian church and became responsible for its activities. Like the Catholics, the Presbyterians founded a church-run credit union in 1971, called *Pu-yu-*

57. Lo also noted that partly because the Puyuma of Nan-wang had been a sovereign power in eastern Taiwan, and partly because there had been many eminent Puyuma since early this century, the Puyuma felt superior to the foreign religions (see also T-M. Cheng 1978). I was once told something similar by a Catholic. He said, 'Because the Puyuma of Nan-wang were a sovereign power, the Japanese authorities did not put much pressure on them to abandon their rites and customs'. As a fieldworker in this 'community' for nearly a decade, I too could detect a sense of pride and superiority in the demeanour of the Puyuma I met.

58. According to an official document, a local Presbyterian church was founded in 1959 in Nan-wang, consisting of some sixty-five members (T. Lo 1964: 101).

ma fu-chu-she. In 1985 it was combined with the Catholic one (called *Nan-wang fu-chu-she*) to form an united association named after the latter.

In spite of the efforts made both by Puyuma and non-Puyuma pastors from the 1950s onwards, only a few Puyuma converted to Presbyterianism. The difficulties were acknowledged by some Presbyterian preachers, who noted that even if certain similarities existed between the gospel of the Presbyterian sect and Puyuma 'traditions',⁵⁹ there were also contradictions and conflicts between them (C-M. Wang 1988: 12-13). In fact, some Puyuma re-converted from Presbyterianism back to the Han-Chinese folk religion, which did not prevent them from installing their 'ancestral tablets'.⁶⁰

Nowadays, the Presbyterian church in Nan-wang is superintended by a male pastor, who is a Puyuma in his early fifties; the church is built on his land. He has been in this position since 1977. In 1995, there were eleven Presbyterian Puyuma households in Nan-wang (along with one outside Nan-wang), some adult Puyuma believers whose households followed the Han-Chinese folk religion or other religious affiliations, and other kinds (see Table 8-3).

Some points in this Table (based on a pamphlet the local pastor compiled and disseminated in 1995)⁶¹ need further discussion. The parti-

59. For instance, I was once told by a female Presbyterian Puyuma in her early thirties that the *pubiaw* rite was like the sacrifice reported in the *Old Testament*. Her mother was a *tamalamao*.

60. I was told by Puyuma who did this that a crucial reason for their re-conversion was that misfortunes had occurred to their households, which were traced by indigenous specialists to the neglect of their ancestors. This character was noted by the Presbyterian preachers themselves (T-M. Cheng 1978; H-C. Lo 1984: 449; C-M. Wang 1988: 11). The preachers often explained away the phenomenon of re-conversion by saying that the faith of the recalcitrant believers was not sufficiently strong, or that they had only converted to Presbyterianism for the material aids which the churches had later discontinued.

61. According to this pamphlet, there were 124 Presbyterians in total, consisting of (1) 46 adults who lived in this area (including Pinaski, or places near Taitung city); (2) 14 temporarily lived in other places on the island because of study and work; (3) 15 lived in this area but had not participated in church services for a long time; (4) 34 were young

Table 8-3 The Constitution of the Presbyterians in Nan-wang Church

Category	Puyuma Household ¹		Non-Puyuma Household ²	Individual ³
	Nan-wang	Vicinity		
Number	11	1	4	12

Note:

1. Apart from these eleven households, there were five others constituting another branch of the Presbyterian religion (called *Yeh he hua*); four of them had relationships such as natal and branched households.
2. In these four households, two were from other Puyuma settlements: the housemistress of one household was the pastor's marrying-in wife's sister. The remaining two were households consisting of Puyuma wives and non-Puyuma husbands.
3. Six of this column were Puyuma, constituting four households: two were adherents of the Han-Chinese folk religion, and two belonged to the Presbyteriaian faith (i.e., *Yeh he hua*). The remaining six were Han-Chinese living in the vicinity.

pants in church services were not limited to the Puyuma of Nan-wang: two households (seven believers) were from other Puyuma settlements (see Table 8-3, note 2; note 61), and six of the believers were non-Puyuma (i.e., Han-Chinese and other aborigines living in or outside Nan-wang). Close kin relationships can be discerned among the Presbyterian households whose members often attend church services. For instance, five households---including one Puyuma household now living in the vicinity, and another consisting of a mainlander husband and a Puyuma wife--- were previously the same family; while the four other households were related to each other through affinal relationships.⁶²

believers who had been baptized; (5) five had not yet been baptized but were attracted by the message of the gospel and actively participated in church services; and (6) 10 migrated to live in other places.

62. For instance, the marrying-in head of one household was the eldest son of another Presbyterian household. And his marrying-in father was

In other words, compared to the Catholics, the Presbyterian sect in Nan-wang displays the following distinctive features: not only are their fellow believers and households the least numerous of the 'community's three main religious divisions, but they also have the most intimate 'collective' relationships. The Presbyterians also consist of other Puyuma and Han-Chinese who do not live in Nan-wang. However, these features demonstrate certain paradoxes in the development of Presbyterianism in Nan-wang. Both the closeness of the fellow-believers and their households, and the notable long-term absence of some 15 Presbyterian Puyuma from participation in church service indicate the limits of Presbyterian development in Nan-wang. But the participation of non-Puyuma believers who do not live in Nan-wang shows its external relationships with other local groups beyond the confines of the 'community'; a characteristic that is even more marked here than in the Catholic case. The Presbyterian church in Nan-wang not only (like the Catholic church) constitutes part of a series of higher-level church organizations; unlike the Catholics it also holds regular monthly 'united' church service organized by several Puyuma local churches in the vicinity.

Nowadays, the Presbyterian church in Nan-wang is part of the Church of Peinan District (*Pei nan ch'u hui*), which consists of eight local Puyuma churches. This Puyuma-oriented district church organization was founded in 1963, and since 1981 has constituted part of the Presbytery of the Ami in Taitung (*Tung mei chung hui*).⁶³ The latter is in turn part of the

also from a Presbyterian background, being the aforementioned Puyuma who went to Tokyo and studied at a Bible College. The mistress of another Puyuma household was the older sister of the pastor's wife.

63. Consisting of only six churches, the Church of Peinan District cannot constitute itself a presbytery (*chung hui*), merely part of the Presbytery of the Ami in Taitung. The latter is mostly composed of the Ami Presbyterian churches in Taitung. The conditions required of a presbytery are that it should consist of thirty local churches, and that six churches among them should also have their own pastors. I thank the Presbyterian pastor in Nan-wang, Mr. Hsien-ming Wu, for providing me with this information. Before becoming part of the Presbytery of the Ami in Taitung in 1981, the Church of Peinan District constituted part of the Presbytery of Eastern Taiwan (*Tung bu chung hui*). Mainly due to neglect

Headquarters of the Presbyterian Church on the island. Although some regular meetings are held by the Presbytery of the Ami in Taitung, the Church of Peinan District is the main church organization, around which many activities have been held. For instance, one important regular activity is the 'united' church service, usually held on the last Sunday of every month, and sponsored in turn by the local churches constituting the Church of Peinan District, replacing the former custom of priests and pastors moving from one to another of these local churches to preach (C-M. Wang 1988: 25). Sometimes a lunch is served afterwards, which is enjoyed by the Presbyterians who are present. As I was told by a pastor, the idea of promoting a 'united' church service emerged because each of these local churches had a small congregation.⁶⁴

Apart from their relationships with other local churches and the higher-level church organizations, intimate connections also subsist between the Presbyterians in Nan-wang themselves. In addition to the 'communal' lunch that is sometimes held after Sunday services--- where the Presbyterians share the food prepared by others--- close relationships are also displayed on other occasions, such as the collective prayers for individual households, visits to sick or bereaved families, and so on. Gifts and money are distributed in the name of the church.

So Presbyterianism has provided a method through which the distinction between settlements can be transcended, and connections beyond the bounds of 'community' created. This feature, considered as an achievement of the church's preachings, is vividly depicted by a priest from another 'Puyuma' settlement (T-M. Cheng 1978; my translation):

by this higher-level church organization, the Church of Peinan District decided to separate in 1981 and to be combined with the Presbytery of the Ami in Taitung. With particular regard to the development of the church association I have described here, I offer sincere thanks to Ms. Ch'un-mei Wang for kindly allowing me to have a copy of her thesis. Ms. Wang is a Puyuma and a graduate of Yu-Shan Theological College--- a college in Hua-lien county, eastern Taiwan, which is well-known for its training of aboriginal preachers.

64. In the late 1980s there were some 200 Presbyterians in the Church of Peinan District (C-M. Wang 1988: 58).

With respect to the group, it was obvious that the message of the gospel had already been introduced into the 'community'. The society was developing a new harmony; regardless of gender and age, people interacted with each other, rather than being isolated from one another. Before the introduction of the gospel message, Puyuma settlements were divided from each other: our people could not go to other villages, and vice versa. This situation emphasized the differences between people. However, by means of the gospel, the influence of Jesus bridged this gap, and the people prayed before Him. It was through His power that villages drew closer to each other, and the people were joyful like brothers.

However, I would suggest that the attitudes of priests and pastors towards the indigenous customs and rites are different from those of ordinary Presbyterians. For instance, in Presbyterian publications indigenous rites and specialists are often described as 'superstition' (T-M. Cheng 1978; H-C. Lo 1984). In the case of Nan-wang, though, the Presbyterian laity (particularly the elders) criticize the indigenous rites and customs because they are burdensome. In other words, Presbyterianism may be better considered as an alternative to indigenous ways, a view stated by some Presbyterians. For instance, a pastor and other fellow believers may be invited to pray on occasions such as ground-breaking for building a house, moving into a new home, and so on.

In some respects, incompatibilities seem to exist between different religious followers. Not only do the Puyuma adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion refer to both Presbyterians and Catholics as *shinzia* (in Japanese, this means 'believers of certain--- particularly Western--- religious sects'): the indigenous specialists sometimes seem to avoid contact with Western religions (and even with their fellow believers). The following case illustrates this well:⁶⁵

A female Presbyterian once told me of this experience. Her house was located just across over the lane from the rear of a senior *tamalamao*'s house. She often visited the latter and chatted with her. One day the

65. I was once told by a female Catholic that she had asked a *tamalamao* to install a *pinamuder* in the house where she lived (she was separated from her mainlander husband and lived in Nan-wang). But this *tamalamao* refused because she was a Catholic. Likewise, I heard that a *tamalamao* had refused when invited to conduct a healing rite for a dying female Catholic in her house. Instead, the *tamalamao* told her family to bring the woman to her own house.

woman visited when the *tamalamao* was casting a spell. Having seen her coming, the *tamalamao* asked her to leave the house for a moment because, being a Presbyterian, she would prevent the spirits from arriving if she stayed.

The Presbyterian Puyuma in Nan-wang have abandoned many customs relating to the *vini*, prohibitions about death, and other ritual regulations.⁶⁶ However, I was often told by Presbyterians that because they did not observe the *makataruntarun* rite when their household members died in 'bad ways', they were either reprimanded by their elderly kin or criticized behind their backs by other Puyuma, who questioned whether they were truly part of the Puyuma if they did not observe these customs. This critique is reminiscent of the case I note in the last few pages of Chapter 3. On the one hand, these criticisms illustrate that ritual prohibitions are important to the maintenance of the indigenous 'community' and its welfare. On the other they display that these regulations and their significance are obviously not applicable to the Western religious followers. However, even though they are unwilling to do so and complain in private, the Presbyterians will allow themselves to be pressed into observing some of the more serious regulations in the interests of the 'community'--- for instance, the prohibition on taking the corpses of people who have died in 'bad ways' into the 'community' and on dealing with the funeral in the houses of the deceased. A misfortune which occurred more than a decade ago illustrates the situation:

On the midnight of December 31, 1986 when the male adult Puyuma had celebrated the *Mangayau* rite in the mountains and were preparing to return to Nan-wang, unfortunate news was transmitted to their camp. Two young male Puyuma had died in a car crash. 'It is *pakaidu* because two female Puyuma entered the camp to deliver food to the male Puyuma', I was told later by some Puyuma. These two women were Catholics. After the misfortune, the corpses were taken to the funeral parlor, rather than to their homes. Although one young man's family was Presbyterian, the corpse was not taken into the 'community' because of the prohibition

66. As with the Catholic instances, there are a range of individual variations. For instance, I was told by a Presbyterian that whenever she set out for or came back from the bereaved households, she prayed to prevent Satan from entering her house. I once saw a Presbyterian at a funeral rite turn her head away from the coffin when it was taken out of the house.

voiced by the elders (*malegi la maidangan*). The funeral was held in the funeral parlor. Afterwards, the bereaved Presbyterian household and the accompanying kin returned to Nan-wang and went to the church to pray. Some Presbyterians had complained about the prohibition on conducting the funeral in the deceased's own house. A Presbyterian told me, 'The prohibition on carrying out the funeral in the house for a person who had died in such an unfortunate way showed no pity at all for the feelings of the bereaved.' Nevertheless, the complaint was only expressed in private.

Contained in this complaint is the message that the welfare of a 'community' cannot be jeopardized by the neglect of certain serious observances. The continued recognition of some ritual prohibitions by the Presbyterians in Nan-wang becomes particularly significant when we see that cases of 'bad death' are dealt with differently in other Puyuma settlements. In Pinaski in 1994, and in Murivurivuk in 1995, some Puyuma died in car accidents; however, their corpses were taken into the settlements and the funerals were held in their houses. One of these cases was a Presbyterian, the other a Catholic. This contrast makes it obvious that a certain regulation obedience to the 'community' is still required of the Presbyterians (as well as the Catholics) living in the 'community',⁶⁷ even though they have close connections--- and hold 'collective' activities--- beyond the reach of the settlement and the 'community'.⁶⁸

However, it is noticeable that the regulations imposed on the Presbyterians, such as those above, appeal to the authority of the elders,

67. It is notable that the annual 'thanksgiving' ceremonies (*Kan en chieh*) held in July by the two Western religious branches are usually conducted after the 'community's' officiation over the new millet in the *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan*.

68. Some information reported by Ms. Wang in her thesis on the development of the Puyuma Presbyterian churches is well worth mentioning. In her interview with the pastors and clergy, Ms. Wang mentioned that some preachers had thought of building a 'central church' in addition to the local churches. This church would ideally be built like a *takoban* ('boys' house'), equipped with meeting rooms, places for church services, rooms for pastors, and so on. Moreover, according to the plan this 'central church' would be the place where all the Presbyterians from local churches would conduct their Sunday church services together (C-M. Wang 1988: 49-51). If this plan were put into practice, I think it would have significant consequences for the local churches and the 'community'.

the *maidangan*. As I have discussed on several occasions (e.g. Chapters 3 and 7), if today's indigenous 'community' in Nan-wang is mainly defined and represented in ritual prohibitions and associated customs, it is obvious that other indigenous 'institutions' must be mobilized to deal with the two Western religions. Basing their authority and privilege on indigenous notions of the development of a Puyuma through life (see Chapter 5), the elders and their organization may now occupy a more significant position than before. All male adult Puyuma are incorporated in the structure of the age organization--- the elderly association being the highest division--- and the elders are obliged to confront the problems caused not only by the Puyuma Christians (and their abrogation of ritual prohibitions), but also by the Han-Chinese religious believers and the increasing significance of their household's ritual observances. Even so, the real situation is more complicated, if we take account of the internal conflicts among the Puyuma themselves: not only among individual elders for privileged positions in the elderly association, but also between certain elders and Puyuma standing on and representing the administrative system, who have contact with outside forces (cf. Chapter 6). I will come back to this issue later in this chapter; but let us now have a look at the event I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter: the new version of the place of origin, simultaneously the creation of a new kind of 'community' and a striking objectification of Puyuma 'culture'.

'Where Were The Ancestors From?': A Significant Event

The time was the night of 13 November 1994, the place was the square in front of the settlement's meeting house or *wakasayan*. More than thirty Puyuma were present--- eighteen members of the elderly association, nine middle-aged women, five young men and three young women. Most of the Puyuma who were higher-status civil servants were present (with the exception of the settlement's head, who was ill in hospital at the time). At first sight, it seemed to be an early meeting related to the local election for membership of the aboriginal provincial assembly, that was going to be held in December. However, it was an urgent meeting convened by the cadre of the elderly association. These elders had heard the momentous news that, led by several middle-aged Puyuma, a group of young people had last month visited Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* and inscribed some words on a stone erected at the top of the mountain. On hearing this news, they decided to enquire why these young Puyuma had gone to Mt. *Tu-luan-*

shan and what they had done there. At one point during this meeting I saw a young man stand and begin speaking to the elders and the other Puyuma. He was the baseball coach at a local junior high school and was the main target of this meeting. He said he had decided to thank the ancestral spirits who were reputed to inhabit this mountain, because by invoking their support the team had won an international competition. As far as he was concerned, if he had invoked the ancestors from this sacred mountain, why shouldn't he visit it and express his thanks?⁶⁹ Therefore, supported and encouraged by some middle-aged Puyuma, he, his team and various young Puyuma decided to visit the mountain and erect a stone in memory of the legendary ancestors.

Although this young man spoke humbly and apologized to the elders for the unintended misunderstanding his act had caused, some elders did not think that the situation was as simple as he said. Instead, they felt that this act was part of a series of activities that attempted to 're-write the history of the Puyuma': behind the youth were certain middle-aged Puyuma who were taking advantage of their ignorance to promote this mountain as the place of origin. Some elders remarked that rather than being the right of the settlement's head, it was the elders' job to deal with indigenous customs such as the *Mangayau* rite. Implied in this statement was a dissatisfaction with the incumbent settlement's head for his heavy reliance on certain Puyuma, thus showing disrespect to the elders. By contrast, other elders endeavoured to smooth the tension in the discussion, and mildly commented that while having made laudable efforts to learn and inherit the 'culture', the youth needed to win the elders' consent rather than challenging them. They also noted that misunderstandings such as this were due to a lack of communications between the youth and the elders; however, they also insisted that Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* was not the Puyuma's place of origin, but was rather a sacred mountain like Mt. Fuji for the Japanese. While making their apologies to the elders, some young Puyuma tried to explain that they were not so 'ignorant' as to be blindly led by certain middle-aged male Puyuma, which some elders had directly accused them of. They said that they had not re-written the Puyuma's history, either; they had simply tried to develop and exalt the Puyuma's merits. Later, being singled out by the elders, some middle-aged male Puyuma also gave their explanations and apologized to the other elders. They were also members of the elderly association and were thought to have attempted to re-write the Puyuma's history by encouraging and leading the young Puyuma to carry out this series of activities.

The meeting finally ended in a peaceful mood, mainly because both the young and certain middle-aged Puyuma had admitted their mistakes. Some middle-aged women were also present at the meeting, but they hardly expressed any opinion, just observing the goings-on. At midnight, the

69. To my knowledge, before this visit the young man had invoked ancestral support several times: once on a hill near this mountain, and again at the *Rara's karumaan* a couple of days before the team prepared to go abroad for the competition.

baseball coach was sent to the emergency room at a large local hospital when his family noticed something awry with his physical gestures. Unfortunately, he was diagnosed as having had a slight cerebral hemorrhage, which had paralyzed the left-hand side of his body. A couple of days later, indicated by a divination, his family asked the *tamalamao* to carry out a healing rite for him. A senior *tamalamao* even cast a spell in the emergency room where the coach had been brought. The *tamalamao* told his family that this misfortune was attributable to the series of wrongdoings on Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*. During their rite, the *tamalamao* also went to the square and cast a spell at both nearby boys' and men's houses. They even dispatched someone to ask a male specialist--- who was very unhappy about the acts carried out by the youth and certain middle-aged Puyuma on the sacred mountain--- to go there and cast a spell: but he never turned up.

Unfortunate as this event was, various interpretations different from the *tamalamao*'s were reported. For instance, the coach's wife (a nurse) and some youths explained it as probably being due to his lack of rest when he and his team had been welcomed and entertained at their championship. Additionally, the coach already had slight hypertension before this misfortune happened. However, some youths attributed it to a rite conducted by an indigenous specialist. By contrast, a specialist said that the coach was a scapegoat because so many people had mentioned him at the meeting that the spirits had only heard his name rather than the others'. And the main reason why it was not a certain middle-aged Puyuma--- who had disseminated the new version of the Puyuma's place of origin and was a kind of *eminence grise*--- received retribution, the specialist continued, 'was because he was a Catholic. The indigenous rites and associated regulations were not applicable to Western religious believers'.

After this misfortune, the group of young Puyuma temporarily put aside their plans and activities concerning the sacred mountain. Instead, they prepared to found a youth association. Several exploratory meetings were convened. A few days before its foundation, certain young Puyuma held a preparatory meeting to invite the elders to give them their support. In spite of their efforts, however, at the meeting the elders were still suspicious about the association's aims, functions, financial resources and accounts, and other aspects. Some elders even asked them whether this quasi-organization would only be a front for certain ambitious Puyuma. After long and controversial discussions, it seemed unlikely that they would win the elders' support, which was evinced later by the fact that only a few elders were present for the celebration of the foundation of the youth association. The name of this youth association was *Nan-wang Pei-nan-tsu ch'ing-nien fa-chan hsieh-hui* (Association for Cultural Development of the Youth of the Puyuma of Nan-wang; ACDYP thereafter), and the date of its foundation was March 29, 1995, a national holiday in memory of the martyrs who founded the Republic of China.

Although this group of young (and some middle-aged) Puyuma carefully avoided mentioning anything about the place of origin in public after the above misfortune, this issue was raised again by certain Puyuma

on some specific occasions, apparently to counter the new version of the place of origin and criticize its errors. In July 1995, for instance, when the Puyuma were celebrating the *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan*, in the interval of the wrestling competition and again at the party that night, this issue was mentioned as a quiz question. The person in charge of the programme asked the Puyuma audience 'where was the place of origin?'. The contestants were given prizes if they answered ('correctly') '*Panapanayan*'. As expected, this 'quiz question' caused certain private comments from some members of the ACDYP.

From its very inception the ACDYP's leaders had been explicit about their intentions of inheriting and developing the Puyuma's culture. They published a (Chinese) newsletter every two months⁷⁰ and actively participated in several annual celebrations--- for instance, organizing a night party on the night of the *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan*. They also used the first floor of a two-storey cement building as a permanent office--- this was the multi-functional building built on the spot where the former men's house used to stand (the ground floor was used as a men's house, particularly when the *Vasivas* and *Mangayau* rites were approaching, but it was also used as a polling station which the female electors could enter). In emphasizing their concerns with the development and celebration of Puyuma culture, the ACDYP promoted some programmes such as the teaching of the Puyuma language, apart from participating in indigenous rites.⁷¹ Those seemingly unrelated to the 'tradition' were put aside. A suggestion that non-Puyuma university students might be asked to help Puyuma primary and junior high schools students on summer vacation, for instance, was turned down. The reason given was that this was not connected with the Puyuma culture, the prime consideration for the ACDYP.

I began this section with a three-page sketch of an important event that occurred during my fieldwork. Indeed, I have not mentioned some of the activities prior to it. Even so, this brief description does reveal some significant features deserving further discussion. We can observe certain tensions between the elders and the youth; contests between individual elders and the incumbent head of the settlement; exclusion of Western

70. As I was informed, however, this newsletter--- first issued in March 1995--- was no longer published after August 1995. In other words, there were only two issues in total: one in March, the other in June.

71. Before I left for London in August 1995, certain Puyuma had learnt the Puyuma language in roman letters. They had been taught by the Reverend Hung of the Catholic church and Mr. Wu, the pastor of the Presbyterian church. Some members of the ACDYP attended the latter's course. However, the two courses used different pronunciation systems, and no contact or interchange of opinions seemed to exist between the two classes.

religious believers from the indigenous rites; an increasing objectification of Puyuma culture; and so on. In one respect, this series of events seems to have been prompted by the new version of the place of origin. But I would suggest that the actual emergence of this version and the controversies over it are merely the 'tip of the iceberg' of the contests inherent in the 'community'.

As I have discussed throughout this thesis, the construction of a 'community' by the Puyuma of Nan-wang is not the only historical process unfolding in the area. The field is replete with contests, because the process of making and re-making the 'community' has been tied in with the problem of re-appropriating the outside forces. In this sense, the controversies over the place of origin illustrate how this concern is now expressed in terms of the 'historical authenticity' of the Puyuma's 'community' and 'culture', while beyond it is a complicated picture in which issues such as relationships between the generations, between (older or newer) leading families and the administrative leadership, and between ritual knowledge and the elder's authority, are interconnected. In this section I will firstly focus my concern on the process by which a new kind of 'community' has been expressed in the new version of the place of origin, and will try to discern its relationship to the notion of Puyuma culture which has developed under the government's cultural policies. And at the end of this chapter I will come back to the overall picture to show how the problematics of constructing a 'community' have confronted the Puyuma of Nan-wang.

A New Sense of 'Community' and the Emergence of a Puyuma 'Culture'

An alternative version of the place of origin was being talked about when I re-visited Nan-wang in September 1993. By substituting Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* for *Panapanayan* as the place of origin where the ancestors landed, this version not only re-drew the relationships between the leading families within Nan-wang, but also between the Puyuma of Nan-wang and the Puyuma of other settlements. Furthermore, the event that had been thought by researchers to signify a kind of 'nativist movement' (e.g. Sung 1965b: 127)--- the fetching of a branch of bamboo from

Panapanayan and the planting of it on the hill near the 'community' in the late 1950s, under the orders of the then leader--- was re-interpreted as an act that brought to an end an immutable 'community tradition' of the Puyuma (cf. Chapter 3, note 25).

Considering several important figures who were involved, the immediate cause for this version's emergence seems to be intimately related to the Puyuma's participation in two performances programmed by the Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan.⁷² In late August 1992, the Puyuma (including the Puyuma of Nan-wang) were invited for the first time to perform their 'traditional' dances and songs at the National Theatre of the Chiang-kai-shek Memorial Hall, Taipei.⁷³ Then in December 1994 the Puyuma of Nan-wang were singled out to demonstrate their 'traditional' customs as part of the National Festival of Culture and Arts in 1993-1994.⁷⁴ Not only were a series of activities held 'locally'--- including an exhibition at Taitung County Cultural Centre of

72. An informal talk with one of the main protagonists illustrated this. As he said, 'If Mr. *** had not visited me in 1992, I would have not been as concerned with the Puyuma's history and culture as I am now'. The person he mentioned was a Han-Chinese who had studied Taiwanese aboriginal music and dance for more than a decade, and who organized the performances of aboriginal dance and music at the National Theatre from 1989 onwards, see note 73.

73. Since 1989 aboriginal peoples on the island have been invited in turn to give performances of their 'traditional' songs and dances at the National Theater. This programme is mainly promoted by the Council for Cultural Planning and Development. In terms of constituting an inseparable part of *Chinese culture*, Taiwanese aboriginal dances and music and the formerly despised 'Taiwanese' folk arts have recently become targets of the cultural policies promoted by the Nationalist government. As the official report notes, 'Although the festival has been a regular event for about ten years [the Council for Cultural Planning and Development began in 1981], the most recent one was *the first to focus on the many traditional arts that can be found across the island*' (Government Information Office 1995: 411; emphasis added; cf. T-J. Yang 1993). See also Chapter 2.

74. On January 1, 1994, an expanded performance of dancing and singing was held in the square near the new railway station. While Puyuma from several settlements were present, this activity was boycotted by the Puyuma of certain settlements due to friction over the way in which the Puyuma had dealt with the grant offered by the government for this programme.

items that the Puyuma formerly used⁷⁵--- two annual rites (*Vasivas* and *Mangayau*) were also grandly prepared. Additionally, as part of the programme, certain Puyuma and non-Puyuma citizens visited places where the Puyuma's ancestors had lived and to which they had travelled, as reported in the legends related to Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*. Thus, with the second performance a kind of 'objectification' of Puyuma 'culture' was under way (including the later development of a youth association concerned with Puyuma culture).⁷⁶ The new version of the place of origin was also widely disseminated at this time, causing a series of conflicts within the 'community'.

Since late 1993, a series of activities centring around Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* have been carried out by the group of younger Puyuma. The culminating act was held at the end of October 1995, during which about one hundred and twenty people participated,⁷⁷ and three Chinese characters (*Pu yu ma*, 'Puyuma') were carved on a rock at the top of this mountain to punctuate their nearly one-year period of investigation into the Puyuma's

75. Complementing this exhibition were various pictures, including some of important ritual implements stored in the *karumaan* of the *Rara* family. As I knew, the material items were chosen because of their long history and certain special qualities.

76. Certainly, the process of 'objectification' constitutes part of social life (Wagner 1981: 44 ff), and cannot be attributed solely to external forces such as 'colonial or capitalist relations' (Jolly 1994: 256). However, rather than merely reinforcing the process, the consequences of the conflicts unfolding on the 'indigenous land' are more complicated, as the 'external' forces actually constitute part of this process: for instance, they define what is relevant, which methods are appropriate, what kinds of agencies are fit to carry them out, and so on (see below).

77. But I must add that not all participants in this activity had the same feelings, attitudes and ideas about the sacred mountain and the associated acts. For instance, it was notable that after they reached the top of the mountain and had lunch, certain attendant middle-aged Puyuma (of both sexes) went back their camp and did not participate in the act of inscribing the characters on the stone, pouring the wine in officiation, and so on. But this number of participants was often quoted to signify recognition (if not acceptance) of the importance of the mountain. Indeed, even those who were against the new version admitted the mountain's importance, particularly concerning the *vinli*. But they argued that it was not *niruvuan* ('the place of origin').

history. However, the unfolding of the process displayed a complicated configuration, in which multiple means--- both indigenous and administrative--- were appropriated to legitimize the new version.

For instance, after my return to Nan-wang in September 1993, an important protagonist (a Catholic!) not only repeated this version to a group of the youth but also took them to visit various relics mentioned in Puyuma legend. More notably, he displayed a notebook he had compiled from sayings he had heard from the elders since the 1950s. Compiled in 1992, this notebook, *Ku-chin Nan-wang Pu-yu-ma ch'uan-t'ung hsin-yang yu Pei-nan -shan* ('The Traditional Puyuma Beliefs from Time Immemorial and Their Relation to Mt. Pei-nan-shan'), consisted of various kinds of ritual practices, spells and some illustrations he had drawn.⁷⁸ By means of its contents (as well as its title), this notebook appeared to be an authoritative testimony to the things he had tried to prove. However, a real chance to disseminate this version did not arrive until December 1993, when both the *Vasivas* and *Mangayau* were grandly celebrated, constituting part of National Festival of Culture and Arts, 1993-1994. An 'objectification' of 'Puyuma culture' was observable in this programme.

By means of a large grant (about sixty-six thousand pounds) from the government, both the *Vasivas* and *Mangayau* were opulently celebrated. For instance, two books of pictures and written expositions about *Vasivas* were published at the same time to celebrate and complement the ritual activity. But the most remarkable feature was the making of 500 *zerzerlan*, three- or four-meter sticks that were only used by the senior grade of the boyhood age group (i.e., the *malatawan*) during the *Vasivas* rite. With pieces of white paper attached and black-ink figures drawn on them, these *zerzerlan* were erected along the main roads within and connecting to Nan-wang, and were a spectacular sight. As the above Puyuma said, 'Tourists and travellers will be surprised by this remarkable picture and will show their appreciation when they see the *zerzerlan* we have put up along the road'. However, this act was criticized in private by certain middle-aged Puyuma who had themselves

78. The descriptions of the ritual practices seemed quite general, and did not specify the particular operations that applied to actual situations.

experienced serious discipline and training during the boyhood stage. They thought that dealing with the *zerzerlan* in such a way--- as a kind of decoration, rather carelessly disposed after the programme--- had devalued the significance of the boyhood stage in the development of a male Puyuma, and thus mis-represented the 'Puyuma culture'.

Similar goings-on occurred in the *Mangayau* rite. A couple of days before the rite, some thirty male adults were asked to collect a load of straw, which would be used at their camp in the mountains to show the male visitors how traditional it was. Additionally, the Puyuma used bamboo and straw to replace nylon ropes and plastic tents, two 'modern' materials that had been used to construct their camp for many years.

This annual rite attracted more photographers and researchers than had ever been seen before, all busy taking pictures and recording and videotaping the 'Puyuma traditions' which were so rarely encountered nowadays. While certain Puyuma retailed and emphasized their culture's timeless and long-term characteristics, the visitors helped to construct an 'authentic' 'Puyuma culture': killing the pigs that had been bought, weighing mice and other kills, and praying with specialists.⁷⁹ But when the controversies about the place of origin were raised, a middle-aged Puyuma asked the outsiders to stop recording and videotaping: it would be improper for them to record such an unpleasant and disgraceful scene, when they had come to understand Puyuma culture.

On the day that the male Puyuma returned to Nan-wang, their womenfolk prepared various kinds of 'traditional' Puyuma food for the visitors and various government officials. These special guests included both the chairwoman and the deputy chairman of the Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan, and the Taitung county magistrate (the son of a Han-Chinese mother and a Puyuma father, who

79. For instance, a photographer led his crew to the 'origin stem household' supervising the *Pasaraat's karumaan* and waited for the boys --- who were visiting the Puyuma household in *Halavakai*--- to arrive. However, to both this photographer's and other attendant outsiders' surprise, in 1994 the sequence changed: the boys first visited another house nearby, and then went to the house supervising the *Rara's karumaan*. When the boys came back to the house where these outsiders had been waiting to take pictures, none of the photographers were there!

was a president of a county-level agricultural senior high school).

The aforementioned Catholic took the opportunity offered by the annual rites to give public voice to his version of the place of origin: with his bilingual ability, his charismatic character and his amiable disposition he attracted the visiting journalists and photographers, and told them about (his version of) the place of origin and some details about the rites. But when another middle-aged Puyuma was found handing out a pamphlet referring to *Panapanayan* as the Puyuma's place of origin, a view that was apparently contradictory to what the Catholic had said, an acrimonious debate began in the mountains (see Chapter 6).

After this controversy, a series of visits to Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* have continued since early 1994. Early in February, for instance, some thirty Puyuma visited the mountain as advance scouts. Later that same month, forty people camped at a hillside near the mountain. But a more significant step did not occur until another visit was made, when a board in memory of the ancestors was erected. In late March, some forty Puyuma arrived at another hillside near this mountain, a place mentioned in *ilailao* (the song sung in the *Mangayau* rite). After a spell had been cast by a male specialist, who was invited to accompany the gathering, some young Puyuma erected a board beside the road. A Chinese inscription had been written on it. At the top were two characters, *yuan tsu* ('first ancestors'), followed by two personal names: on the left-hand side was *Adrusao*, and on the right-hand side the name of his wife, *Adrumao*. The main inscription was as follows:

Based on the legends dating back several thousand years, we verify the place of origin which was mentioned in spells, that is, *Kanaidon*, in order to promote the virtues of worshipping our ancestors, and to disseminate ancestral merits and the tradition of the *Pu yu ma* (Pei-nan). We erect this board as a memorial and we wish our descendants to think highly of our ancestors, and honour the virtues they have left behind them, and thus make our people glorious.

Respectfully Erected by the Preparatory
Group Searching for the Root, March 29 1994

Obviously, the inscription shows an emphasis on the Puyuma 'traditions' transmitted from the ancestors, and on a kind of continuity. Moreover, to

verify *Kanaidon*, a place below Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*, as the place of origin means that Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* is too, even though only alluded to indirectly. In contrast with the first two acts, this time an indigenous specialist was asked to accompany the visitors and to carry out a rite. It was said that after the rite, this specialist told the Puyuma present to see whether or not they had a dream containing an omen about this visit.⁸⁰

In July there was another visit to a hillside near the mountain. Its main purpose was to invoke the ancestors' spiritual help for the school baseball team's competition abroad, although another rite was conducted in the *Rara's karumaan* (for a talisman) a couple of days later. On the first occasion, due to the sudden death of the specialist mentioned above, the Catholic himself cast a spell, while another Puyuma held the betel nuts for this officiation. On the second occasion, when another specialist made a talisman in the *karumaan*, he followed the instructions written in this Catholic's notebook.

In August the baseball team won the international competition, and was warmly entertained in a great procession and celebration by both the local government and the Puyuma of Nan-wang. At the same time, another visit to the sacred mountain was being planned. Two months later, nearly one hundred and twenty people climbed to the peak of Mt. *Tu-luan-shan* and a more remarkable celebration was carried out.

On the top of the mountain, using hammers, drills and electric tools, some young Puyuma smoothed the surface of a large rock, on which three Chinese characters, *Pu yu ma*, were later carved and painted in red ink. Some of the young men also made a plain cement platform in front of the stone, on which wine cups and offerings were put. When the act of

80. I was in Taipei when this visit was undertaken. When I returned to Nan-wang, I was told that the Puyuma who advocated the new version had dreamt that a lot of people were dancing, but with lowered heads---like bereaved families. In other words, it was a bad dream. I was also told that the specialist had himself had a dream, seeing two thick electric wires under a large stone with some flames flashing from them, accompanied by a loud, harsh sound. Due to the sudden death of this specialist in late April, I did not have the chance to ask him more details about it. What I have mentioned above was told me by another specialist.

inscription was nearly complete, the Catholic cast a spell. It was noteworthy that now another middle-aged male Puyuma now took the betel nuts, a man whose marrying-in father was a member of the *Pasaraat* family, and who had attempted to take over the position of the 'origin stem household' to supervise the *Pasaraat's karumaan* (see Chapter 7). After the spell, certain Puyuma took turns to make a libation in front of the stone, and others sang the song, '*Pei nan shan*' (i.e., Mt. *Tu-luan-shan*), which was composed in 1949 by a Puyuma musician.⁸¹ Additionally, some miracles were experienced by the Puyuma who had gone on the visit: some cried as if possessed by spirits; some children who were present were reported to have had a vision of two elders (i.e., the legendary ancestors), and so on.

What, then, does this sketch imply? It seems that the impetus for this series of activities was intimately connected with the two performances promoted by the Nationalist government (see note 72 and below). That is, the activities emerged from a context which entailed articulation with outside forces. In contrast with previous kinds of articulation, this one was characterized by its emphasis on the significance of 'culture', 'community' and the 'ethnic group'--- both by the indigenous people and by the government and its 'cultural' agencies, although the former were regarded as the instigators and the main focus of these officially organized performances.

In a pamphlet given out on the day that the ACDYP was founded, the emphasis on the significance of 'culture' and the anxiety about 'cultural crisis' were both manifested in the one-page introduction (my translation):

Although they were few in number, the Puyuma used to be the most powerful of the six ethnic groups in Taitung, due to their rigid and perfect social framework and their habit of cooperation. Nowadays, due to

81. I thank Mr. Hsien-ming T'ien for his translation of the lyrics of this song. He is a Puyuma and was formerly a Catholic missionary. While some parts of the song's lyrics certainly allude to the Puyuma's ancestors, who were well-known in eastern Taiwan, they mainly depict the spectacular position of this mountain, the highest geographical landmark in the vicinity, and give praise to the Almighty, or *Demawai* in indigenous terms, for creating a place as beautiful as eastern Taiwan. This musician was a Catholic.

social transformations, the traditional culture has been gradually forsaken and forgotten, and there are crises concerning cultural continuity.

Owing both to the Puyuma's performance in the National Theatre two years ago [in 1992], and to last year's annual festival [in 1993] promoted by the Council for Cultural Planning and Development, the young Puyuma awoke to the significance and urgency of cultural continuity. In order to confront the task of continuing the culture in an organized way--- to wit, bringing the youth's capabilities together by founding the Youth Association in Nan-wang--- we are attempting to awaken the young generation to commit themselves to and to be concerned with our culture. Also, through this organization, we are preparing for future actions that will be concerned with cultural continuity.

Following on from the main argument, the pamphlet outlined various stages that would be set up and put into practice, consisting of founding the ACDYP, investigating the Puyuma's past and roots, learning the Puyuma language, and traditional techniques and traditional rules for conduct, and, finally, constructing a building for cultural materials and a Cultural Village.

In brief, the pamphlet advocating a future youth association clearly revealed a serious concern with indigenous 'culture', in terms of a tradition that would consist of techniques, materials, language, rules for conduct taught both in the boyhood and the manhood stages, and traditional ceremonies. Associated with this notion of 'culture' (and 'tradition') was a kind of 'selective' objectification.

No matter how these performances were justified,⁸² there were certain consequences for the Puyuma themselves.⁸³ A kind of 'Puyuma culture'

82. For instance, when giving his opinions about the performance of the Puyuma at the National Theatre in 1992, the aforementioned musician (see note 72) emphasized that its main purpose was to 'realize a sort of cultural consciousness among "tribes", and, therefore, to promote the establishment of an "association for cultural study" in each Puyuma "tribe" for interpreting and maintaining their own cultural tradition' (Central Daily News, international edition, August 19, 1992). However, his opinions about carrying out aboriginal 'performances' out of their contexts--- i.e., going from being part of an annual rite to a 'performance' at the National Theatre--- were inconsistent and revealed the same problem as the photographers I have mentioned above (note 79) (cf. W-T. Chen n.d.).

83. I was told that things had also occurred in other Puyuma settlements. For instance, when I returned to Taiwan in 1993, I heard that a female

was being launched in which 'culture' was not merely a 'thing' that could be kept and maintained independent of the actors themselves (cf. Wagner 1981: 26), it could also be represented independently of the context and even beyond the confines of its spatial referent--- beyond the 'community'.⁸⁴ But in the case of the Puyuma, a more significant consequence was that certain internal conflicts were manifested.

In other words, the consequences of performance might not be what the government and its 'cultural agencies'--- who considered themselves culturally knowledgeable--- would have expected for the indigenous peoples, who were assumed to be passive and unselfconscious about their 'cultural crises', and needed to be awakened to the threat of their cultures' disappearance. Contrarily, as a mode of articulation with outside forces, the performance was both a source and a field, for which (and in which) the indigenous people actively competed with each other. The

Puyuma and a Puyuma leader in another settlement had died a few days after they had performed at the National Theatre in August 1992. The death of the former was attributed to the fact that she had masqueraded as a *tamalamao* and imitated their rites during this performance. In April 1995 an elder in another Puyuma settlement declined the invitation to sing the *ilailao* in a performance organized by a privately-run museum. I was told by his son that this elder had taken the former misfortune as a warning.

84. As I have mentioned, the *ilailao* is usually sung when the date of the *Vasivas* and *Mangayau* is approaching, and is not sung beyond the confines of Nan-wang (see Chapter 3, note 33). However, the Puyuma sang it in the performance of 1992 (August) at the National Theatre, although they later said that they could not sing it smoothly. Weaving is another example. The female Puyuma make a significant distinction between weaving and embroidery: the former is characterized by rites and ritual regulations (T-Y. Wang 1980), while none of them cover the latter. Moreover, the teaching of weaving is spatially limited: that is, it must not go beyond the 'community', or at least not too far. In 1995 I was told that a middle-aged woman had declined an invitation to display weaving techniques at a privately-run museum in Taipei. I visited the female elder who had suggested that this woman refuse the invitation. This elder was a Presbyterian. She told me of her own experience. Many years ago she was asked to teach weaving to another female Puyuma who lived in Taitung city. Later, this woman became sick and this was traced by a *tamalamao* to her study of weaving. The elder said that before she began to teach this woman, she had prayed to the two female deities who were reputed to be the first people adept at weaving. She said that the weaving techniques could not be performed outside the 'community'.

foregoing sketch clearly depicts how the new version of the place of origin was gradually 'justified', not only through the appropriation of its sources (by articulation with the outside forces), but also through the participation of indigenous specialists and the need to demonstrate one's ritual knowledge.⁸⁵ It is this combination that sheds light on the issues which I now address: conflicts within the 'community' are significantly phrased in the name of the 'community', but paradoxically this feature in turn has repercussions for the making of an indigenous 'community'.

The Making of a 'Community': a 'Field' for Competition

As I have described throughout the last few chapters, the construction of a 'community' has been for the Puyuma a process displaying a complicated interrelationship between 'indigenous, autochthonous' forces and those from 'outside'. In one sense, the place where the Puyuma now live (esp. Nan-wang) not only constitutes part of a local administrative unit; it is also inhabited by the Han-Chinese--- that is, the territory is not 'bounded' or 'closed'. This characteristic is being reinforced due to the increasing migration of the younger generation to the cities. Even in their daily life the Puyuma rely heavily on connections with agencies beyond Nan-wang: many more necessities are bought from the shops in the city centre than from those in Nan-wang, and the Puyuma who cultivate rice or other cash crops (e.g. sweet apple or betel leaves) are also dependent on Han-Chinese brokers, rather than on a native-run organization.

However, by means of rites and customs (including initiation into the age organization) the Puyuma have also attempted to characterize an 'indigenous community': a grouping of people who have defined the territory where they live, in which they have created a web of

85. For instance, apart from casting a spell at the hillside, the specialist (who died in 1994) also participated in the performance at the National Theatre in August 1993, in which he imitated a ritual practice and pretended to perform a libation (no wine or betel nuts were actually used). He was also said to have been used as a source and a proofreader when the Catholic compiled his notebook about ritual practices.

interrelationships, observe certain constraints of behaviour, conduct their 'communal' celebrations, and so on. In this way, the Puyuma not only claim and demonstrate their 'community', and define its relationships to the component individual and household. They also distinguish themselves from both the Puyuma of other settlements⁸⁶ and from the Han-Chinese living in the same settlement, even within Nan-wang.⁸⁷

Nevertheless, among other things, the case of the Puyuma Christians reveals the problematics of defining an indigenous 'community' exclusively in terms of ritual practices and regulations. In spite of being criticized (usually privately) for abandoning indigenous ritual regulations, for instance, the Puyuma Christians are not excluded from participating in affairs regarding the 'community', deprived of the right to initiate or to be initiated,⁸⁸ or prevented from joining either the elderly or the youth associations (or other kinds, such as the credit association; see also Chapter 3). The Puyuma Christians in Nan-wang who have died throughout a year are even calculated in the annual purification rite that will be held in the *karumaan*, and in other 'communal' rites (see Chapter

86. Since the 1980s, a 'united celebration' including the Puyuma of Nan-wang has been held by the Puyuma as an 'ethnic group' (*Pinuyumayan*). It is sponsored in turn by each settlement. Even so, The Puyuma still make a distinction between their 'community' and the places inhabited by the other Puyuma, although the boundary of their 'community' is changing and contestable.

87. This characteristic is manifested in the following instance: in July 1995, a *tamalamao* carried out a healing rite for a Han-Chinese living in Nan-wang. The ritual items used in the rite were later brought to an entrance of the 'community'. Because it had been the harvest season, I asked her whether it mattered that these things were put at the boundary rather than in a place near the house of her client. She replied, 'That is alright. This person is a *bailan* ('Taiwanese') not a Puyuma'.

88. Although I did not ask every male adult, the data showed that the factor of religious affiliation was not considered. Instead, nowadays the closeness of kin relationships between the elders and the initiated is taken into consideration, if they do not live in the same house (i.e., *amli la tau i savak*). The closest relationship I have observed is that of an elder and his son's son; the elder's son had a virilocal marriage but did not live in Nan-wang.

7).⁸⁹ This ambivalence suggests that apart from ritual means, some indigenous ways are necessary to counter the centrifugal tendencies that may be caused by religious divisions. The age organization (esp. the manhood stage) seems to be a significant mechanism, considering the implications of initiation for male individuals and for the establishment of a household in indigenous terms. Furthermore, under this organization all male adults are incorporated into a framework based on their chronological age, regardless of personal specificities such as occupation, education, family background, and so on.⁹⁰

Indeed, during my fieldwork I often heard that due to their concern with the 'community', certain Puyuma appropriated privileged positions or made comments on their potential opponents. For instance, a most 'senior' *tamalamao* lost her qualification to be an *avuku* ('tutor', 'the most senior of the *tamalamao*') among her group, because her house was outside the 'boundary' of the 'community' (Hung 1976: 32-33); a bamboo diviner was described by a specialist as not yet 'experienced' (*alilia zimiges*) because he did not conduct the rites concerning the 'community' (see Chapters 6 and 7), and so on. Likewise, a personal 'innovation' might be criticized by opponents on the grounds that it was not concerned with the 'community', knowing which might be cited to demonstrate one's erudition. For instance, I was told by a middle-aged man that a kind of *ilailao* had been composed by an ancestor called *Ngalo*. But I was told by his opponent

89. For instance, even if the deceased is a Puyuma Christian who lived in Nan-wang, the morning after the funeral the *tamalamao* will gather to conduct a purification rite for themselves, called *munay* ('*enay*' means 'water'; it means 'purification with water'). Only after this can the *tamalamao* conduct the *kiswap* rite for the bereaved families (adhering to the Han-Chinese folk religion). They often conduct *munay* at a small stream some way from the southern entrance of the 'community'. However, they may be indifferent to deceased who were Christians. That is, instead of going to the stream, they may go to a gutter within the 'community' and conduct it there.

90. As several high-ranking civil servants told me, 'There are no differences between us except our level of seniority when we are in the mountains or carry out other "communal" activities. How could we cooperate with each other if we took account of personal education, job status and so on?'

that it was a personal one rather than an *ilailao* of the 'community'.⁹¹

Even though these comments, criticisms and competitions are made in the name of the 'community', they still allude to personal capability, knowledge, and other merits. However, it would be significant if the competition and conflict were phrased in a way which did not refer to personal idiosyncratic characteristics, but to 'generic' ones--- for instance, one's status as an 'elder'.

Let us begin with the aforementioned meeting again. It was convened by some members of the elders' organization to determine the purpose of the young and middle-aged Puyuma's visit to the sacred mountain. During the meeting, however, some opinions were particularly striking. Firstly, some elders stated that it was the elders' right to deal with annual celebrations such as the *Mangayau*, a statement revealing the tension between certain elders and the incumbent head.⁹² Associated with this comment was the criticism aimed by certain elders at the young and middle-aged men for their disrespect towards the elders: for instance, the middle-aged man who had advocated a new version of the place of origin often made comments on the elders' ignorance of the Puyuma's history and legends. In other words, in these circumstances the distinction between specialist and layman was less significant; instead, the issue centered around the relationship between the elders and the youth, and the elders' rights versus those of the settlement's head. Although some women were present, they did not express their opinions. In sum, these features demonstrate the significant role performed by the elderly association nowadays, which is suggested by its own history.

91. Indeed, I had not heard it sung during the *Mangayau* rite (including the elders' visits to bereaved families). Similarly, a specialist himself composed an *ilailao*--- whose lyrics depicted the arrival of the new year --- and sang it in the mountains in 1994. But it was sung only once, at that time.

92. This tension was clearly expressed on several respects. For instance, in contrast with previous ones, at the 1994 *Muraliyavan* certain members of the elderly association went straight to the *karumaan* rather than to the head's office, from which they then went together. Furthermore, significantly, these elders were absent from the beginning of the incumbent head's preparations to fight for re-election until the celebrations of his success.

As early as 1985, two associations were set up by certain elders: while the Elderly Association consisted of male Puyuma aged over 55, the Research Committee on Puyuma Customs included elders of both sexes adept in Puyuma customs, legends and so on. However, when the latter ceased functioning, the association organized by the male elders began to draw up rigid rules and regulations for membership, and became more resolute in 'preserving' elderly rights (see also Chapter 6). For instance, they decided that a middle-aged man was not yet qualified for initiating young men if he was younger than 55; if he tried to do so, not only would the status of initiator be withheld, he would also be punished. Another remarkable feature was that the title of 'honourable president'--- formerly granted to the incumbent head of the settlement--- was abolished. Instead, along with some local administrative heads (e.g. county magistrate, city mayor) and representatives--- comprising both sexes and including the Puyuma and the Han-Chinese--- the incumbent head became a member of the nominal council. In other words, the important positions in the elderly association--- i.e., the presidency and deputy presidency, and general accountancy and executive posts--- were selected from the members.

What, then, are the implications of the male elderly association's establishment? Judging by the rules registered in the pamphlet and their intended effects, the association seems to have been attempting to reinforce (and reinstate) a kind of seniority-based privilege which was formerly predicated on the training and discipline in the boys' and men's houses. However, partly because of the decline in significance of the boyhood stage (see Chapter 5) and partly because of the gender opposition involved in the stage of manhood, two unintended consequences of the development of the elderly association were that an increasing gender differentiation became apparent,⁹³ and that the association became

93. In contrast with the male elder's association, the female Puyuma elder's founded in 1988 consisting of females aged over 60 (see Chapter 5). This gender differentiation also occurred in the case of the indigenous specialists. For instance, in both 1986 and 1988, the *tamalamao* did not participate in the *Smaliki* rite (held to prevent malevolent forces from entering the 'community'), due to the opinions of certain male specialists. They did not participate in 1986 because these specialists attributed the

the 'supreme' institution of the 'community', arbitrating its affairs. The fact that in 1993 certain leaders of the elderly association ordered the transfer of the right to supervise the greatest *karumaan* from the 'origin stem household' that had been in charge of it to another household demonstrates this well.

Nevertheless, now that the elderly association has become a very important organization, competition for its leading positions has become an issue. The following brief sketch from my fieldnotes amply illustrates this situation:

An indigenous specialist often criticized the leaders of the elderly association for their lack of knowledge about the rites concerning the 'community'. He insisted that he would compete for the presidency of the elderly association. However, he did not obtain many elders' support. He even lost his former position as an executive-in-general of the elderly association in the late 1980s. I often heard that the specialist had supported a Han-Chinese candidate both in the local election of 1994 and in a by-election in late 1995 held due to the death of the settlement's head. The specialist's intention (I was told by some Puyuma) was that if this Han-Chinese could win the election, he would be put in charge of affairs concerning the Puyuma in return. The Han-Chinese could not speak the Puyuma language, and lacked all knowledge of their customs and ritual practices. This would be a great opportunity for the specialist because, with his ritual knowledge and linguistic capability, he would be indispensable to this Han-Chinese if the latter were selected as the settlement's head. On other occasions, I heard that some Puyuma had challenged this specialist's position. They said that he was only competent for the rites held in the *karumaan*, and that he was not a *lamy* ('root') of this great family, although his household was branched from it. Instead, they continued, another middle-aged male Puyuma was qualified for this status. This person lived in Taipei.

This shows that as a source of privilege the elder's association was itself a field of conflicts and competitions for ambitious individuals. It also reveals a significant feature, contrasting with the case of the aforementioned Catholic Puyuma who has advocated the new version of the place

deaths of a number of Puyuma in car accidents to their earlier participation. In 1987, when the annual rites were beginning, the male and female specialists came together for a conference, both sides reaching the conclusion that the *tamalamao* should continue to carry out their duties. However, the following year (in 1988) they did not participate again, due to the fact that some twenty-two Puyuma had died that year (contrasting with six cases in 1987).

of origin: articulation with local agencies introduced from outside (e.g. the settlement's head) provides a source complementary to ritual knowledge in engaging in the affairs concerning the 'community'. In this sense, seemingly different spheres are revealed to be involved with each other, and paradoxes exist.

Nowadays, the Nan-wang settlement constitutes a basic unit of the Han-Chinese administrative system, and the position of its headship apparently signals the intervention of outside forces. But it is also a position about which the Puyuma have expressed their concern.⁹⁴ As I mentioned in Chapter 3, a remarkable feature in Nan-wang is that this position has always been occupied by the Puyuma, even though Han-Chinese inhabitants have been in the majority since 1971 (see Figure 3-1). However, *ayawan*, the indigenous term referring to the headship in its administrative sense, suggests that this position had been introduced by various regimes. The case of the *Rara* family (Chapters 3 and 6) demonstrates this. In this sense, when conflicts occurred between certain elders and the incumbent head, the elders could claim that it was their right to deal with issues concerning the 'community' and its customs.⁹⁵

However, while the elder's association can provide a 'brake' imposing behaviour constraints on the Puyuma of various religious affiliations, and

94. A personal experience suggests that the civil servants are particularly aware of this. Having undertaken fieldwork in Nan-wang since 1985, I was defined as a researcher of the Puyuma customs and rites, and was largely accepted. But my motives for taking part in meetings concerned with the settlement and the 'community' were often questioned. For example, meetings and private discussions were being held by some elders and civil servants for the by-election prompted by the sudden death of the incumbent head. At the beginning of one meeting a civil servant asked me to leave because of the importance of the by-election for the Puyuma's future, although some elders did not seem to mind my presence. It was this male Puyuma who told me several times, 'We are glad that you, as a researcher, have studied our customs. But we do not expect outsiders to intervene in and get involved with our "community"'s affairs'.

95. Some middle-aged male civil servants once told me that they often suppressed their opinions and showed respect to their seniors in affairs concerned with the 'community', particularly regarding customs. However, the settlement's head would often ask them questions about the 'community' in the administrative sense.

can counter the forces from outside (e.g. the leadership as imposed by the administrative system), the privilege enjoyed by the elders also seems intimately related to (and dependent on) the continued celebration of the two most important annual rites: the *Kiaamian* and *Muraliyavan* in July, and the *Mangayau* in December. Indeed, these rites (particularly the *Mangayau*) have now been objectified and represented as the Puyuma's grandest annual celebrations (by both the Puyuma and outsiders such as researchers and the mass-media). But an important feature characteristic of these rites is that their main protagonists are members of mens' houses, of which the elders occupy the senior position.

This suggests that even if a more 'inclusive' indigenous institution--- such as the elder's association--- can transcend the internal differentiations caused by various religious affiliations, it cannot do so without reference to ritual regulations, by which the Puyuma define and represent the indigenous 'community', and differentiate it from 'non-Puyuma' ones. Because they rely on the notions of 'community' and 'boundary' in this way that the elders feel threatened by behaviour which imperils the 'community'. In this sense, treating the role occupied by the elders and their association as changeless neglects the fact that its significance lies in an unfolding process in which the indigenous 'community' is articulated with the wider society.

In sum, all the above instances--- the controversies over the place of origin, the relationship between the elders and the settlement's head, and ambitious individuals' attempts to gain power--- display a picture in which seemingly disparate spheres are interconnected with each other. This complexity not only shows that 'community' itself is a 'contested field', but also demonstrates that the making and re-making of an indigenous 'community' is a serious issue, but simultaneously problematic.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

I have been concerned throughout this thesis with the construction of a 'community' in the case of the Puyuma of Nan-wang. As I have indicated (in Chapter 3), an assembled and bounded settlement was created by the Japanese regime early this century, which shaped the formation of an indigenous 'community' and its 'boundary', particularly in terms of geographical referents. Nevertheless, along with this 'externally induced' process, an 'indigenously orchestrated' appropriation was under way. This kind of appropriation/ inclusion and differentiation/ exclusion of the outside forces can obviously be traced back to a time long before the Japanese occupation (Chapters 2 and 6), and its complexity and the implications for the construction of an indigenous 'community' are well illustrated in the establishment of the Rara family's *karumaan* (Chapters 6 and 7). In this sense, while the constitution of a 'community' cannot be isolated from the historical processes that produce and inform it, a fuller understanding of it is impossible without taking serious account of the indigenous people's appropriation and re-appropriation of the outside forces, even though the process is full of conflicts and ambiguities.¹ In other words, only by taking the 'community' in indigenous terms as a point of departure will we be able to investigate this process of appropriation-cum-transformation (Chapter 8), and to see that the ways in which a 'community' is constituted and represented are intimately related to other social spheres--- such as the household (house), age organization, personal life courses and so on (Chapters 4, 5, 7 and 8). What, then, are the implications that can be drawn from these arguments?

1. In her recent study, Mallon (1995: 64) argues the advantages of placing 'internal conflict at the heart of the process through which community is constructed'. While I agree with her opinion, I would rather emphasize the significance of the issue of the 'community' for the indigenous people and its relationship to other social spheres.

Ethnographically, as I have indicated (see Chapters 2 and 4), previous studies on the Puyuma have mostly taken for granted the significance of the constitution of both the household (house) and the 'community'.² Instead, they were mainly preoccupied with the *karumaan*, and contended with each other to produce conflicting characterizations of the Puyuma kinship system. However, by treating the *karumaan* only as a kind of 'kin group', these studies could not deal adequately with the significant relationships between households, 'original stem households' and the 'community'. Nor did they investigate the possible implications of variations in people's participation in,³ and in the construction of, the *karumaan* itself⁴. Furthermore, the *karumaan* discussed in these studies were mainly 'private' ones, rather than those that were ritual locales of the 'community' (cf. Suenari 1970: 109). So these studies either assumed that the Puyuma were

2. Although Suenari has recently used the term 'house-lateral' to describe the changing Puyuma kinship system with respect to the installation of ancestral tablet (1995: 151; see also 1970: 108), he still does not mention the constitution of a household (house), let alone the relationships between the households and the 'community'.

3. For instance, Mabuchi noted that there were two kinds of 'shrine membership' (participating in the rites, or contributing to their expenses): one was social-familial (decided according to the parental residence), the other shamanistic-diagnostic (chosen by the ancestors by means of symptoms such as illness). He found that the Puyuma in Nan-wang tended much less than the Puyuma in Murivurivuk towards the 'shamanistic-diagnostic' method (Mabuchi 1976: 101). And no equivalent could be found in Nan-wang of the Puyuma of Rikavon, who often determined the *karumaan* in which they would participate through their contraction of serious illness, explicable by divination as being due to their neglect of a particular *karumaan* (Chiao 1989: 127). This feature, called *mukiangai*, was only discernable in Nan-wang in the case of *tamalamao*, when a person was seriously sick and it was detected by bamboo divination that a deceased *tamalamao* wanted her to succeed their position.

4. To my knowledge, in the case of Nan-wang although branched households could have taken new household names (see Appendix 1), they could not have *karumaan*. But it seemed that a new *karumaan* could be established by branched households in other Puyuma settlements such as the case of Rikavon (cf. Chiao 1961: 16 ff) .

characterized by a kind of 'kin-based' 'communities', or presupposed that 'kinship' institutions (e.g. household, family and other equivalents) and 'community' were two separate spheres. Contrary to these views, I have argued throughout this thesis that the intimate relationships between the component households, 'original stem households' and the 'community' are not only predicated on the notion of *vini* and the rites surrounding it: membership of a household also constitutes a necessary condition for membership of the indigenous 'community'. I have also demonstrated the significance of the age organization, which not only constitutes part of the 'community' but also represents it on certain important occasions (especially annual rites). In other words, the 'community' cannot be understood without taking account of indigenous notions, nor without investigating various spheres in which it is manifested and the relationships between these spheres. In this respect, I find certain shortcomings in many studies on the issue of 'community', which either (1) make a dichotomy of 'insider's'/ 'outsider's' approach in analyzing the constitution of a 'community', (2) separate structural approach from symbolic one, or (3) neglect the significance of other social spheres (e.g. kinship) in analyzing the constitution of the 'community'.

Indeed, as some studies have indicated (see also Chapter 1), the term 'community' or the form taken as a *community* unfolds historically (Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Wolf 1986: 326), has political implications (Thornton and Ramphel 1989), and may demonstrate a kind of hegemonic struggle against the encompassing state (Brow and Swedenburg 1989; Nugent 1989). Having called into question the pre-existence of a 'local community', these viewpoints indicate the importance of 'deconstructing', 'genealogizing' and 'historicizing' the 'community', and disclose certain assumptions that have been associated with the usage itself. Nevertheless, without reference to the inhabitants' activities and notions, these viewpoints tend to treat those 'culturally' specific characteristics as little more than

consequences of the ways in which the 'local community' concerned has been articulated with outside forces (e.g. state or multi-national cooperation). As a corollary, 'community' is treated as something imposed on and created by the forces from without, and 'social interactions' or 'social relationships'--- either confined to or stretching beyond the 'local community'--- are defined and analyzed in such formal, objective and universal terms that their indigenous implications are dismissed. However, as the case study of the Puyuma has shown, the relationship between a 'community' constructed by the forces from without and a 'community' conceptualized and enlivened by the indigenous people is so complicated that the issue of 'community' cannot be fully understood in terms either of a consequence of imposed forces, or of a fixed dichotomy of 'insider's' and 'outsider's' viewpoints.

In contrast with the above approach which has dealt with 'community' as created and constituted without reference to the indigenous viewpoints, some studies certainly take serious account of the inhabitants' explanations. Of them, A.P. Cohen's (1985, 1987) studies provide an example (cf. Rapport 1993, 1996).⁵ In dealing with the 'community' as a 'boundary-expressing symbol' (Cohen 1985: 15), Cohen offers a new way to conceptualize the 'community', which not only challenges the notion that communities will be transformed by the wider structural dominants (ibid.: 37), but also opens us to the significance of the symbolic construction of a boundary. Furthermore, in rejecting a reified notion of

5. However, in his later works (also--- implicitly--- in his earlier ones), Cohen seems to pursue a more basic issue confronting anthropology--- self-consciousness--- rather than the issue of 'community' itself. As he says, self-consciousness constitutes an inescapable issue for our understanding of 'individuality' , and of society (A.P. Cohen 1994: 156, 192). Also in course of his discussions of it, Cohen returns to some points that he made in previous studies about the 'community' and its 'boundary'. He says that the concept of boundary (a symbolization of the 'community') is significant because 'it addresses the essence of our task: to extend our own limited consciousness in order to comprehend another's' (ibid: 125; see also 1985: 13).

'culture' and resisting the temptation to depict culture as a determinant of behaviour, Cohen (1985, 1993, 1994) has drawn our attention to the important point that the significance of the 'symbolic' construction of a 'community' lies in its diversified meanings--- which are 'mediated by the idiosyncratic experience of the individual' in their daily life (1985: 14). In this respect, Cohen's studies offer an important alternative to the approach that reduces 'community' to a composite of social structure without cultural meaning and indigenous creativity.

However, by creating a dichotomy between the individual (meaning) and the community (form), Cohen has construed the boundary--- the key aspect of the 'symbolic construction of community'--- as 'largely constituted by people in interaction' (Cohen 1985: 13, 15; 1994: 125).⁶ But as I have discussed in this thesis, while ideas of 'boundary' may vary with individual cases, they are not only related to indigenous notions (of both house and 'community'), they also change and become contested, associated with the changing conditions within and beyond the confines of the 'community'. Moreover, even when ritual 'is an important means through which people experience community' (Cohen 1985: 50 ff), Cohen certainly does not tell us more information about the 'social framework' in which the indigenous people are involved. As the case study of the Puyuma has shown, however, while a sense of 'community' can be constructed and represented in various rites, we still need to refer to other social spheres--- such as members of age organization, *karumaan*, households and so on--- to have a fuller understanding the implications of

6. I suspect that problems would arise if, while extending the notion of the community to encapsulate 'both closeness and sameness, and distance and difference' (Rapport 1996: 116), we neglect its socio-historic-cultural features. For instance, the argument which contends the 'inter-dependence and multifactoriality' of the individual (meaning) and the community (form) (Rapport 1993: 170), does not tell us more about **which individuals, why it is through them and to whom** different kinds of 'forms' of 'community' are represented, and what the consequences are for the thinking individuals' re-conceptualization of their 'communities'. Neither does it ask why the 'community' itself becomes an issue.

these rites. In other words, Cohen's arguments that reduce the constitution of a 'community' and its boundary to something symbolically constituted by the people in interaction, not only prevent him from successfully conceptualizing the implications of the 'outside forces', but also create a dichotomy between 'symbolic' and 'structural' community boundaries (Knight 1994; Jenkins 1996, Ch. 11; see also A.P. Cohen 1985: 44, 50, 71, 81, 88, 91, 94; 1986: 17).

As I have discussed, the sense of 'community' in Nan-wang can be represented in certain ways--- for example, age organization and both men's and boys' houses--- and is intimately related to other social spheres. 'Community' can even be reified and be a pretext for individual competitions. Even so, however, the 'community' in indigenous terms is most clearly expressed in the case of the two leading *karumaan*; around them a 'community' is well demonstrated in various ritual practices and forms, prohibitions and customs, and through which a sense of 'boundary' (with its geographical referents) is displayed, and component individual households are contained by the 'community'. It is here that we not only see an intimate relationship between 'community' and individual households. We also find the significance of the *karumaan* as an important ritual locale demarcating an indigenous 'community' in changing conditions, and as an important 'autochthonous' mechanism by which the outside forces can be appropriated and justified, in the light both of the *Rara* family's emergence, and the division between various kinds of leading families with and without *karumaan*. In other words, *karumaan* is a 'field' where the forces representing the 'autochthonous, the inside' and those of the 'outside' are interconnected, and, particularly in the case of the two leading ones, is also the locale with which the welfare of the 'community' has been concerned.

This paradox is manifest in the legend about the origin of the *karumaan* and in its spatial location, as mentioned in Chapter 4. In the origin legend, the father murdered by his two sons was a related member of the 'house', but also a person from outside it. Regarding the *vini*, while it was

(and is still) an important item constituting a household and was stored inside individual houses, the *karumaan*, a locale where the rites concerning it were held, is a building outside the house. It is with these characteristics in mind that I will now try to indicate some important implications of this case study, particularly for documents on so-called 'house society'. That is, not only does the house (particularly the ritual house) constitute an important key to understanding the social life of a 'community', does an intimate relationship exist between 'kinship' and 'community', but the 'community' can also be rethought from characteristics observable in 'non-community' spheres.

The significance of the house (or household) for the understanding of Taiwanese aborigines has recently come to be widely recognized (Y-M. Chen 1995; B. Chiang 1993; Hsu 1994; Y-K. Huang 1992, 1993c; Tan 1992; see also Y-K. Huang 1995b). While these authors have their particular interests (e.g. space, personhood and hierarchy), I believe that something of further interest can be gleaned from the central focus of my discussion here, i.e., the 'community'. Firstly, an association of the indoor burial custom with the indoor granary is found among these four 'peoples': the Paiwan, the Rukai, the Bunun, and the Puyuma (cf. Map 2-3). But something more interesting appears if we contrast these four cases; that is, while the Bunun are categorized as a people who emphasize individual achievement, the other three are characterized by their ranked features and even some characteristics of chieftainship (see Y-K. Huang 1985).⁷ The individual house is the Bunun's main social unit, and through a series of joint household activities the Bunun demarcate their sense of 'community' (Y-K. Huang 1992; S-Y. Yang 1992). Contrarily, there is a ranked relationship between families in the latter three cases. But it is noticeable that while in the cases of the Paiwan and the Rukai the chiefly family's

7. Indeed, each 'people' shows significant local variations, whose implications should be further investigated. For instance, S-Y. Yang (1992) indicates that in the Bunun of the southern group there are no other indigenous formal organizations beyond the household.

granary is inside the house, it is outside (i.e., in the *karumaan*) in the case of the Puyuma.

What, then, does this difference imply? While chiefly families of both the Paiwan and the Rukai have legitimized their privileged positions through the rites concerning millet and the spectacular qualities of their houses (e.g. their wooden carvings and spatial range), the inheritance of certain precious beads and so on, their Puyuma counterparts centred their specificity on *karumaan* and (formerly) *parakwan* (men's houses). Nevertheless, even if a Puyuma leading family's privileged position has been associated with a *karumaan* and a named men's house, it does not seem to have developed as fully as in the cases of the Paiwan and the Rukai.⁸ Furthermore, in Nan-wang there are no fixed 'kin' connections between specialists who conduct rites in the *karumaan* and the 'original stem household' supervising it.⁹ The latter feature is particularly significant in the case of Nan-wang: the Puyuma do not have the specialists with inherited positions called *rahan*, who are related to the greatest leading family and are responsible for the rites of the 'community' as a whole. This lack suggests another characteristic in the case of the Puyuma: the fully-fledged development of the age organization.

In a nutshell, the differences outlined above suggest that the Puyuma occupy the middle ground of a spectrum along which complicated relationships exist between the household (house) and the 'community'. At one extreme (e.g. the Paiwan and the Rukai), the individual household constitutes part of and is contained by the 'community', which is represented and demonstrated by the chiefly houses. At the other (e.g.

8. For instance, in both the Paiwan and the Rukai people of different ranks have been prohibited from marrying by the threat of losing their former rights and privileged positions (see B. Chiang 1993, Hsu 1994).

9. While the female specialists of the Paiwan are attached to the chiefly families, no such equivalent appears in Nan-wang. It is noticeable that the situation in Katipol is closer to the Paiwan case: the female specialist is called *puringao*, and ritual practices are called *palisi*.

the Bunun), the household (house) constitutes a basic social unit, in terms of which the 'community' is constituted by the joint activities engaged in by these units. Contrasting with these cases, the case of the Puyuma exemplifies a situation, contradictory to that some studies have argued (e.g. Barth 1993: 127; Nisbet 1976: 14, 19), in which household (or kinship) and 'community' constitute intimate relationships. It is here that another and wider implication of the case of the Puyuma can be suggested.

Certain important features of the Puyuma's household (house) show that it constitutes a key issue for understanding the relationships among 'kin' and between households. In a way, this discussion echoes recent studies on 'House Societies' in Southeast Asia (and, more widely, among the Austronesian peoples as a whole and even in Africa), which suggest that the house in an indigenous sense is an important social institution in this area, despite the controversies over its significance either in its stronger sense ('House society') or its weaker one ('house-based societies') (e.g. Carsten 1997; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Fox 1993a; Kuper 1993; Levi-Strauss 1987: 185-194; Macdonald 1987; Mckinnon 1991: 28-29; Waterson 1990, Ch. 7).

Instead of addressing the issue of 'kinship', however, I have turned my attention to that of the 'community', which for various reasons has been neglected (with some exceptions). In her 'encyclopedic' book about the house in Southeast Asia, for instance, R. Waterson has mentioned that in some communities 'house', 'temple' and 'meeting-place' may all blend together (1980: 66 ff), and that the house constitutes a dominant structure in the organization of community. Even so, it is quite another thing to determine how the house and the community constitute each other. It is here that J. Carsten's recent (1997) work provides an interesting case, although she is primarily concerned with redefining kinship as an indigenous notion about relatedness.

In her study of a Malayan fishing community, Carsten argues that the house is not just a domestic unit, but is the site

of an incorporative process which symbolizes the wider community through the series of activities enacted in the house and between houses, and the involvement of the whole 'community' in the marriage celebration--- in which the women rather than their male counterparts take an important position in the 'symbolic reproduction of the community' (ibid.: 18, 20; Chs. 6 and 9). As she says, 'In Langkawi the absorption of newcomers through hospitality, feeding, fostering, and marriage is central to the process of constructing community' (1997: 280).

A relevant and interesting issue raised by Carsten is the significance of the house in constructing the 'community'. In this sense, the case of Langkawi is different from and contrasts with those of both the Iban and the Buid that I discussed in my Introduction: for the Iban the individual *bilek* family ritually constitutes part of a longhouse 'community', while in the Buid the creation of a community is based on the dissolution of the household, and in turn provides a means of confronting continuous external aggression and pressure.

Nevertheless, Carsten's arguments seem to become complex when some situations are taken into account. On the one hand, due to the limitation that she could not enter the men's world in this Islamic village (Carsten 1997: 29), we do not know how other forms of 'community' can be represented and conceived by the inhabitants, and shape their daily lives. On the other, as Carsten *remarks*, Langkawi Island is a place where inhabitants of various origins have arrived in turn. In other words, if kinship is 'in process' and can continuously incorporate the newcomers to constitute a 'community', this is probably attributable to the fact that the individual household in Langkawi Island is a basic unit and is not subordinate to other kinds of higher-level 'local' organizations.

Although her approach is different, Strathern has in earlier studies of a British rural village suggested the significance of kinship for the understanding of the 'village', and even for wider features such as the class system. In ^{Elmdon} Elmdon, the residents consisted of two main

categories: half the residents were 'villagers' comprising 'old-established' families and their spouses from outside the village, while the other half were 'strangers'/'newcomers'/'outsiders' (Strathern 1982b: 257-258). As Strathern notes, the 'real' Elmdon was defined by and limited to certain long-established families, which had intermarried with each other. In other words, 'there is a precise equation between being a "real" villager and being a birth member of one of the "old" Elmdon families (Strathern 1981: 5, 16), and 'Ideas about relationships between the kin are thus central to the formation of what constitutes a village' (ibid.: 202; see also 1982a: 73, 77). Furthermore, constituting a 'set of symbols which refer to and derive from a wider society' (1982b: 272), notions of both kinship and 'village-ness' provide models of the class system, in terms of their connotations of both 'openness and closure'.¹⁰

Indeed, Strathern has provided interesting insights for conceptualizing the 'village' and its social equivalents. A very interesting thing is that while not all working class residents were 'real Elmdon', all 'real Elmdon-ites' were certainly working-class! In this sense, conceptualizing themselves as 'real Elmdon' was also a means of counterbalancing the influx of middle-class urban commuters. However, if consciousness of distinctiveness may be 'a product of relation with the outside world' (Strathern 1982b: 248; emphasis in original), there is an argument that kinship as an idiom for village or class should be reconsidered in terms of the construction of the 'village' itself (and its social equivalents). In other words--- also appropriate to Carsten's study--- while household (or kinship) can provide an idiom for the community (or village, other social equivalents or the wider society), the way it represents it

10. Kinship here combines a prescribed feature (family name and ascriptions attributed to the 'family') and a flexible one (bilateral kin reckoning) (1982a: 76-77). Likewise, the label 'real Elmdon' suggests both the bounded village membership (with reference to four 'old-established' families) and the fact of considerable geographical movement (1982b: 269-270).

can vary and depends not just on the household's characteristics but also on the articulation of the 'local community' with the 'wider society'.

What, then, can the case of the Puyuma bring *to light* on the aforementioned discussions? It is here that the significance of the *karumaan* comes to the fore. On the one hand, it seems to be a feature confined to the domain of 'kinship', considering the fact that it is (though not always) associated with an 'original stem household', and concerned with the *vini*. But it is built outside this household. On the other, in the case of the leading *karumaan*, it comes to be the ritual locale concerning the whole 'community'. In this way, it not only signifies the complicated relationships between 'community' and kinship, but is also an important mechanism to re-appropriate the forces originating from outside in constructing an 'indigenous community', and as an institution to be harnessed to gain the power.

To conclude: throughout this thesis (including this chapter) I have argued the significance of the issue of 'community': not treating it merely as a product of an articulation of the 'indigenous' forces and those from 'outside', but also taking serious account of its indigenous expressions and its relationships to other social spheres. In this sense, this case study of the Puyuma provides an example not only to prove the significance of the issue of 'community', but also to offer an alternative to reconsider it. As Pred and Watts have pointed out: 'If the local is to be theorized, then this should be undertaken in such a way that the external determinations are articulated with *internal agency, with locally shared knowledge and practices, with shared but socially differentiated meanings and experiences*' (1992: 15; emphasis added). In this way, contrary to the attitudes of Geertz and many other anthropologists, I have demonstrated that anthropologists should not only study 'in villages', but also 'study' villages.

Appendix 1 Puyuma Household Names and Their Meanings

<u>HOUSEHOLD NAME</u>	<u>MEANING</u>
1. Abanguran	a family who had previously moved to Taitung city, rather than settling with the other Puyuma in <u>Nan-wang</u> . Later they came back but they felt shamed, so they stayed temporarily in a place whose name they took as their house name. It is said that the real house name is Palababuyan.
2. <u>Arasis*</u>	
3. Bakabak	'bakabak' means 'vegetable garden'.
4. <u>Balangato*</u>	
5. Balibali	'bali' means the shadow cast by the sun under a tree.
6. Bashia	'bashia' means 'poor'.
7. Batuk*	
8. Batun	
9. Butul*	'butul' is the name of Orchid Island, located eastward from the island of Taiwan.
10. Durungiyal	
11. Kagi*	'Kagi' is a city located in south-western Taiwan, pronounced in the Taiwanese language.
12. kaizangan	
13. Kakubaw*	'kubaw' means a warehouse for storing grain.
14. kalitengay	'kalitengay' is a Paiwan word meaning 'school'.

15. Katalapan* 'lapan' means the front leg of a mountain animal. It indicates someone who is good at hunting.
16. Konkwang 'konkwang' means that someone's house is big and spectacular. Konkwang is said to be branched from Taliyalep.
17. Kubaw (southside)
18. Kunas** 'maakunal' means bald-headed.
19. Kwalongan
20. Laplap
21. Likbuwais
22. Liton
23. Longatan*
24. Mabaliyu 'mabebaliyu' means that there are always a lot of people passing through the frontdoor.
25. Magelen
26. Maka ami i
Konkwang 'ami' means 'north'. Namely, located north of Konkwang.
27. Maka laut i
ayawan 'laut' means 'east'. Namely, located east of the headman's house.
28. Maka daya i
Rara 'daya' means 'westward' or 'towards inland'
29. Masikat senkat means a place where a lot of people are brought together. That is, the headman's house.
30. Miyakan 'akanlan' means offering a lot of food for others to eat.
31. Miyaput a lot of flowers, 'aput', grown around the house. It is branched from Kakubaw.
32. Palegi
33. Pakawyan The ancestors were always farm

hands of the Rara family and slept in the place where the firewood 'kawi' is stored.

34. Palababuyan
35. Paliwan 'paliwan' is an Ami settlement located northward.
36. Pasaraat** 'raat' means the divergent part from the branch of a tree. The other saying means the house name 'the original family'
37. Pike a person's name, who was unmarried and stayed in their 'original family'. The original family name of Pike is Balangato.
38. Pinudadaran 'daran' means 'road'. Probably this house formerly was nearby the road.
39. Punapuran 'puran' means 'betel nut'. It is said to be related to Kunas.
40. Purupuruban* 'arubu' means 'having long hair'.
41. Rara** 'murara' means 'widespread'. The former house name was Alialip, meaning the overlapping of the stone pieces on the aloof. The house name was changed after their inheritance of a lot of land from the Sapayan family.
42. Sapayan** 'smapaiit' means the land is 'broad and wide' expanding towards western Taiwan.
43. Tabelengan** 'buzengaw' means to steal water for cultivating one's ricefield.
44. Taiiatatia
45. Talawi 'talawi' is the place-name of a Paiwan settlement, into which ancestors had married.
46. Talelibak

47. Taliyalep*
48. Talising 'mutalising' means the wheels
are always out of track.
49. Tamalakaw 'tamalakaw' means someone has
always said that they live as far
away as Tamalakaw, another Puyuma
settlement, whenever he has
been late to take part in an
activity.
50. Tatiam* 'tiam' means grocery store,
pronounced in the Taiwanese
language.
51. Tatimul
52. Tutuul 'tuul' means a kind of tree.

* used to have a *karumaan* which is now extinct

** *karumaan* still extant

--- a public *karumaan*, formerly associated with a men's house

Appendix 2 Previous Headmen of the 'Community' (until 1996)¹

Term	Name ²	Family Name	Background
1	<i>Kerarao</i>	<i>Masikat</i>	the interpreter of the late Ch'ing dynasty, and the head of the Peinan District under Japanese rule
2	<i>Pakiwaya</i>	<i>Konkwang</i>	received a police education; <i>Kerarao's</i> deputy head, and the president of the youth association
3	<i>Smaliao</i>	<i>Masikat</i>	received a police education
4	<i>Morongan</i>	<i>Bakabak</i>	attended the Aboriginal Public School, the deputy president of the youth association, and a <i>pao cheng</i> ³
5	<i>Arukau</i>	<i>Konkwang</i>	received a police education, and a <i>pao cheng</i> ³
6	<i>Boso</i>	<i>Taliyalep</i>	attended the Aboriginal Public School, and a teacher
7	<i>Abagalan</i>	<i>Kunas</i>	attended the Aboriginal Public School, and married into the <i>Rara</i> family
8	Wang Ching-yuan	<i>Maka ami i Konkwang</i>	attended the agricultural school, and married into the <i>Rara</i> family
9	Nan Hsin-yen	<i>Tatiam</i>	attended the police school, a director of a sub-district police station, president of the Nan-wang Farmland Association, and a representative of the county assembly
10	Sun Min-hsiung	<i>Pasaraat</i>	attended the police school, president of the Nan-wang Farmland Association, married into the <i>Miyaput</i> family, and the second-term president of the elderly association (1988-1992)
11	Lai Wang-k'o	(<i>Miyakan</i>)	attended the Aboriginal Public School, an Ami who married into the <i>Miyakan</i> family
12	T'ai Yung-kuei	<i>Kwalongan</i>	attended the police school, a representative of rural township

- council, and the incumbent deputy president of the elderly association
- 13 Chen Ch'in-ming *Rara* the incumbent president of the elderly association (1992-)
- 14 Chen Ch'ing-wen *Konkwang* the head of the Nan-wang settlement (1978-1995)

Notes:

1. The information above is based partly on the pamphlet compiled in 1993 by Mr. Cheng Hsien-shen, who died in 1996, and partly on the Puyuma elders' reports. There are some variations regarding the subsequence, for instance, the subsequential order of *Pakiwaya*. In addition, I was told that the headship of the settlement was assumed by a male Puyuma in his early fifties in a by-election held due to the death of no 14 in mid-1995. The newly elected head is a member of the *Butul* family, is a half sibling of the mother-in-law of no 14, and is a representative of the local agricultural association.

2. Mainly because of the teknonymy, I do not know and have not asked the indigenous names of these previous headmen. The list of names follows the aforementioned pamphlet. The names of previous headmen (from 8 to 14) are romanization of their Chinese names.

3. *Pao cheng* was a kind of local officer who was responsible for putting government's policies into practice and was supervised by the local police officers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Appadurai, A. 1990. Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *Public Culture* 2(2), 1-24.
- 1991. Global ethnoscaples: notes and queries for a transnational anthropology. In *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. (ed.) R.G. Fox. New Mexico: School of American Research Press. PP. 191-210.
- 1995. The production of locality. In *Counterwork: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*. (ed.) R. Fardon. London: Routledge. PP. 204-225.
- Asad, T. (ed.) 1973a. *Anthropology and the Cultural Encounter*. New York: Humanities Press.
- 1973b. Introduction. In T. Asad. (1973a). PP. 9-19.
- 1987. Are there histories of peoples without Europe? A review article. *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 29(3), 594-607.
- 1991. 'Afterword: From the history of colonial anthropology to the anthropology of Western hegemony'. In G. W. Jr. Stocking. (ed.) (1991). PP. 314-324.
- Barth, F. 1993. *Balinese Worlds*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- 1995. Other knowledge and other ways of knowing. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 51, 66-68.
- Basch, L., N.G. Schiller and C.S. Blanc. 1994. *Nations Unbounded: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. New York: Gordon and Breach.
- Bell, C and H. Newby. 1971. *Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Bellwood, P. 1995. Austronesian prehistory in Southeast Asia: homeland, expansion and transformation. In *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. (eds.) P. Bellwood., J.J. Fox and D. Tryon. Canberra: The Australian National University. 96-111.
- Bellwood, P., J. J. Fox and D. Tryon. 1995. The Austronesians in history: common origins and diverse transformations. In *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. (eds.) P. Bellwood., J. J. Fox and D. Tryon. Canberra: The Australian National University. PP. 1-16.
- Blusse, L., M. E. van Opstall and Y-H. Ts'ao. 1986. *De Dagregusters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan, 1629-1641, Vol 1, 1629-1641*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Bourque, L. N. 1995. Savages and angels: the spiritual, social and physical development of individuals and households in Andean life-cycle festivals. *Ethnos* 60(1/2), 99-115.
- Breman, J. 1980. *The village on Java and the Early-Colonial State*. Rotterdam: The Comparative Asian Studies Programme (CASP), Erasmus University.
- 1988. *The Shattered Image: Construction and Deconstruction of the Village in Colonial Asia*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- 1996. The village on Java and the early colonial state. In *The Village Concept in the Transformation of Rural Southeast Asia*.

- Surrey: Curzon Press. PP. 3-28.
- Brow, J. 1990. Notes on community, hegemony, and the uses of the past. In J. Brow and T. Swedenburg (eds). PP. 1-6.
- Brow, J and T. Swedenburg. (eds.) 1990. *Tendentious Revisions of the Past in the Construction of Community*. *Anthropological Quarterly* 63(1) (Special Issue).
- Campbell, W. 1967 [1903]. *Formosa Under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records*. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company.
- Carrithers, M. 1996. Life understood backward: Geertz's pessimism in *After the Fact*. *History of the Human Sciences* 9(4), 167-173.
- Carsten, J. 1997. *The Heat of the Hearth: The Process of Kinship in a Malay Fishing Community*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Carsten, J and S. Hugh-Jones. (eds.) 1995a. *About the House: Levi-Strauss and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1995b. Introduction: about the house--- Levi-Strauss and beyond. In J. Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones. (eds.) (1995a). PP. 1-46.
- Chang, H-Y and R. H. Myers. 1962. Japanese colonial development policy in Taiwan, 1895-1906: a case of bureaucratic entrepreneurship. *Journal of Asian Studies* 22(4), 433-449.
- Chang, L-C. 1991. *Ethnicity and Rural Taiwan--- An Ethno-historical Study of the Pazeh in Ch'ing Dynasty*. Taipei: National Taiwan University, History and Chinese Literature Series, No 87.*
- Chang, Y-C. 1986. *Researches on the Opening of Eastern Taiwan During the Ch'ing Period*. M.A. thesis. Taichung: Department of History, Tung-hai University.*
- Chen, C-H. 1959. *A Geography of Taiwan, 3 Vols*. Taipei: Fu-min Geographical Institute of Economic Development, Research Report No. 94.*
- 1963. *Taiwan: An Economic and Social Geography*. Vol 1. Taipei: Fu-min Geographical Institute of Economic Development, Research Report No. 96.
- Chen, C-K. 1994. *Taiwan's Aboriginal Proprietary Rights in the Ch'ing Period: Bureaucracy, Han Tenants and the Transformation of Property Rights of the Anli Tribe, 1700-1895*. Taipei, Nankang: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Monograph Series, No. 74.*
- Chen, C-L. 1974. The Special Commission for Inquiry on the Olden Customs of Taiwan' and the studies of Taiwanese aborigines. *Taiwan Folkways* 24(4), 7-24.*
- 1989. The development of anthropology in Taiwan during the past four decades. In *Anthropological Studies of the Taiwan Area: Accomplishment and Prospects*. (eds.) K-C. Chang et al. Taipei: National Taiwan University. PP. 1-14.
- Chen, C-L., Y-Y. Li and M-C. Tang. 1955. Preliminary report of ethnological investigation in the Thao of Jih-yueh T'an (Sun-Moon lake). *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 6, 26-33.*
- Chen, C-N. 1976. Reviews of post-war social anthropological studies on Taiwan aborigines. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 40, 19-49.*
- Chen, C-P. 1959. The history of immigration to Taitung. *Report of Historico-Geographical Studies of Taiwan* 10(3), 111-116.*
- Chen, I-T. 1970. Japanese colonialism in Korea and Formosa: a

- comparison of the systems of political control. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 30, 126-158.
- 1984. The attempt to integrate the empire: legal perspective. In R.H. Myers and M.R. Peattie. (eds.) (1984). PP. 240-274.
- Chen, S-H. 1979. *Demographic Change and Social Change in Taiwan*. Taipei: Lien-ching Publishing Co., Ltd.*
- Chen, W-T. nd. The making of 'Taiwan aboriginal peoples and their cultures': a preliminary investigation. A lecture given at The Taiwanese Association in the United Kingdom, on 4 December, 1996.
- Chen, Y-M. 1994. Couple, house and settlement: the spatial notion of the Yami on Orchid Island. In Y-K. Huang (ed.) (1995b). PP.133-166.*
- Cheng, C-H. 1993. *The Immigration and Settlement on Taitung Plain*. M.A. thesis. Taipei: Department of History, National Taiwan Normal University.*
- Cheng, M-N. 1974. Agricultural policies and socio-economic change of rural society in Taiwan. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 37, 113-143.*
- Chiang, B. 1993. *House and Social Hierarchy of the Paiwan*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania.
- 1996. The Paiwan culture that is fashionable in southern Taiwan. *Taiwan Indigenous Voice, Bimonthly* 13, 6-12.*
- Chiu, Fred, Y-L. 1994. From the politics of identity to an alternative cultural politics: on Taiwan primordial inhabitants. *Boundary 2* 21(1), 84-108.
- Chou, W-Y. 1994. A comparative study of the *kominka* movement in Taiwan and Korea, 1937-1945. *New History* 5(2), 117-158.*
- 1995. The national-language movement in colonial Taiwan, 1937-1945. *New History* 6(2), 116-161.*
- Chuang, S-L. 1959. Taiwan under the Dutch rule. *Report of Historico-Geographical Studies of Taiwan* 10(3), 1-26.*
- Chuang, Y-C. 1993. Representation, conversion and colonial struggle: colonialism and mission in 17th century Taiwan under Dutch rule. *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 15, 131-166.*
- Clifford, J. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- 1992. Travelling cultures. In *Cultural Studies*. (eds.) L. Grossberg., C. Nelson and P. Treichler. London: Routledge. PP. 96-116.
- Cohen, A.P. 1985. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- 1986. Of symbols and boundaries, or, does Ertie's greatcoat hold the key. In *Symbolising Boundaries: Indentity and Diversity in British Cultures*. (ed.) A.P. Cohen. Manchester: Manchester University Press. PP. 1-19.
- 1987. *Whalsey: Symbol, Segment and Boundary in a Shetland Island Community*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- 1993. Culture as identity: an anthropologist's view. *New Literary History* 24 (1), 195-209.
- 1994. *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Cohen, M.J. 1991. *Taiwan at the Crossroads: Human Rights, Political*

- Development and Social Change on the Beautiful Island*. Washington, D.C: Asia Resource Center.
- Coronil, F. 1996. Beyond occidentalism: Toward nonimperial geohistorical categories. *Cultural Anthropology* 11(1), 51-87.
- Crick, M. 1982. Anthropological field research, meaning creation and knowledge construction. In *Semantic Anthropology*. (ed.) D. Parkin. London: Academic Press. 15-37.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. 1992. Ritual and resistance: subversion as a social fact. In *Contesting Power: Resistance and Everyday Social Relations in South Asia*. (eds.) D. Haynes and G. Prakash. Berkeley: University of California Press. PP. 213-238.
- Douglas, B. 1994. Hierarchy and reciprocity in New Caledonia: an historical ethnography. In Jolly, M and M. S. Mosko. (eds) (1994a). PP. 169-193.
- Errington, F and D. Gewertz. 1984. Of unfinished dialogues and paper pigs. *American Ethnologist* 14(2), 367-376.
- 1986. The confluence of powers: entropy and importation among the Chambri. *Oceania* 57(1), 99-113.
- Fann, Y-C. 1995. The formation of Taiwan's Public health in the early stage of Japanese rule, 1895-1920: an observation about institution. *Thought and Words* 33(2), 215-258.*
- Fardon, R. (ed.) 1990a. *Localizing Strategies: Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- 1990b. Localizing strategies: the regionalization of ethnographic accounts. In R. Fardon (ed.) (1990a). PP. 1-35.
- Featherstone, M. 1995. *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*. London: Sage.
- Featherstone, M and S. Lash. 1995. Globalization, modernity and the spatialization of social theory: an introduction. In *Global Modernities*. (eds.) M. Featherstone., S. Lash and R. Robertson. London: Sage. PP. 1-24.
- Ferrell, R. 1969. *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups: Problems in Cultural and Linguistic Classification*. Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of Ethnology.
- 1982. *Paiwan Dictionary*. The Australian National University.
- Fox, J.J. (ed.) 1993a. *Inside Austronesian Houses: Perspectives on Domestic Designs for Living*. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- 1995b. Comparative perspectives on Austronesian houses: an introductory essay. In J.J. Fox (ed.) (1993a). PP. 1-29.
- Fox, R.G. 1991. Introduction: working in the present. In *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press. PP. 1-16.
- Freeman, D. 1970. *Report on the Iban*. London: The Athlone Press.
- 1981. *Some Reflections on the Nature of Iban Society*. An Occasional Paper of the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Fujii, S. 1989. *The Aborigine's Policy of Taiwan Government General in the Period of the Japanese Dominance*. Taipei: Institute of History, National Taiwan Normal University.*
- Furuno, K. 1945. *The Ritual Life of the Formosan Aborigines***

- Geertz, C. 1959. Form and variation in Balinese village structure. *American Anthropologist* 61, 991-1012.
- 1961. Review of *Bali: Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual*. *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 117, 498-502.
- 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Geertz, H and C. Geertz. 1975. *Kinship in Bali*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Geuijen, K., D. Raven and J. Wolf de. (eds.) 1995. *Post-modernism and Anthropology: Theory and Practice*. The Netherlands: Van Gorcum.
- George, Kenneth M. 1996. *Showing Signs of Violence: The Cultural Politics of a Twentieth-Century Headhunting Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gibson, T. 1986. *Sacrifice and Sharing in the Philippine Highlands: Religion and Society among the Buid of Mindoro*. London: The Athlone Press.
- Government Information Office, R.O.C. 1995. *The Republic of China Yearbook*. Taipei.
- Government of Formosa. 1985 [1900]. *The Colonial Report from the Taitung*. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., Ltd.**
- 1911. *Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa*. Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, Formosa.
- Gow, P. 1991. *Of Mixed Blood: Kinship and History in Peruvian Amazonia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hannerz, U. 1996. *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. London: Routledge.
- Harris, O. 1996. The temporalities of tradition: reflections on a changing anthropology. In *Grasping the Changing World: Anthropological Concepts in the Postmodern Era*. (ed.) V. Hubinger. London: Routledge. PP. 1-16.
- Hashimoto, H. 1985 [1922]. *Eastern Taiwan*. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., Ltd.**
- Hastrup, K. 1995. *A Passage to Anthropology: Between Experience and Theory*. London: Routledge.
- Hastrup, K and K.F. Olwig. 1997. 'Introduction'. In *Siting Culture: The Shifting Anthropological Subject*. In Olwig, K.F and K. Hastrup. PP. 1-14.
- Helliwell, C. 1996. Space and sociality in a Dayak longhouse. In *Things as They Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology*. (ed.) M. Jackson. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. PP. 128-148.
- Hoadley, M.C and C. Gunnarsson. (eds.) 1996. *The Village Concept in the Transformation of Rural Southeast Asia*. Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Hobart, M. 1978. The path of the soul: the legitimacy of nature in Balinese conceptions of space. In *Natural Symbols in South East Asia*. (ed.) G.M. Millner. London: School of Oriental and African Studies. PP. 5-28.
- 1991. The art of measuring mirage, or is there kinship in Bali? In F. Huskin and J. Kemp. (eds.) (1991). PP. 33-53.
- Holy, L. 1996. 1996. *Anthropological Perspectives on Kinship*. London: Pluto Press.
- Hong, K and S.O. Murray. 1994. Looking through Taiwan to see 'traditional' China. In *Taiwanese Culture, Taiwanese Society: A*

- Critical Review of Social Science Research Done on Taiwan*. Compiled by S.O. Murray and K. Hong. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Howe, L. 1991. Rice, ideology, and the legitimation of hierarchy in Bali. *Man* 26(3), 445-467.
- Hsieh, S-C. 1987. *Ethnic Contacts, Stigmatized Identity, and Pan-Taiwan Aboriginalism: A Study on Ethnic Change of Taiwan Aborigines*. Taipei: Independent Evening News.*
- 1994. From *shanbao* to *yuanzhumin*: Taiwan aborigines in transition. In *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*. (ed.) M.A. Rubinstein. New York: M.E. Sharpe. PP. 404-419.
- Hsu, K-M. 1994. *The Ritual and Culture of the Paiwanese Village of Kulalau*. Taipei: Tao-hsiang Publishing Co., Ltd.*
- Huang, L-S. 1995. *A Brief Missionary History of in China*. Taitung: Taitung Catholic Dogmatic Centre.*
- Huang, Y-K. 1976. Post-war economic change among the Taiwanese aborigines. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 40, 85-96.*
- 1984. The development of anthropological study in Taiwan, 1945-1982. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 55, 105-146.*
- 1985. Two types of social system among Taiwanese aborigines and its implications. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 57, 1-30.*
- 1992. *Cultural Practice and Social Life among the Bunun of Taketonpu*. Taipei, Nankang: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.*
- (ed.) 1993a. *The Concept of the Person, Meaning and Society*. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.*
- 1993b. Introduction: person, meaning and society. In Y-K. Huang (ed.) 1993a. PP. 1-26.*
- 1993c. Crop, economy, and society among the Bunun of Taketonpu. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 75, 133-169.*
- 1995a. Anthropology and Taiwanese society. In *Methods for Analyzing a Society*. National Open University, National Hualien Teacher's College and National Pingtung Teacher's College.*
- 1995b. (eds.) *Space, Power and Society*. Nankang, Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.*
- 1997. Introduction: a view of Chinese society and culture from the periphery. In *A View of Chinese Society and Culture from the Periphery: Essays in Memory of Sung-hsing Wang*. (eds.) Y-K. Huang and C-R. Yeh. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. PP. 5-33*
- Huang, Y-K and C-R. Yeh. (eds.) 1997. *A View of Chinese Society and Culture from the Periphery: Essays in Memory of Sung-hsing Wang*. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.*
- Husken, F and J. Kemp. (eds.) 1991. *Cogitation and Social Organization in Southeast Asia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Ide, K. 1936. *The Record of the Achievement of the Colonial Administration on Taiwan*** (Chinese Translation, see Kuo, H. 1956. Taichung: The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province.)
- Ingold, T. 1994a. 'General Introduction'. In *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology: Humanity, Culture and Social Life*. (ed.) T. Ingold. London: Routledge. PP. xiii-xxii.
- Ino, K. 1904. *History of Aborigine Policy in Taiwan*. Taipei: Taiwan Colonial Government.** (Chinese Translation, see C. Wen. 1975.

- Taichung: The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province.)
- 1928. *A Cultural History of Taiwan*. 3 Vols.** (Chinese Translation, see C-L. Chiang et al. 1985. Taichung: The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province.)
- Institute of Ethnology. 1983. *A Report on the Study of the Policy Regarding the Mountain's Administration*. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.*
- Jenkins, R. 1996. *Social Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Jolly, M. 1994. *Women of the Place: Kastom, Colonialism and Gender in Vanuatu*. Reading: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Jolly, M and M. S. Mosko. (eds.) 1994a. *Transformations of Hierarchy: Structure, History and Horizon in the Austronesian World. History and Anthropology* (Special issue), 7(1-4).
- 1994b. Prologue. In Jolly, M and M. S. Mosko. (eds) (1994a). PP. 1-18.
- Ka, C-M. 1995. *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan: Land Tenure, Development, and Dependency, 1895-1945*. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Kano, T. (n.d). Variations of the Han-Chinese impacts on Taiwanese aboriginal peoples.**
- 1938. An investigation on the distribution of population and the altitude of the habitations of the Formosan aborigines. *Geographic Review* 14(8-9), 649-696, 761-796.**
- Kearney, M. 1996. *Reconceptualizing the Peasantry: Anthropology in Global Perspective*. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Keesing, R and M. Jolly. 1992. Epilogue. In *History and Tradition in Melanesian Anthropology*. (ed.) J.G. Carrier. Berkeley: University of California Press. PP. 224-247.
- Kemp, J. 1982. Kinship and locality in Hua Kok. *Journal of the Siam Society*. 70 (1/2), 101-113.
- 1988. *Seductive Mirage: The Search for the Village Community in Southeast Asia*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- 1991. Processes of kinship and community in North-Central Thailand. In *Cognition and Social Organization in Southeast Asia*. (eds.) F. Husken and J. Kemp. Leiden: KITLV Press. PP. 91-107.
- 1996 [1991]. The dialectics of village and state in modern Thailand. In *The Village Concept in the Transformation of Rural Southeast Asia*. (eds.) M. Hoaldehy and C. Gunnarsson. Surrey: Curzon Press. PP. 44-63.
- Knight, J. 1994. Questioning local boundaries: a critique of the 'anthropology of locality'. *Ethnos* 59(3/4), 213-231.
- Kuper, A. 1973. *Anthropologists and Anthropology: The British School, 1992-72*. London: Penguin Books.
- 1993. The 'house' and Zulu political structure in the nineteenth century. *Journal of African History* 34(3), 469-487.
- Kwan, H-S. 1989. The physical environment and religious thought among the Yami. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 67, 143-175.*
- Levi-Strauss, C. 1983. *The Way of the Masks*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- 1987. *Anthropology and Myth: Lectures 1951-1982*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Lewis, I.M. 1985. *Social Anthropology in Perspective: The Relevance of Social Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Li, Y-Y. 1989. Four hundred years of ethnic relations in Taiwan. In.

- Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups in China.* (eds.) C. Chiao and N. Tapp. Hongkong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong. PP. 103-115.
- 1993. From ethnography to social anthropology, notes on the development of the anthropological research in Taiwan. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 23(4), 341-360.*
- Li, Y-Y et al 1982. *Aboriginal Architectural Culture in Taiwan*. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.*
- Liu, P-H. 1975. Reviews of studies on Taiwan aborigines by Japanese scholars. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 40, 5-17.*
- Lo, T. (ed.) 1964. *The Historiography of Taitung County, Vol 2: The People*. Taitung: The Commission of Historical Research.*
- Mabuchi, T. 1940-1941. Geographical knowledge and socio-political organization of the Formosan mountain tribes. *Annual Report of the Institute of Ethnology* Vol 3, 267-307.**
- 1960. The aboriginal peoples of Formosa. In *Social Structure in Southeast Asia*. (ed.) G.P. Murdock. Chicago: quadrangle Books. PP. 127-40.
- 1974 *Collected Essays of Mabuchi Toichi*. 3 Vols. Tokyo: Association of Social Thought.**
- Macdonald, C. (ed.) 1987. *De la Hutte au Palais: Societes 'a Maison' en Asie du Sud-Est Insulaire*. Paris: Editions du CNRS.
- Mallon, F.E. 1995. *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Marcus, G.E. 1992. Past, present and emergent identities: requirements for ethnographies of late twentieth-century modernity worldwide. In *Modernity and Identity*. (eds.) S. Lash and J. Friedman. Oxford: Blackwell. PP. 309-330.
- 1995. Notes on ideologies of reflexivity in contemporary efforts to remake the human science. In K. Geuijen et al. (eds.) (1995). PP. 1-20.
- Marcus, G.E and M.M.J. Fischer. 1986. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Science*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Massey, D. 1994. *Space, Place and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- McKinnon, S. 1991. *From a Shattered Sun: Hierarchy, Gender, and Alliance in the Tanimbar Islands*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Meng, H-H. 1988. *The Settlement and Development of Eastern Taiwan*. M. A. thesis. Taipei: Department of History, National Taiwan Normal University.*
- Miyamoto, N., et al. 1954. Symposium on the Japanese Administration of Aboriginal Formosa. *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology* 18(1-2), 179-190.**
- Myers, R.H. and M.R. Peattie. (eds.) 1984. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895- 1945*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Nagata, S. 1995. A comparison of administration of the aboriginal populations in Taiwan (Japanese period), Malaysia and North America. In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Anthropology and the Museum*. (ed.) T-Y. Lin. Taipei: Taiwan Museum. PP. 75-100.
- Nakamura, T. 1974. Taiwanese aborigines under the Dutch rule: a view from household census among villages. *Ethnos in Asia* 1, 32-37.**

- 1993. The delegates assembly of eastern Taiwan in 1655. *The Taiwan Folkways* 43(1), 155-168.*
- Nisbet, R. 1976. *The Social Philosophers*. Paladin.
- Nugent, D. 1989. 'Are we not [civilized] men?: the formation and devolution of community in northern Mexico. *Journal Historical Sociology* 2(3), 206-239.
- Ogawa, N and Asai, E. 1935. *The Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes, with Texts and Notes*. Institute of Linguistics, Taihoku Imperial University.**
- Ohnuki-Tierney, E. 1993. *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time*. New Jersey: University or Princeton Press.
- 1995. Structure, event and historical metaphor: rice and identities in Japanese history. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 1(2), 227-253.
- Olwig, K.F and K. Hastrup. (eds.) 1997. *Siting Culture: The Shifting Anthropological Object*. London: Routledge.
- Ong, I-T. 1979. *Taiwan: A History of Anguish and Struggle*. Tokyo.*
- Pan, C-T. 1992. *Research on the Migration of Plain Aborigines to Eastern Taiwan During the Ch'ing Period*. M.A. thesis. Taichung: Department of History, Tunghai University.*
- Passin, H. 1947. Brief communications: a note on Japanese research in Formosa. *American Anthropologist* 49(3), 514-518.
- Peattie, M. R. 1984. Introduction. In R.H. Myers and M.R. Peattie. (eds.) (1984). PP. 1-52.
- Pool, R. 1995. Breaking the conspiracy of silence....:some reflections on fieldwork and new modes of ethnographic writing. In K. Geuijen et al. (eds.) (1995). PP. 108-119.
- Pred, A and M.J. Watts. 1992. *Reworking Modernity: Capitalisms and Symbolic Discontent*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Rapport, N. 1993. *Diverse World-Views in an English Village*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.
- 1996. Community. In *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. (eds.) Bernard, A and J. Spencer. London: Routledge. PP. 115-117.
- Reuter, T. 1992. Precedence in Sumatra; an analysis of the construction of status in affinal relations and origin groups. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 148(3&4), 489-520.
- Roseberry, W. 1988. Political economy. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17, 161-185.
- Robertson, R. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- 1995. Glocalization: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In *Global Modernities*. (eds.) M. Featherstone, S, Lash and R. Robertson. London: Sage. PP. 25-44.
- Sahlins, M. 1985. *Islands of History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sayama, Y. 1920. *The Paiwan, Research Report on Aboriginal Groups in Taiwan*. Taipei: Taiwan Colonial Government.**
- Schneider, D.M. 1984. *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Shepherd, J. R. 1985. Taiwan as a Chinese frontier. Paper Presented at International Conference on Anthropological Studies of the Taiwan

- Area: Accomplishments and Prospects, December 25-31, National Taiwan University.
- 1993. *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Shih, L. 1976. *Cognatic Kinship Systems among Formosan Aborigines: A Comparative Study of Rukai, Paiwan and Puyuma*. Nankang, Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Monograph No. 23.*
- Show, R and C. Stewart. 1994. 'Problematizing Syncretism'. In C. Stewart and R. Show (eds.) PP. 1-26.
- Slater, C. 1970. *The Geography of Marginality: A Study of Migration, Settlement, and Agricultural Development in the Rift Valley of Eastern Taiwan*. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Berkeley: University of California.
- Stacey, M. 1969. The myth of community studies. *The British Journal of Sociology*. 20(2), 134-147.
- Stewart, C and R. Shaw. (eds.) 1994a. *Syncretism/ Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London: Routledge.
- Stocking, George W. Jr. (ed.) 1991. *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin.
- Strathern, M. 1981. *Kinship at the Core: An Anthropology of Elmdon--- a Village in North-West Essex in the Nineteen-Sixties*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1982a. The place of kinship: kin, class and village status in Elmdon, Essex. In *Belonging: Identity and Social Organization in British Rural Cultures*. (ed.) A.P. Cohen. Manchester: Manchester University Press. PP. 72-100.
- 1982b. The village as an idea: constructs of village-ness in Elmdon, Essex. In *Belonging: Identity and Social Organization in British Rural Cultures*. (ed.) A.P. Cohen. Manchester: Manchester University Press. PP. 247-277.
- 1987. The limits of auto-anthropology. In *Anthropology at Home*. (ed.) A. Jackson. London: Tavistock. PP. 16-37.
- 1992. Writing societies, writing persons. *History of the Human Sciences* 5(1), 5-16.
- Strathern, M., J. Peel., C. Toren and J. Spencer. 1990. *The Concept of Society is Theoretically Obsolete*. Manchester: Group for Debates in Anthropological Theory, University of Manchester.
- Sugimoto, T. 1971. Japanese in Taiwan. In *Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol 8(2), Linguistics in Oceania*. (ed.) T. A. Sebeok. The Hague: Mouton. PP. 969-995.
- Taitung County Government. 1963. *Taitung County Gazetteer*. Taitung.*
- Takekoshi, Y. 1907. *Japanese Rule in Formosa*. (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc. Rep. 1978)
- Tan, C-K. 1992. *House, Hierarchy and the Idea of Person in a Village of Eastern Paiwan, Taiwan*. MA thesis, National Taiwan University.*
- Thomas, N and C. Humphrey. 1994. (eds.) *Shamanism, History, and the State*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Thompson, L. 1964. The earliest Chinese eyewitness accounts of the Formosan Aborigines. *Monumenta Serica* 23, 163-204.
- 1969. Formosan aborigines in the early eighteenth century: Huang

- Shu-ching's *Fan Su Liu Kao* (Barbarian customs under six headings). *Monumenta Serica* 20, 41-147.
- Thornton, R.J. and M. Ramphel. 1989. *Community: concept and practice in South Africa*. *Critique of Anthropology* 9(1), 75-87.
- Ts'ao, Y-H. 1979. *Researches on Taiwan's Early History*. Taipei: Lien-ching Publishing Co., Ltd.*
- Tsutsui, T. 1985 [1932]. *The Guide for Eastern Taiwan*. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., Ltd.**
- Tsurumi, E.P. 1977. *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1845-1945*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Turton, A. 1978. Architectural and Political Space in Thailand. In *Natural Symbols in South-East Asia*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies. PP. 113-132.
- Tyler, S.A. 1995. The middle voice: the influence of post-modernism on empirical research in anthropology. In K. Geuijen et al. (eds.) (1995). PP. 77-88.
- Ulin, R. 1976. 'Brief review on T. Asad's (1973a) *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*'. *Dialectical Anthropology* 1(3), 293-294.
- Utsurikawa, N. 1938. The mi'lao divination practiced by the *Pangtsah* and *Panapanayan* tribes on the east coast of Formosa and its indication of a close relationship to Indonesian area. *The Ethnographic Journal of South-East Asia, Oceania and Taiwan* 51 (1/2), 1-8.**
- Vitebsky, P. 1995. *The Shaman: Voyages of the Soul Trance, Ecstasy and Healing From Siberia to the Amazon*. London: Macmillan.
- Wachman, A. M. 1994. Competing Identities in Taiwan. In *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*. (ed.) M. A. Rubinstein. New York: M.E. Sharpe. PP. 17-80.
- Wagner, R. 1981. *The Invention of Culture*. (Revised and Expanded Edition). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wang, J-Y. 1967. *Population Change of Formosan Aborigines*. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.*
- Wang, S-L. 1980. *Taiwan Under the Japanese Rule*. Taipei: Chung-wen Publishing Co., Ltd.*
- Warren, C. 1993. *Adat and Dinas: Balinese Communities in the Indonesian State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waterson, R. 1989. *The Living House: An Anthropology of Architecture in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- 1995. Houses and hierarchies in island Southeast Asia. In J. Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones. (eds.) (1995a). PP. 47-68.
- Wei, H-L. 1956. Dual organization among the Formosan tribes. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 2, 1-30.*
- Wolf, E. 1982. *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1986. The vicissitudes of the closed corporate peasant community. *American Ethnologist* 13(2), 325-329.
- Yanagisako, S.J. 1979. Family and household: the analysis of domestic groups. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 8, 161-205.
- Yanaihara, T. 1929. *Taiwan Under Japanese Imperialism*** (Chinese translation by H-W. Chou 1985. Taipei: Pamierh Book).
- Yang, C-C. 1993. *A History of "Taiwan": The Emergence and Transformation*. M. A. thesis. Rochester: University of Rochester,

Department of Anthropology.

- Yang, S-Y. 1992. *Gender, Kinship and the Notion of Personhood: A Bunun Case*. MA thesis, National Taiwan University.*
- Yang, T-J. 1993. Post-war Taiwanese sinicization: a viewpoint from the pattern of nation-state. *Taiwan Literature* 138, 77-113.*
- Yang, Y-C. 1992. *The History of the Island of Taiwan Under Dutch Rule*. Chiang-hsi: Nan-ch'ang People's Publishing Co., Ltd.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUYUMA

General Discussion

- Cheng, T-M. 1978. How the gospel is transmitted into the Puyuma. *The Voice of Yu-shan Theological College* 6.*
- Chin, J-H. (ed.) 1989. *Selections of the Puyuma Oral Literature*. Taipei: Chungkuo Wenhua University Press.*
- Huang, Y-L. 1994. Review on post-war Chinese documents of the Puyuma studies. *Journal of Social Studies Education* 3, 179-194.*
- Hsieh, H and K-H. Mo 1985. The report of the Puyuma customs of marriage and death, a discussion meeting held by The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province. *Report of Historic-geographical Studies of Taiwan* 36(1), 163-169.*
- Ino, Y. 1910. Regarding the custom of the death among the Puyuma of Taiwan. *The Journal of Anthropological Association of Tokyo* 291, 342-345.**
- Kaneko, E and S. Tsuchida. 1982. Puyuma ethnohistory and linguistics: a review article. *Asian Folklore Studies* XLI (1), 109-117.
- Lin, H-L. 1985. *The Study of the Puyuma Folksongs*. Taitung.*
- Lo, H-C. 1984. A brief history of preaching in Puyuma. In *A Centennial History of the Presbyterian Church of Formosa, 1865-1965*. (ed.) Rev. L-M. Cheng. Tainan: Presbyterian Church of Formosa, Century Publications Committee. PP. 443-450.*
- Mabuchi, T. 1976. Optional cult group affiliation among the Puyuma and the Miyako Islanders. In *Ancestors*. (ed.) W.H. Newell. Mouton: Paris. PP. 91-103.
- Sayama, Y. 1913. *The Puyuma. Research Report on Aboriginal Groups in Taiwan*. Taipei: Taiwan Colonial Government.**
- 1920. *The Paiwan. Research Report on Aboriginal Groups in Taiwan*. Taipei: Taiwan Colonial Government.**
- Shih, L. 1985. The kinship system of the Puyuma. In *Proceedings of the International Conference on China Border Area Studies*. Taipei: National Chengchi University Press. Pp. 1403-1422.*
- Ting, P-S. 1978. Reconstruction of proto-Puyuma phonology. *Bulletin of*

- the Institute of History and Philology* 49, 321-392.*
- Utsurikawa, N., T. Mabuchi and N. Miyamoto. 1935. *The Formosan Native Tribes, A Genealogical and Classificatory Study*. 2 Vols. Taipei.**
- Wei, H-L. 1962. Matrilineal clan-lineage system of the Puyuma. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 3, 14-26.*
- Wei, H-L, C.-C. Yu and H-L. Lin 1965. *The Puyuma*. In *Historiography of Taiwan*, Vol 8(2), 365-390. Taichung: The Commission of Historical Research of Taiwan.

Nan-wang

- Abe, A. 1929. The life situation in Puyuma. *Friends of Social Carrer* 8, 67-71.**
- 1931. The monkey-killing rite in Puyuma. *The Ethnological Journal of South-East Asia, Oceania and Taiwan* 1(1), 59-62.**
- Cauquelin, J. 1991a. The Puyuma language. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volken-kunde* 147(1), 17-60.
- 1991b. *Dictionnaire Puyuma-Francais*. Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.
- 1993. The impact of Japanese colonialism on Puyuma (Taiwan) shamanism. In *Shamans and Cultures*. (eds.) M. Hopp'al and K.D. Howard. Budapest: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research. PP. 97-104.
- 1995. Systeme d'age chez les Puyuma. *Austronesiens de Taiwan. L'Homme* 134, 159-170.
- Chang, F-F. 1976. The study of the *karumaan*. In *Man and Culture*. PP. 6-15.*
- Chao, M-L. 1976. The death ritual of the Puyuma of Nan-wang. In *Man and Culture*. PP. 15-20.*
- Chen, W-T. 1987. An investigation of ritual in the Puyuma of Nan-wang. In *Rituals, Songs and Dances of Taiwanese Aborigines*. (eds.) P-H. Liu and H-T. Li. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. PP. 194-230.*
- 1989. Celebrating the new year: *Mangayau*, the hunting festival of a Puyuma tribe. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 67, 53-74.*
- 1993. The concept of person in Nan-wang Puyuma: from the viewpoint of life-course. In Y-K. Huang (ed.) 1993a. PP. 477-502.*
- Cheng, T-Y. 1968. The story of resisting Japanese at Pei-nan. *Report of Historico-Geographical Studies of Taiwan* 19(3), 30-38.*
- Chiang, I-C. 1995. Separation and re-incorporation: the purification rite after the funeral, the case of Nan-wang Puyuma. *Paper Presented in the Conference on Taoism, Folk Beliefs and Folk Cultures*, held by Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica.
- Huang, S-C. 1973. The story of the king of Pei-nan. *Report of Historico-Geographical Studies of Taipei* 25, 1-4.*
- Hung, S-K. 1976. A field study of aboriginal female shaman in Nanwang village of Puyuma tribe in Taiwan. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 39/40, 28-57.*
- 1978. The festival of the Nan-wang Puyuma. *Chinese Cultural Renaissance Monthly* 11(6), 80-82.*

- 1981. An analytical study on rites of passage of the Nan-wang Puyuma. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 42, 75-94.*
- Koizumi, T. 1929. Record of the Puyuma rites. *Folkology* 1(1), 17-23.**
- Kono, K. 1915. *The Ami and the Puyuma, Research Report on the Customs of Aboriginal Groups in Taiwan*. Vol 2. Taipei: Taiwan Colonial Government.**
- Li, J-T. 1993. Cultivation culture. *Quarterly Journal of Gardening* 13, 88-95.*
- Lin, H-H and K-J. Chen. 1994. *Collections of the Puyuma Myths and Legends*. Taitung: Taitung County Culture Center.*
- Lin, H-T. 1994. *Hermeneutical Discourse of Ritual: A Case of Nanwang-Puyuma's Great Hunting*. B.A thesis, Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University.*
- Lin, Y-C. 1984. The Puyuma phonology (Nan-wang dialect). *Man and Culture* 19, 114-130.*
- Lo, I-T. 1988. Puyuma multipart singing techniques and social organization. In *The Third International Conference on Chinese Ethnomusicology*. Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. PP.43-50.
- Man and Culture. 1976. *Special Reports on Fieldwork in Nan-wang*. No 7.* Taipei: National Taiwan University, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Sayama, Y. 1913. *The Vanangao Ami and the Peinan Puyuma, Research Report on Aboriginal Groups in Taiwan*. Taipei: Taiwan Colonial Government.**
- Shidehara, T. The crowned tribal chief of Pinan, Formosa. *The Ethnographic Journal of South-east Asia, Oceania and Taiwan* 1(1), 1-10.**
- Sung, L-S. 1964. Preliminary report on the ethnological investigation of the Puyuma tribe of Taitung plain, Formosa. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 23/24, 78-82.*
- 1965a. *Social Organization of the Nan-wang Puyuma*. M.A thesis, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, National Taiwan University.*
- 1965b. The organization of men's house in a Puyuma tribe---Nan-wang village. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 25/26, 112-144.*
- 1971 Household scale, wealth and modernization in a Puyuma village in Taiwan. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 32, 287-297.
- 1995. The religious belief of the Nan-wang Puyuma. *Field Materials, Institute of Ethnology* 10, 41-118.*
- Tseng, C-M. 1983. Migration and its feedback of the Nan-wang Puyuma. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 43, 17-47.*
- Wang, C-M. 1988. *The Development of the Puyuma Churches Since 1965*. Graduation Thesis, Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College.*
- Wang, T-I. 1980. Puyuma textile. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 41, 41-66.*
- Wei, H-L. C-L. Chen and T-J. Ho. 1954. A preliminary ethnological report on the Nan-wang Puyuma. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 3, 14-26.*

Katipol

- Quack, A. (ed). 1981. *Das Wort der Alten: Erzählungen zur Geschichte der Puyuma von Katipol (Taiwan)*. Haus Volker und Kulturen.
- 1985. *Priesterinnen, Heilerinnen Schamaninnen? Die Poringao der Puyuma von Katipol (Taiwan)*. Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Schroder, D. 1967. The Puyuma of Katipol (Taiwan) and their religion. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 29/30, 11-39.
- Schroder, D and A. Quack. 1979. *Kopfiagdirten der Puyuma von Katipol (Taiwan)*. Haus Volker und Kulturen.
- Sprenger, A. 1971. The numerals of Puyuma language (Katipol dialect). *Fu Jen Studies* 4, 49-60.
- 1972. Overt construction markers in Poyoma (Formosa). In *Papers in Linguistics in Honor of A.A. Hill*. (eds). Charles T.C. Tang et al. Taipei: Rainbow-Bridge. PP. 133-145.
- Tseng, C-T. 1993. Oral histories and mythical legends of the Katipol of Puyuma (I). *Taiwan Indigenous Voice, Bimonthly* 1, 138-146.*
- 1994a. Oral histories and mythical legends of the Katipol of Puyuma (II). *Taiwan Indigenous Voice, Bimonthly* 2, 142-149.*
- 1994b. *The Puyuma Language (Katipol Dialect)*. Pintung: Ming-sheng.*

Kasavakan

- Shih, L. 1972. The kinship system of the Puyuma. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 34, 23-83.*
- 1975. Social change among the Puyuma in Kasavakan. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 40, 119-42.*
- 1978. Individual ritual and society: a study on the clean rite of the Puyuma people. *Journal of Ethnology and Sociology* 16, 129-145.*

Rikavon

- Chiao, C. 1961. *Social Organization of the Puyuma Rikavong*. M.A. thesis. Taipei: Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, National Taiwan University.*
- 1972. Ambilineal descent and identity problem of the Rikavon Puyuma. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 34, 1-21.*
- 1973. Options and flexibility: an analysis of the funeral ceremony of the Rikavon Puyuma. *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* 33/34, 1-8.
- 1985. Reference system and culture change: a diachronic account of the Rikavon Puyuma unto the fifties. In *Proceedings of International Conference on China Border Area Studies*. Taipei: National Chengchi University Press. PP. 1423-1444.
- 1989. Descent and ancestor worship of the Puyuma: tradition and change. In *Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups in China*. (eds.) C. Chiao and N. Tapp. Hong Kong: The Chinese University. PP. 125-132.

- Suenari, M. 1968. Affinal relationships among the Puyuma of Taiwan. *Proceedings of VIIIth International Conference on Ethnological and Anthropological Sciences II*, 134-148.
- 1969. A preliminary report on Puyuma language (Rikavong dialect). *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 27, 141-164.
- 1970. Cognatic kinship system among the Puyuma, Taiwan. *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology* 35(2), 87-123.**
- 1983a. Orientation in curing rituals of the Puyuma: from betel nuts to incense. In *Ritual and Symbol: Cultural Anthropological Investigation*. Kyushu University Press. PP. 383-413.**
- 1983b. The ancestral tablets among the Puyuma. *Seishin Studies* 61, 106-141.**
- 1994. Becoming Chinese? ethnic transformation and ancestral tablets among the Puyuma of Taiwan. In *Perspectives on Chinese Society, Views from Japan*. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. PP. 199-219.
- 1995. Sinicization and descent systems--- the introduction of ancestral tablets among the Puyuma and Saisiyat in Taiwan. In *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan*. (eds.) Paul J-L. Li et al. Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, No 3, 141-159.

Murivurivuk

- Kasahara, M. 1979. Notes from a Puyuma village. In *The New Sea Way*. (ed.) Association of the Black Current. Tokyo: Kadokawa Books Inc. PP. 152-172.**
- 1980. Ritual life in a Puyuma village, southeastern Taiwan. In *Ethnic Groups, Cultures, and Languages along the Black Current*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Books Inc. PP. 150-182.**
- 1986. Childbirth customs among the Puyuma. In *Childbirth and Childrearing in Western Oceania*. (ed.) T. Goda. Kobe: Kobe University Press. PP. 39-54.

Tamalakao

- Tsuchida, S. 1979. Research notes of the Puyuma people. In *The New Sea Way*. (ed.) Association of the Black Current. Tokyo: Kadokawa Books Inc. PP. 173-190.**
- 1980. Puyuma (Tamalakaw dialect) vocabulary--- with grammatical notes and texts. In *Ethnic Groups, Cultures, and Languages along the Black Current*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Books Inc. PP. 183-307.**
- 1995. Alienable and inalienable distinction in Puyuma? In *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan*. (eds.) Paul J-L. Li et al. Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, No 3, 793-804.

Pinaski

- Chen, W-T. 1985. The traditional Puyuma socio-cultural features and human rights. In *Taiwanese Aboriginal Socio-Cultural Features and Human Rights*. (eds.) P-H. Liu and L. Shih. Taipei. PP. 77-110.*
- Takoshima, S. 1989. On the concept of human souls among the Puyuma --- the case of Pinaski village. *Transactions of the Institute for Cultural Studies* 4, 143-164.**
- 1990. Traditional medicine among the Puyuma: betel nuts still remain. *Transactions of the Institute for Cultural Studies* 5, 217-246.**

* In Chinese

** In Japanese

