Tradition revisited: Politics of Cultural Revival in Austronesian Taiwan

Ku, Kun-hui
# 2008 Austronesian Workshop

清大南島論壇工作坊

時間：2008 年 5 月 10 日（六）

地點：國立清華大學人文社會學院 C310 室

主辦單位：國立清華大學人類學研究所、國立清華大學語言學研究所

協辦單位：國立清華大學人文社會研究中心、國立清華大學人文社會學院、

教育部世界南島學術研究交流專案

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:40-9:00</td>
<td>Registration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00-9:10</td>
<td>Opening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9:10-12:30</strong></td>
<td><strong>Morning Session: Discourses on Tradition and Heritage</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:10-9:20</td>
<td>Chair: James Fox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20-9:45</td>
<td>Lamont Lindstrom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45-10:10</td>
<td>Bill Ayres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:10-10:25</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:50-11:15</td>
<td>Hong, Li-Ju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:15-11:55</td>
<td>Discussants: James Fox and Lamont Lindstrom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:55-12:30</td>
<td>General Discussion and Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30-13:30</td>
<td>Lunch Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13:30-17:30</strong></td>
<td><strong>Afternoon Session: Austronesian Language Analysis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30-13:40</td>
<td>Chair: Elizabeth Zeitoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:40-14:05</td>
<td>Presenters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:05-14:30</td>
<td>Paula Radetzky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30-14:55</td>
<td>Li, Chao-Lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:55-15:10</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:10-15:35</td>
<td>Wu, Chun-ting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:35-16:00</td>
<td>Tseng, Chia-Hsing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00-16:50</td>
<td>Discussants: James Wilkerson and Yeh, Mei-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:50-17:30</td>
<td>Roundtable: The Intersection of Anthropology and Linguistics: Past Work and Future Prospects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:30</td>
<td>Closing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Workshop Protocol

1. Time limit for presentation and comment:
   a. The author has 25 minutes for paper presentation.
   b. The discussants have 10 minutes to comment on each paper.

2. Time limit for question and answer in general discussion
   a. The author has 8 minutes to response to discussants’ comments.
   b. Participants may speak after being acknowledged by the chairperson. People who ask question or gives comment are encouraged to provide information about their profession and institutional affiliation. Each question/comment is limited to 1.5 minutes.
   c. There is a roundtable session at the end of the workshop for general comments, questions and responses.

3. Please turn off cellular phone during the session.

Invited speakers

Authors (listed according to the sequence of presentation)

Lamont Lindstrom Department of Anthropology, University of Tulsa
Bill Ayres Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon
Ku, Kun-hui Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University
Hong, Li-Ju Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University
James Fox Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Program, Australian National University
Paula Radetzky Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University
Li, Chao-Lin Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University
Wu, Chun-ming Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University
Tseng, Chia-Hsing Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University

Discussants

James Fox Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Program, Australian National University
Lamont Lindstrom Department of Anthropology, University of Tulsa
James Wilkerson Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University
Yeh, Mei-li Institute of Taiwan languages and Language Education, National Hsinchu University of Education

Chairs

James Fox Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Program, Australian National University
Elizabeth Zeitoun Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica
Tradition Revisited: Politics of Cultural Revival in Austronesian Taiwan Community

Ku Kun-hui
Institute of Anthropology
National Tsing Hua University

Paper presented at the 2008 Austronesian Workshop, NTHU, Hsin-chu
10 May 2008

Working Draft: Please do not cite or quote without the written permission of the author.

ABSTRACT:

This paper examines the rise and fall of a local Paiwan cultural revival committee in Piuma and the politics of tradition involved in the process. I argue that the rise of the cultural revival committee was a result of a larger aboriginal awareness after the lift of martial law and a new identity politics emerged after the aboriginal rights movements in the 1980s, yet the fall of the committee was a result of internal factions competing for traditional leadership titles. This cultural revival trend promotes a search for an 'authentic cultural tradition' which favours a particular genre of narrative, that is, mythical origin stories, and ignores historical particulars.

In this article, I analyze the political use of mythical stories (mirimirigam) and historical events (tautsikel) in contemporary status competition between members of La Kazangilane and La Gaguligul houses, thus demonstrating how the people of Piuma, as historical agents, consciously use different genres of historical narratives to support their stands in different contexts.

The notion of cultural revival as embedded in an aboriginal movement often assumes that there is a collective past to be recovered which is at odds with the content of culture in this case. The purpose of the cultural revival committee was to 'revive' and restore traditional culture, but previous internal factions (La Kazangilane vs. La Gaguligul) were subsequently refocused into the committee through attempts to manipulate the 'revival' operations. The effort to revive a collective past is overshadowed by different interpretations of that past.
Tradition Revisited: Politics of Cultural Revival in Austronesian Taiwan

Aboriginal cultural activities have been increasingly popular in the public domain of Taiwan since the 1980s. The phenomenon is partly related to the aboriginal rights movement in Taiwan at large, as well as the rise of cultural tourism. The government at all levels participates in the promotion of aboriginal cultural activities. County governments invest money in the holding of "unified harvest festivals" as local attractions, and mountain townships are especially enthusiastic about establishing cultural tourism in order to increase revenue. In general, the Paiwanese have welcomed this trend; however, the official versions of aboriginal cultures are themselves a new creation in form and organization. Though the festivals are designed by aborigines, the framework and audience are different in each situation. The festival’s content is often removed from people’s current lives and is frequently criticized for being irrelevant to the needs of communities. Initially, some church authorities were especially worried about the effect of this official ‘cultural relativism’, claiming that such cultural customs are best kept to the stage. In recent years, however, church organizations have played a role in this emerging new economic form.

This revival, initiated from above (either by the government or by various metropolitan interest groups), has its counterpart in local community movements organized autonomously since the early 1990s. Some of these locally-based cultural or developmental organizations follow the mandates of aboriginal rights movements to transform communities from within, transferring the energy formerly devoted to street protests and demonstrations to the renewal of the community itself. The ‘Cultural Revival Committee’ (CRC) in Piuma was just such a voluntary organization. The term ‘Cultural Revival Committee’ is a direct translation of the Chinese title adopted by the initiators and used in the community. The rise of the CRC was partly influenced by recent awareness of aboriginal rights, yet I argue that the fall of the CRC is a result of internal factionalism that already existed within the community in the form of the status competition between members of the La Kazangilan and La Gaguligul houses.

‘Kakudakudan (customs) a sicuayan (past)’ is the term referring to ‘tradition’ in the Paiwan language. Tradition is highly valued in Piuma not only because it is an essential part of Piuma history but also because tradition is an exploitable resource. What constitutes ‘kakudakudan a sicuayan’? The term denotes customs that are no longer in practice. What constitutes the ‘past’ therefore varies with each custom. Some of the customs can be identified as pre-Christian (especially religious rites), while others can be identified as pre-Japanese, pre-KMT or even pre-migration. These time markers are the
major historical markers for Piuma historical narratives. However, living traditions also exist in a modified form, some of which Piuma elders refer to as ‘inauthentic’, especially those related to brideprice. The ‘authenticity’ of a custom is often determined by a few well known elders, who are considered authorities on these matters. These debates exist independently of government’s aboriginal culture revival champaign.

‘Customs’ (kakudakudan) not only include material forms or technologies but also their symbolic associations. For example, hunting customs (kakudakudan a qemalup) include not only these material substances used in hunting (e.g. bows and arrows, mechanical devices) and techniques for using these materials, but also the social relations (e.g. distribution of game, rights/obligations related to distribution, social status ascribed to hunters), territorial boundaries, seasonal regulations, animal classification, hunting taboos (i.e. those signs that regulate a hunter’s movement), hunting rituals, and so on. In other words, any custom involves not just a particular way of doing things but also a particular way of thinking, a way of life.

Due to contact with outside political forces (Chinese and Japanese), religious proselytization, and technological innovation, many customs have gradually disappeared. Early missionaries, irrespective of ethnic background, aversion to some indigenous traditions has gradually come to be contested by the indigenous clergy, and the rise of aboriginal rights movements also makes the aboriginal cultural-awareness highly visible to dominant society. Although some church authorities are ambivalent about this ‘festival-like’ cultural relativism, the revival trend has usually been welcomed by the Paiwan. The rise of aboriginal theology in the mid-1990s also helped raise the question of seeing ‘tradition’ in a different light, turning ‘tradition’ from an object of missiological opposition to a subject of theological construction. Local Paiwan churches are also exploring the possibilities of incorporating traditional material culture into church design or experimenting with traditional ceremonial forms for church services. This revival trend from the larger society also reached the Piuma community but with a different focus. This paper examines the issues surrounding the debates within the CRC in Piuma.

**The Formation of the Cultural Revival Committee**

The idea of establishing a village-based culture revival organization was first proposed in 1988 by a man called Rampau, during the annual village meeting. The function of the annual village meeting has changed gradually since the end of martial law (1987) from being, more or less, a means for carrying out the government agenda and policies to being a relatively active agent in its own right. In the 1998 meeting, members of the township office came to report on the work they had done in the previous year and
to seek cooperation for future policies, such as forest conservation and reserve land registration. After the report session, the persons responsible for each division (finance and economy, civil administration, military service) in the township office answered questions from the villagers. During this time villagers expressed their needs and dissatisfactions, and questioned the administrative officersiv. It was also the time when villagers gathered together to discuss internal events in the community and make collective decisions. The decisions made recently by these means included banning pig slaughter for marriage preparations to ease the burdens on the less well-off, encouraging participants at marriage dancing parties to wear traditional attire, enforcing collective contribution to marriage feasts for all members of the community and limiting attendance of banquets to one person from one house, deciding where to erect the nuptial swing (pudiama) for members of La Paquetavai and La Uadiat houses, determining the number of feathers that nobility of different ranks can have and regulating motorcycle entry after midnight. The success of these regulations varied. A temporary village meeting can also be called for special causes.

Although a motion establishing a community-based cultural organization was passed at the meeting in 1988, nothing was done until Rampau brought up the issue again in the annual village meeting of 1990. After reconfirming the need to establish such an organization, the task of drafting the organizational structure was then left to another important character in this story, a man from Piuma called Paqedriras. The original idea of having such an organization was mainly to benefit the youth of the community. According to Rampau, he recognized that there was a need to organize the youth to serve the community better and to inform them of their ancestors’ teachings. He belonged to a generation for whom respect for the elders was essential in village socialization, and cooperation among houses was a norm (e.g., in the labour exchange system). Rampau’s idea of a CRC derived from the inspiration of an old system: cakar (men’s house).

In 1994, Rampau ran in the election for village head against the elder who was running for a second term. Rampau’s election slogan was that he would record Piuma culture and history with new technology in contrast with the elder’s lip service and ‘old-fashioned’ oral transmission. The on-going debate about Piuma history was another reason which prompted Rampau to use new technology to ‘objectify’ it. Yet the election was construed as a battle between members of La Kazangilan and La Gaguligul, partly due to the pattern of mobilization of voters and partly due to Rampau’s position toward re-establishment of the house of La Mavaliu. Rampau failed in this election (1994) but, later that year he was elected as the chairman of the Culture Revival Committee.

As a video photographer, Rampau had extensive contact with both local elders and
outside researchers, and he talked about how his ideas of 'tradition' had changed as he had contacted different researchers. Initially, he thought of tradition as singing and dancing. Later he discovered everyday objects used in the past to be precious, because of museum collections. Gradually, he learned that genealogies are valuable and old stories (mirimiringan) priceless. This changing understanding of 'tradition' also influenced how he thought about what should be done in the CRC.

I shall try to show that what the CRC originally tried to 'revive' was not so much the content of the 'tradition' per se but certain forms of autonomy opposed to the dominant society. The initial spirit of the CRC was less one of 'recovering past practices' than one of 'coping with the present' in order to re-generate the community. Nonetheless, the very politicization of this organization, involving a power struggle over traditional leadership among the different factions in the community, was the major reason for its decline.

**Divisions within the CRC and their Functioning**

The CRC is usually headed by a chairman, re-electable since 1990 by community members every two years. The committee has four sub-divisions, each with a division chief and several division members to help with the work. Those who are nominated are often considered to be leaders of the community, the majority of them being in their thirties to forties. The development of these four divisions apparently varied greatly. But by the time I arrived in the summer of 1996, their operations had almost died out; the CRC chairman, for example, was never ever re-elected. When I inquired about the re-election of the chairman, some people explained that there was no need for the CRC to continue to exist any more. However, the CRC had been seen at one time as a central force for creating an over-arching autonomous organization with the preliminary structures of self-government in Pluma, an aim encouraged by aboriginal rights activists. Even though few activities were planned by the CRC during my stay, and the chairman was never re-elected, CRC representatives were still called upon when the village head organized annual harvest rites (masalut) in 1996 and 1997, and the CRC was listed on the official invitation card as one of the organizing bodies, alongside other civil organizations.

1) **Policing Division.** The policing division was mainly a system for self-regulation, though it also functioned as a system for preventing transgression by outsiders. In the early 1980s, inter-village youth fighting was quite severe and misconduct, including public offenses (e.g., damaging public property), was prevalent. It caused problems for those youths who had (criminal) records at the police office, especially when they came to seek outside employment later.

2) **Sports Division.** This division provided young people with an outlet for their
energy and sought to promote a sense of cooperation and honour. There were regular training sessions for volleyball and basketball and inter-village competitions were often held during my stay. This division was also meant to maintain the excellent athletic record of the older generations in annual township competitions. It overlapped with a church sub-group and was the division that still continued to function at the time I left, even though the division chief was never re-elected. This division seems to have united the community in the context of inter-village competition.

(3) **Education Division.** Educational resources in the mountain areas have tended to be poor in quality, compared with other areas, and the national policy of a single language - Mandarin - jeopardized even further the continuity and development of local languages. The aim of having an education section in the CRC was to influence the teaching of Piuma’s new generation. The Presbyterian church has made an effort to maintain the indigenous language by translating the Bible into Paiwan in romanized script, which was completed in 1993. Teaching young people romanized script was, therefore, one of the major tasks in the church and competitions were occasionally held by the Presbytery either at a local or regional level. The local pastor was also invited to join the board of education.

(4) **Culture Division.** Theoretically, this division is responsible for the preservation of Piuma history and culture and for cultivating cultural awareness among the younger generations. It held an annual session for all the young adults the night before the locally organized harvest rite (*masalut*) and speakers were invited to talk on various subjects, related to both ‘traditional’ and contemporary issues. It also held Paiwan language competitions for schoolchildren and story-telling competitions for the elders during the annual harvest rite. The cultural principles adopted in historical narratives continued to emerge in contemporary domains. The issues and idioms involved in the debates in historical narratives are central to this story of the CRC. This can be best demonstrated by the activities organized by the CRC cultural division.

From the organization of the CRC, it is not difficult to see the effort of community building, integrating contemporary training with the search for identity distinct from the mainstream Chinese/Taiwanese population. Why did the effort fail? I will turn to the ethnographic material to try to answer this question.

**Different Interpretations of the Past and Contemporary Debates**

It is an established notion in anthropology that ‘the past’ is not static but an elastic symbolic resource. Half formed and ever malleable, it is twisted, contorted and manipulated for different, often competing, purposes by rival groups in a community. In
order to make the future, people mould the past. The classical notions of this line of thought include, among others, Malinowski’s (1955) conception of myth as social charter and Leach’s further refinement of myth as justification for faction and social change (1954:264-278). Appadurai has since built on Leach’s argument that discourse about the past is an aspect of politics involving competition, opposition and debate, going so far as to ask ‘how is such debate culturally organized?’ (1981:202). He is not concerned with factionalism per se but with the competitive process by which value is defined and interpretation imposed by one party over the other. He adopts the term ‘management of meanings’ as used by Cohen and Comoraff to express the same idea (ibid). Not only looking at the social contexts where the processes take place, Appadurai emphasizes the cultural framework within which these debates on meanings take place. Indeed, there have to be social and cultural criteria for accessing the claims of rival ‘pasts’: the past cannot be limitlessly produced and reproduced.

Peel (1984) suggests that there are two opposite ways of ‘history making’. In the first, people reconstruct the main features of the past from their conception of it. In other words, a representation of the past is derived from the present evidence of that past (i.e. memory, oral tradition). In the second way, people’s actions are interpreted in a manner inseparable from their images of the past, ongoing practices being continuously organized by ‘structures of significance’, to use Sahlins’ expression. Peel argues that the viability of these two complementary projects relies on a rejection of ‘presentism’ as presented by Malinowski and Bohannan because the doctrine in its extreme form not only invalidates the use of oral tradition to reconstruct the past\viii but is inconsistent with the project of using conceptions of the past to determine present actions. He points to the failure of presentism to explain the how and why of the creation of historical accounts in those situations where they are held necessary to legitimate present interests: 1) the legitimating effects of a mytho-historical charter depend on its credibility to its intended audiences and the general ideas about what is historically plausible, a point echoing that of Appadurai (1981); 2) Not every society reproduces itself through conscious history-making, and even when it does, the dialectical relations between the past and present involved in stereotypical reproduction need to be explicated (Peel 1984:112-3). He emphasizes that mutual conditioning between past and present which contributes to some sense of understanding of historical developments involving continuity and change\viii.

In Piuma, socially valued principles applied to historical events remained important in addressing contemporary circumstances. I will show how historical narratives in Piuma take up specific forms and principles. The supporters of La Kazangilan house adopt the idiom of origin or beginning of time (vinqacan) and the associated concepts of life (nasi),
blood (*djamaq*) and names (*ngadan*) as opposed to the idiom of settlement (*qinalan*) adopted by the supporters of La Gaguligul in their rival claims to the house/house name ‘La Mavalui’ (viz. community leadership). Even though there is general agreement on these valued principles, they are contested by different factions to further their own interest according to the precedence of these principles in the contexts concerned. The ideological tension between *vinqacan* and *qinalan* is central to the political struggle between the La Gaguligul and La Kazangilan and the tensions can be transposed into debates over being vs. becoming ‘the true inheritor of the mantle of La Mavalui.’ While La Gaguligul members extend the meaning of the house name ‘La Mavalui’ to mean the chiefly title and the settlement (*qinalan*) as a whole, La Kazangilan members limit their understanding of the term mainly to the physical structure of the house and biological kin group associated with the house.

In discussing Piuma history, the people of Piuma distinguish between two different genres: ‘*mirimiringan*’ (stories of origins or unproven stories); and ‘*tautsikel*’ (historical events, happenings, and personal experiences or events seen or heard from progenitors). The truth claim of *tautsikel* resides both in personal experiences and the authority of the speakers, thus are *tautsikel* more prone to idiosyncratic variations and debates on the details. On the other hand, the style and content of *mirimiringan* are well recognized among the people in Piuma. The time scale that these two genres refer to is also different: *mirimiringan* are stories from the time immemorial, with the quality of timeless, while *tautsikel* refers to stories of the recent and more distant past that the flow of time can be vaguely reconstructed. As my early paper indicates (Ku 2004), Paiwan historical narratives/genres (*mirimiringan* and *tautsikel*) cannot not simply be equated with “myth and history”, or the division of unreal and real (such as the case of Hu 2003). The pre-Christian *tautsikel* (e.g. stories about evil eyes) narrated by elders can be as remote from contemporary experiences which we consider to be “real”, yet the supposedly experiential remote *mirimiringan* (e.g., stories of human origin) can exert powerful action on historical agents. From the genealogy stories provided by Kao (2004), it also indicates that stories surrounding founding ancestors which are supposed to be *tautsikel* (part of genealogy narratives), as insisted by story tellers, yet cannot be distinguished from *mirimiringan*.

Levi-Strauss’ (1966) grand theory of the distinction of hot (west) and cold (rest) societies, partly based on the dichotomy between history and myth, has often been criticized (cf. Goody 1977; Wolf 1982; Hill 1988; Leach 1989). Hugh-Jones (1988) however argues that the criticisms levelled at Levi-Strauss are largely misplaced, because ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ concern with the opposed orientations and practices of different societies
with respect to history, thus referring to the realm of culture rather than history per se. The interest in how historical consciousness and representations are culturally mediated, however, has increased over the years (Sahlins 1981, 1985, 1995; Hugh-Jones 1988).

Sahlins (1981) is concerned with the tension between structure and events, and endeavours to explore how structure is reproduced and transformed through historical agency. The study of 'first contact' is used to illuminate the cultural differences between the parties involved and the event is then placed into the cultural and social contexts of the non-Western society encountered. Obeyesekere (1992) turns the table around and argues that Sahlins's explanation of Captain Cook's death reflects European myth-making about the relationship between the self and other. This ethnography provided an alternative explanation of the same event in a different cultural context. Strathern (1990) comments that Western scholars' focus on 'first contact' is more a reflection of Western assumptions about history, rather than indigenous ideas. That is, events are seen as a relation between a happening and a symbolic system and the happening is subject to cultural interpretation. Moving away from the context of 'first contact', I will concentrate on how people of Piuma deploy events vs. myth as historical categories in their own historical narration. In contrast to Sahlins' structuralist approach which locates a historical event in the structural scheme of Hawaiian society, thus creating a mythical history, I demonstrate how the people in Piuma distinguish these two genres consciously and use them strategically, knowing the political consequences of the use.

I mentioned earlier that there are two different genres in Piuma historical narration: _mirimiringan_ and _tautsikel_. Rappaport disputes the artificial division between myth and history (structure and event in Sahlins' terms) as unwarranted and adopts Collingwood's definition of 'historical enterprise as the analysis of evidence within the framework of a universal plot-structure that is mythic in nature' (1990:12). She argues that the difficulties in accepting the historicity of non-western accounts of the past stem, in part, from the fact that anthropologists have not adequately contextualized them. Hugh-Jones (1988) shows that the distinction between myth (macro-time) and history (micro-time) is well perceived among Barasana and people can often distinguish these two genres through their distinctive styles. Furthermore, he argues that the two are complementary to each other. Others also demonstrate how myth can accommodate historical change and is itself flexible and dynamic (Hill 1988; Leach 1989). In the case of Piuma, the debates surrounding the status of _ka-mamazangilan_ also distinguish two different narratives _mirimiringan_ from _tautsikel_, however, these two genres are deployed strategically by different factions, to further their own interests.
I shall now go on to describe circumstances under which this distinction takes place. Choices of genre and modes of interpretation are not made in a vacuum but are conscious and strategic, determined in light of the nature of the political juncture and the character of the audience. The struggle for the leadership between La Gaguligul and La Kazangilan hinges on the issue of which house has the right to represent La Mavaliu, the house of origin. Different factions adopt different cultural idioms to further their claims, such as principle of Qinalan vs. principle of Vingacan (Origin) [Djamug (Blood) and Nasi (Life)] and to adopt different historical genres (mirimiringan v.s. Taucikel) as evidence for such a claim.

Principle of Qinalan
The concept of 'qinalan' (settlement, village) is emphasized in various social contexts. Those who chose to or were forced to leave the qinalan were dispossessed of their membership. The maintenance of the autonomy of the qinalan is seen as essential. This can also be seen through a recent decision made at the annual village meeting, regarding where to set up a 'diuma' (nuptial swing) for noble brides of La Paqetavai and La Uadiat houses whose first-borns both migrated to Apetan in the 1950s. The principle of residence is important in terms of maintaining status and power. In order to maintain the autonomy of Piuma, the decision was made to elect their closest relatives in Piuma to replace them.

Although there is no agreement about the exact circumstances in which the first-born of La Mavaliu left old Piuma and for what reasons, the fact that the house of La Mavaliu was left vacant for a substantial period of time before the migration to the current site is indisputable. Members of La Kazangilan house argued that their (first-born) ancestors did not leave Piuma but simply lived with their associates (also members of La Mavaliu house in other locations) in Timur and Su-Paiwan for a period of time during which other minor nobles of La Mavaliu still remained. Despite insisting that the La Mavaliu members never left the house, they felt the need to deploy statements to discredit members of the La Gaguligul and La Paqetavai houses who had tried to occupy the empty house to boost their status: accordingly, only misfortune (parisi) could befall those non-members who tried to occupy the La Mavaliu house.

Supporters of La Gaguligul house, on the other hand, used similar rhetoric to explain why members of La Kazangilan were not able to return to La Mavaliu but had to live in La Kazangilan instead: they did try to re-occupy the house, but misfortune fell upon them. Members of La Gaguligul defended their position on the ground that La Gaguligul house already existed at the time of power transfer and since then had been entrusted with the functioning of the house of La Mavaliu (see above). La Gaguligul
members emphasized that the legitimacy of chiefly authority is predicated upon the principle of settlement (qinalan).

**Principle of Winqacan (Origin): Djamug (Blood) and Nasi (Life)**

Members of La Kazangilan, on the other hand, resorted to the principle of blood and claimed to be the only legitimate heirs of La Mavaliu. They claimed that chiefly status could not be eliminated because it is innate, present from the beginning of time.

Those having kin ties with both sides (La Kazangilan and La Gaguligul) tried to balance the divergent claims. On the one hand, they acknowledged that Tsiousiul a Gaguligul was the symbolic leader of the community in terms of traditional title and that she had prestigious noble status because of cumulative strategic marriages over the past five generations. On the other hand, certain rights that Elaiyung a Kazangilan had should not be totally abrogated. For example, the rights to erect a swing during marriage ceremonies and of naming are both rights of aristocratic first-born and are about nasi (life). 'Nasi' refers to life, but also implies the status behind the individual life as exemplified in the following phrase: 'mare-ti-mali a tja-nasi?' (our life/status is different). In this usage, 'nasi' is a complementary concept to blood (djamug). The appeal to restoring the status of the genealogical first-born of La Mavaliu is strongly based on the principle of nasi and blood (djamug) springing from the house 'from the beginning of time' (winqacan). This recourse to origin emphasizes the continuity entailed with 'being' a legitimate heir of La Mavaliu. This ongoing debate has been crystallized in the recent effort by members of La Kazangilan to rebuild a physical house of La Mavaliu according to its original design.

**Search for Origin in Mythical Stories**

For members of La Kazangilan house, mythic stories are preferred because stories related to legendary ancestors of La Mavaliu house (for example, Laulivan) are shared among members of La Mavaliu beyond Piuma's boundary. In fact, the attempt to restore the house of La Mavaliu is strongly supported by its out-migrants. A young supporter of La Mavaliu said that it is necessary to adopt contemporary means to achieve its cause, that is, through the publication of stories of La Mavaliu, calling a La Mavaliu family gathering and forming associations for La Mavaliu members from different regions, leading eventually to the restoration of the house of La Mavaliu. Family gatherings across regions based on a single ancestor are gaining popularity and the locality-based kin relationship is gradually being transformed into a genealogy-based kin relationship. The mobilization of support for the cause of La Mavaliu is one such example. The publications resulting from
the research project on Paiwan oral tradition (for example,, Pan 1995; 1996) also placed
the picture of Elaiyung alongside the narration of La Mavaliu mythical stories
(mirimiringan), which emphasized origin (vingacan) and its physical manifestation - the
chiefly house of La Mavaliu. By restoring the physical house, members of La Kazangilan
hoped to be able to reclaim the status associated with the house of origin through the
mythical stories conjured with 'La Mavaliu'.

Temporary Village Meeting in 1997
In 1997, in response to publications that claim the leadership of La Kazangilan, and other
activities promoted to enhance the cause of La Kazangilan house by the CRC or others,
the village head organized a Temporary Village Meeting (a supplementary meeting in
cases of emergencies or special causes) to have elders discuss historical happenings and
events (tautsikel). Those invited included elders who had lived in old Piuma and were
then over 60 years old, a substantial number of them now living in other locations. In
order to make it official, one member of each house in Piuma was invited to participate
and witness this event. The village chief even collected signatures at the entrance of the
meeting place so as to have an official record attached to the report. This design was
specifically intended to contrast with the private interviews conducted by Pan's oral
tradition project and La Kazangilan supporters. The village head also invited two Paiwan
representatives from the township office to be witnesses. This act was challenged by
Lauqas in the name of suspected 'external intervention' and he insisted that these two
representatives should not speak or make any notes. The village head's resorting to the
official administrative system was also as a response to the 'external intervention' brought
about by the publications of outside researchers that were associated with the supporters
of La Kazangilan house.

The agenda of this meeting was made by the village head, who was a supporter of
La Gagulugul house. At the beginning of the meeting he addressed the audience: 'We are
here to discuss the tautsikel (historical events) of Piuma. We would like to start from
elders aged above 80 and then those in their 70s and finally, those in their 60s. The focus
of the discussion should be on the location of where agricultural tribute (kazelu) and wild
game (vadis) were presented in old Piuma, La Gagulugul house or La Kazangilan house.'
The presentation of kazelu and vadis was used as the major evidence for the status of ka-
mamazangilan. The meeting lasted for the whole day. Those who shifted to mythical
stories about the ancestors of La Mavaliu house, for example, Lauilivan, were dismissed
and their statements were seen as irrelevant. The village head encouraged the elders to
talk about their ancestors' words and their own experiences but discouraged arguments
against a particular view. Various house representatives (for example, La Sapai and La Uadiat) also used this arena to re-state their particular status and rights in the community associated with that status. By the end of the meeting, no conclusive statement had been made concerning the outcome of the discussion and different opinions were expressed.

I spoke to those who attended the meeting. One supporter of La Gaguligul house expressed the view that the current situation had not been subverted, that is, Tsiutsiul should still be the ka-mamazangilan. Yet one elder who was related both to houses of La Gaguligul (by blood) and La Kazangilan (by marriage) insisted that his proposal to have both Tsiutsiul and Elaiyung recognized at the same time had received consent from the audience, because they fell silent after his speech. A supporter of La Kazangilan house, however, was seen shouting at these elders from other villages for their opposite stand and he dismissed their opinions as invalid because they had already left Piuma. The problem was not yet solved for most of the audience.

Conclusion:

I analyze how different genres are deployed by different actors to enhance their claims. In addition to current scholarship which emphasizes the complementarities between different types of historical narratives (i.e., myth and history), I argue that strategic use of these two genres by different actors can have specifically political implications. The activities of the CRC helped to revive an interest among the public in the genre of mirimiringan, which was perceived to be unscathed by historical developments. The renewed interest in 'authentic culture' among the members of the CRC was used to justify and support the rebuilding of the 'La Mavaliu' house according to its original design (and presumably the status of proclaimed biological descendant, Elaiyung). In this paper I discuss how different factions adopted different historical genres in order to lay claims for legitimacy and in this process the effort to create an all-encompassing collective past by the CRC failed to the effect that CRC became dysfunctional.

The notion of cultural revival as embedded in an aboriginal movement often assumes that there is a collective past to be recovered which is at odds with the content of culture in this case. The purpose of the cultural revival committee was to 'revive' and restore traditional culture, but previous internal factions (La Kazangilan vs. La Gaguligul) were subsequently refocused into the committee through attempts to manipulate the 'revival' operations. The effort to revive a collective past is overshadowed by different interpretations of that past.
The harvest rite was traditionally held within a single settlement, but County governments made it a festival that included all villages.

There is no corresponding vernacular term for 'culture' and elders use the Japanese term instead, an objectification from outside. 'Revival', as it will become clear, in this context does not mean to recover past practices or particular customs but to recover the sense of unity and ethos, and to record history and customs.

The village is the smallest unit of the government-designed 'self-government' mechanism. The annual village meeting is the arena in which villagers exercise self-government functions. It serves as a channel for communicating government agenda to the members of the community and to reflect the needs of the community to the higher administrative unit. In order to encourage villagers to participate in the meeting, the village head often arranges the seats according to neighbourhood unit and announces a competition for attendance among them. In theory, each household should have a representative present in the meeting so the government agenda can reach everyone.

Piuma has a reputation elsewhere in Taiwu Township of being 'politically radical', which is another way of saying 'opposed to the KMT'. Taiwu Township has long been a KMT stronghold, even though the opposition party has been gradually encroaching into the mountain areas. People (Pae'dirras and Lavuqas) in Piuma embarrassed one KMT township chief when he came to promote the use of indigenous language in public meetings (a new government policy since the late 1980s) by insisting on using Mandarin. This was to make the point that the township chief was just a messenger of the government agenda.

The development of the CRC from 1990 to 1996, as described here, was recounted to me by various members of the CRC, and I was also able to observe some of the operations of the CRC after I arrived in July 1996. I was excluded from some of the meetings held by the CRC but was free to discuss issues related to it with its members. It is difficult to determine the high-point of the CRC, as its four divisions developed in different directions. In general, the policing division was more prominent in its early stage, and the cultural division reached its height in 1996, but soon collapsed. The sports division continued to function prior to my departure in 1998, while the education division was no longer active.

Ironically, the judges for such competitions were chosen according to their level of achievement in the Han educational system, and thus were mainly composed of members of the younger generation (age 30s to 40s) and new leaders in the community, who usually lack of knowledge about 'traditional' story-telling forms. This design reflects the changing power structure and the contexts of story-telling.

It is to be noted that these sessions were often only attended by residents, unlike the story-telling festival developed among the First Nations in Canada (for instance see Cruikshank 1998).


The same term is used in church settings for personal testimony. See Paiwan Hymn book (1993).

There are some popular stories about Laulivan and even an alleged foot print left in the jungle. Laulivan was said to be a mythical ancestor of La Mavali who tricked his followers in various ways and who had a long penis that could stretch hundreds of miles to seduce (or harass) female nobility from other villages.

They prefer those who do not branch out or those whose current house is also a chiefly one. For example, the first-borns of La Paketva and La Rruan houses, both high ranking, married in order to combine these two houses and lived in La Paketva house. The La Rruan house was left vacant only later to be occupied by the youngest daughter of La Paketva, who formed a new independent house.
with the same name. When the issue came up regarding where to pu-diiuma (set up a nuptial swing for noble brides) for La Paqetavai members in the new Piuma, there were several potentially competitive candidates including two generations of La Paqetavai descendants. The candidates of the older generation or older siblings do not necessarily have priority if they are married into a commoner's house. The swing simply cannot be erected in front of a commoner's house. The decision was made to establish La Ruruan house in the new Piuma as a site for erecting swings for La Paqetavai members.

Reference:
Ku, Kun-hui 2004 "Mirimiringan" and "Taucikel" revisited: Historical Genres and Political Struggle among the Austronesian-speaking Paiwan in southern Taiwan' paper presented at
IAHA meeting in Taipei.


胡台麗 (Hu, Tai-li) 2003「排灣族虛構傳說的真實」發表於「屏東縣傳統藝術研討會」，主辦單位：國立傳統藝術中心，2003,10,24~26，屏東。

高金豪 (Kao, Chin-hau) 2004 起源敘事、婚禮政治與階序實踐：一個排灣族村落的例子，清大人類所碩士論文。