

# CHAPTER 2 ETHNOGRAPHY OF PAIWANESE

## 2.1. Paiwan People and Their Location

### Location and Population of the Taiwan

The Paiwan tribes are located in Kaohsiung, Pingtung and Taitung counties.<sup>1</sup> In the year of 2000 the Paiwan numbered 70,331 individuals. They composed approximately 17.7% of Taiwan's total indigenous population; the third-largest tribal group on the island.<sup>2</sup>

### Introduction of Paiwan People

The term 'Paiwan' was used during the Dutch period, and continued through the Cheng-Gong Zheng (鄭成功), Ching Dynasty, Japanese colonial rulers and KMT governments.<sup>3</sup>

Paiwan people live in Southern Taiwan and are divided into two systems: the *Raval* and the *Butsul*.<sup>4</sup> This system of classification was developed by the Japanese scholar Yi Chuan Zi Zhi Cang (移川子之藏). The *Butsul* are divided into four groups: *Paumaumaq* in the north, *Palidalilao* and *Chaoboobol* in the south, and *Paqaloqalo* in the east. The *Raval* are located in the northern territory of the Paiwan people.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cite at: <http://edu.ocac.gov.tw/ENGLISH/INTRO/FMINTRO.HTM>, April 7<sup>th</sup> of 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Cite at: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paiwan\\_people](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paiwan_people), February 4<sup>th</sup> of 2008.

<sup>3</sup> Li-Fu Pan, *1996 Interviewing Paiwanse tribes and Exploring Paiwanse Civilization*. 1997. p 191.

<sup>4</sup> Wn-Xun Song /Zhao-Mei Lian, *My Taiwan Travel on Notes*. 1998. p 150.

<sup>5</sup> Que-Mei Li, *The traditional Social Culture and Present Situation in Human rights of Taiwanese Aboriginal*, 1987. p 94.

The Paiwan are divided into four groups, including the Northern, Central, Southern, and Eastern groups. Each of these groups has its own unique cultural traits. The Paiwan are a so-called ‘highland tribe.’<sup>6</sup>

**Chart 1: Paiwan Tribe**

<b>Paiwan Tribe</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Influences or traits</b>
Northern Paiwan	Very close to the Wutai Hsiang Rukai	Rukai (clothing and inheritance customs)
Central Paiwan		No major influences/ the Central Paiwan have maintained a number of ancient customs and rituals
Southern Paiwan		Amis and the Chinese
Eastern Groups		Puyuma and Amis (clothing and life styles)

(Resource: *edu.ocac.gov.tw/ENGLISH/INTRO/FMINTRO.HTM*, accessed on April 7<sup>th</sup> of 2007)

### **The Northern Taiwan**

As a result of living very closely to the Wutai Hsiang Rukai, the Northern Paiwan village of Lawaer has been deeply influenced by Rukai practices; including styles of costume and inheritance practices and traditions.

The Central Paiwan: The group has maintained a number of its ancient customs and rituals.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Cite at: <http://edu.ocac.gov.tw/e-commerce.taipeitimes.com> April 7<sup>th</sup> of 2007

<sup>7</sup> Cite at: <http://edu.ocac.gov.tw> April 7<sup>th</sup> of 2007

## **The Southern Taiwan**

The Southern Paiwan of Mutan Hsiang are famous historically. The Japanese invaded Taiwan during the Tongzhi Reign of the Ching Dynasty instigating the Mudansher (牡丹社) Incident, which escalated into an international incident. The Paiwan were heroic in their resistance of the Japanese. The Southern Paiwan have been deeply influenced by Ami and the Chinese cultural practices.<sup>8</sup>

## **The Eastern Taiwan**

The cultural practices of the Eastern Paiwan are a mixture of Puyuma and Ami's traditions. This is especially true with regards to their style of dress and living.

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<sup>8</sup> Cite at: <http://edu.ocac.gov.tw> April 7<sup>th</sup> of 2007

## 2. 2. Natural Environment

The region surrounding Mt. Dawu (大武) provides those who live its shadow with abundant resources to meet all of their needs. As a result, the area's Paiwan have developed social structures and progressive living concepts, in addition to unique arts and a colorful culture that harmoniously co-exist with nature.<sup>9</sup> For this reason, the Paiwan people called Mt. Dawu 'Dagaraus'—in the Paiwanese language. To the Paiwan, the 3095-meter Mt. Dawu was a mountain, water resource, and a creature.<sup>10</sup> In the fruitful world of Mt. Dawu, Paiwanese people created a colorful culture.<sup>11</sup>

According to the legend and family tree of noblemen, Yi Chuan Zi Zhi Cang (移川子之藏), the movement of the Paiwan has tended to be from the northwest of northern Mt. Dawu towards the south.<sup>12</sup> This suggests that Mt. Dawu has historically been an important mountain to the Paiwan. Additionally, some Paiwan crossed the Central Mountain Range reaching the East Coast. From there some continued moving to the South.<sup>13</sup>

During interviews in Pingtung, several people mentioned Mt. Dawu. We may call Paiwanese are the people of Mt. Dawu.<sup>14</sup> Again these sentiments reinforce the concept that this mountain is of great importance to the Paiwan.

Mountains are the traditional home of the Paiwan and the focal point of their activities. Places such as Mt. Wutou (霧頭), and Mt. Dawu - the highest peak in a mountain range—feature prominently.<sup>15</sup> So, Mt. Dawu is extremely important for the

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<sup>9</sup> Li-Fu Pan, 1997. p 7.

<sup>10</sup> Li-Fu Pan. 1997. p 191.

<sup>11</sup> Li-Fu Pan. 1997. p 7.

<sup>12</sup> Que-Mei Li. 1987. p 94.

<sup>13</sup> Que-Mei Li. 1987. p 94.

<sup>14</sup> Li-Fu Pan. 1997. p 191.

<sup>15</sup> Chun-Fa Tung, *The History of Formosan Aborigines - Paiwan*. 2001. p 29.

Paiwan. The mountain is also called in Paiwanese word *Kavulungan*, which means mother of mountains.<sup>16</sup>

In addition, there are mountains, rivers and plains in Daren (達仁) village, which supplies the living spaces and resources; therefore Daren village is the important path of history to transfer from this village to others. Also, from the activities and developing area, we may see that the mountains, rivers, hills, plain supply living spaces, resources and the important paths to transfer in history.<sup>17</sup>

In particular, living around mountains forms natural voices and music in people, which are outstanding and unique among aboriginals. Some people sing in these mountains and others ‘answer’ with songs of their own. In addition, there are some rivers related to tribal gatherings and development practices in Daren village. These rivers are also the source of water for the village.

The main rivers here are the Dazhu (大竹) stream, the Dawu (大武) stream, the Anshuo (安朔) stream, the Daren stream and the Tawa (塔瓦) stream. Traditionally villages locate on the banks of the Dazhu stream along both sides.<sup>18</sup> Rivers, in addition to mountains, play an important role in Paiwan life.

From the view of community location, some villages are important for the study and understanding of the culture and history of the Paiwan. These include Laiyi village and Zhengxing (正興) village. The first people to come to this area from the Mt. Dawu region settled down in the area of the Laiyi and Nanhe (南和) streams.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to their interactions with the natural environment, the Paiwan have also created a material culture.

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<sup>16</sup> Chun-Fa Tung, 2001. p 30.

<sup>17</sup> Chun-Fa Tung, 2001. p 33.

<sup>18</sup> Chun-Fa Tung, 2001. p 31, p 32.

<sup>19</sup> Chun-Fa Tung, 2001. p 31, p 31.

## 2.3. Material Culture

Material culture is defined as artifacts or other concrete things left by past cultures.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, a material culture study emphasizes artifacts as a subject unto themselves; that is, largely separate from their context.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, in human lives the necessities of clothing, eating and living utensils, tools of religion and production, are also called ‘material culture’ in cultural anthropology.<sup>22</sup>

Material culture, then, includes objects used for eating, drinking, clothing, housing, art, crafts and music.<sup>23</sup> Culture is posteriori, and is formed by history and is one of lives and a system of explicit and implicit designs for living.<sup>24</sup>

First, material culture covers the means of subsistence, such as agriculture, stockbreeding, hunting fishing, and gathering. Second, it contains objects from daily life including labor division & daily activities, culinary arts, stimulants and musical instruments & toys. Third, it consists of manufactures, utensils and weapons; for example, basket weaving techniques & basket types, weaving, pottery, natural vessels & wooden vessels, weapons. Forth, it contains clothing and adornments like men’s clothing, women’s dress, and so on. Finally, material culture covers houses and boats, including dwelling houses, boats & boat building, and so on. From this, we may understand that musical instruments are included in material culture. Aboriginal musical instruments include nose flutes, mouth flutes, Jew’s harps, musical bows, bamboo gongs, wooden gongs, and xylophones, and stamping tubes & stamping pestles. One of the instruments in aboriginal tribes is nose flute.<sup>25</sup>

Therefore, culture includes both explicitly and implicitly designed objects for

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<sup>20</sup> Cite at: <http://cat.xula.edu/ssaa/Contact/matdef.htm> on June 7<sup>th</sup> of 2007

<sup>21</sup> Cite at: <http://cat.xula.edu/ssaa/Contact/matdef.htm> on June 7<sup>th</sup> of 2007

<sup>22</sup> Qi-Wei Liu, *Notes on Cultural Anthropology*. 1991. p 76.

<sup>23</sup> Cite at: <http://cat.xula.edu/ssaa/Contact/matdef.htm> on June 7<sup>th</sup> of 2007

<sup>24</sup> Qi-Wei Liu. 1991. p 196.

<sup>25</sup> Chi-Lu Chen, *outline of Material Culture of the Formosan Aborigines*. 1988.

living.

From this perspective those who study everything from textiles to paintings or investigate classes of artifacts such as projectile points or ceramic vessels, would be a material cultural specialist.<sup>26</sup>

Instruments are one kind of material culture. In accordance with changing human demands, clothing, instruments and so on are improved so as to be suitable for persons. Changes occur primarily because people are apt to changing their standards of quality.

Human beings that engage in artistic pursuits are an exception to this principle. This is because human beings can essentially live without art. Additionally, human beings are the only members of the animal world to possess art.<sup>27</sup> Bing-Chuan Li (李炳川) and Zhe-Yang Li (李哲洋) indicate that music can be viewed from multiple disciplinary approaches, including cultural anthropology, linguistics, psychology and aesthetics. This is especially true in situations where instruments have been improved again and again according to people's demands and to make accommodations. For instance, the Paiwan nose flutes have evolved to provide increasingly better ways to suit different peoples' needs when playing them. According to Hui-Zhen Xu, the wife of Chao-Cai Lai, in order to suit children's learning needs, Chao-Cai Lai improved nose flutes by shortening them from 50 or 60 cm to about 20 cm in length. Without this modification, young learners disliked playing the nose flutes.<sup>28</sup>

As a result of these modifications children like Gi-Yuan Lai and Gi-Rong Lai enjoy playing the double-pipe mouth flutes.<sup>29</sup> They are 8 years old and 6 years;

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<sup>26</sup> Cite at: <http://www.tacp.gov.tw/INTRO/FMINTRO.HTM> therefore September 24<sup>th</sup> of 2007

<sup>27</sup> Qi-Wei Liu, *Culture and Art of the Formosan Aborigines*. 2002, p 294.

<sup>28</sup> Phone interview of Hui-Zhen Xu, December 14<sup>th</sup> of 2007.

<sup>29</sup> Phone interview of Hui-Zhen Xu, Gi-Yuan Lai and Gi-Rong Lai, December 14<sup>th</sup> of 2007.

respectively, and are the daughters of Chao-Cai Lai and Hui-Zhen Xu.

People use material objects to improve their lives; for example, clothing can be used to improve appearances. Music is similarly used for entertainment and to enhance the quality of life.

But material culture is not the only method people employ to improve their quality of life. People also rely on spiritual considerations when seeking to lead a better life.

## 2.4. Spiritual Civilization

Jiunn-Yih Chang has noted that spiritual civilization consists of three key parts: law, religion and art.<sup>30</sup>

### **Law:**

Law is a system of rules usually enforced through a set of institutions. It affects politics, economics and society in numerous ways. .... Scholars investigate the nature of law through many perspectives, including legal history and philosophy, or social sciences such as economics and sociology. The study of law raises important questions about equality, fairness and justice, which are not always simple.<sup>31</sup>

According the internet,<sup>32</sup> law includes property law, trust law, criminal law, administrative law, contract law, civil law, common law, religious law, and so on. In the opinion of the researcher, law acts as a guideline that helps people follow a set of rules that are suitable and beneficial for most people.

### **Religion:**

Religion is the highest level of human beings' spiritual lives and the highest achievement of human being's culture. Second, religion is supplied complete explanation of the universe and lives. Third, religion is upgraded the cultivation of human beings in order to let people know the meaning and value of lives and bravely face the birth, aging, sickness and death. Finally people can enrich the lives.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Lecture on December 19<sup>th</sup> of 2007.

<sup>31</sup> Cited at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law>, February 4<sup>th</sup> 2008.

<sup>32</sup> Cited at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law>, February 4<sup>th</sup> 2008.

<sup>33</sup> Kun-Hui Huang, *Religion Elaboration – Social Cultivation, Part II*. 1995. p 338.

In the researcher's view, religious people are able to lead a better life. Religious believers tend to consistently follow their gods, regardless of which faith they adhere to. Gods give hope to religious believers when they are in danger or feeling hopeless. Through religion, the faithful can conquer their fears and complete the things they want to do. This thesis primarily focuses on art and largely ignores both law and religion.

Franz Boas', an American anthropologist, introduction of the Indian art of Northern America in 1927, has significantly influenced the discussion of art in anthropology since 1970.<sup>34</sup> The attention paid to the art of different countries has gradually increased as a result. Moreover, while the public often treats primitive art as simple, unenlightened, or elementary, anthropologists have begun to attribute greater meaning and importance to such works. One example of this shifting focus is the move to change the nomenclature of 'primitive art' by referring to it as 'ethnic art.' This shift has also meant that anthropologists increasingly recognize that 'ethnic art' is representative of tribal societies, which are now often called non-western societies. The use of the term 'ethnic' reflects the recognition that art reflects the basic content of social culture.<sup>35</sup> That is to say, after many decades, each tribe has developed art forms that are uniquely reflective of their individual cultures. Each tribe's artistic focuses are also reflected of their aesthetic cultures.

Rhythmical movements of the body or of objects, forms that appeal to the eye, sequences of tones and forms of speech, which please the ear, produce artistic effects. Muscular, visual and auditory sensations are the materials that give us aesthetic pleasure and that are used in art.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Song-Shan Wang, *Contemporary Taiwan Aboriginal Art*. 2001. p 11.

<sup>35</sup> Song-Shan Wang, 2001. p 11.

<sup>36</sup> Franz Boas, 1955. p 10.

Art influences the lives of human beings in a lot of different ways. Music is one kind of art. Through art or music, people experience pleasure, spiritual life and emotion.

Max Verworn says that art is the faculty to express conscious processes by means created by the artist himself in such a manner that they may be perceived by our sense organs. In this general sense language, song, music and dance are art, just as well as painting, sculpture and ornamentation. The graphic and plastic arts in the narrow sense of the term result from the ability of making conscious processes visible in permanent materials.<sup>37</sup>

Additionally:

Richard Thurnwald says that art, however inadequate its means may be, is a means of expression that belongs to mankind. The means employed are distinct from those used in gesture, language and writing. Even when the artist is intent only upon the repetition of what he has in mind he does so with at least the subconscious purpose of communication of his ideas, of influencing others.<sup>38</sup>

This research adheres to these sentiments because sound, especially the natural rhythm of aboriginal music, is deeply connected with human emotion. Through this music, people can easily identify who the artist is and his style of music.

Yrjo Hirn's opinion of art is in order to understand artistic impulse as a tendency to aesthetic

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<sup>37</sup> Franz Boas, 1955, p 14.

<sup>38</sup> Franz Boas, 1955, p 14.

production; we must bring it into connection with some function from the nature, of which the special artistic qualities may be derived. Such a function is to be found, we believe, in the activities of emotional expression.<sup>39</sup>

From this we can conclude that music is a way people use to express their emotions.

According to the author of '*Primitive Art*', the use of musical wind instrument is not widespread. Although whistles used as calls are perhaps universal, flutes or pipes are not used everywhere as musical instruments. Still more restricted is the use of stringed instruments.<sup>40</sup>

Anyone who has lived with primitive tribes, who has shared their joys and sorrows, their privations and their luxuries, who sees in them not solely as subjects of study to be examined like a cell under the microscope, but as a feeling and thinking human beings will agree that there is no such thing as a 'pre logical' way of thinking, but that each individual in a 'primitive' society is a man, a woman, a child capable of thinking and feeling as man, woman or child in our own society.<sup>41</sup>

This obvious truth is supported by research in countless cultures and individuals in Paiwan society are no exception. The Paiwan nose flute is also used traditionally as musical instrument for courtship. The tune and musical style of Paiwan nose flutes are kept similar so the lady who the player is courting does not become confused. The lady then could easily tell based on the sound of the flute, who was

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<sup>39</sup> Franz Boas, 1955. p 14.

<sup>40</sup> Franz Boas, 1955. p 343.

<sup>41</sup> Franz Boas, 1955. p 2.

playing and so could decide whether or not to open her door and invite him to come on in.<sup>42</sup>

The Paiwan led a simple life and continue to do so in the fields of Pinghe and Sandimen village as well as the other villages of Pingtung. Paiwan life reflects this simple music. Using nose flutes made of easily obtained bamboo, the Paiwan create simple tunes and melodies. The tune of nose flutes was simple and most materials of nose flutes were bamboo-made. The sound of bamboo-made nose flutes is better other materials.<sup>43</sup>

That was fantastic and creative, though. From this, the research found out that joining aboriginals' lives during the fieldwork, Paiwanese still led a simple life in villages of Pingtung, such as Pinghe, Sandimen village, and so on.

Before contact with mainstream society, Paiwan civilization was tribal. The tribes did not associate with each other. Yet, they followed the same rules; for example, family system, social status, and so on.<sup>44</sup> Paiwan art forms, such as music, typically developed in isolation.

As the Paiwan have progressed materially they, like the Han people, have continued to pursue not only material culture but also a spiritual way of life. Music is an important tool in the pursuit of spiritual meaning.

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<sup>42</sup> Chao-Cai Lai's workshop on December 1<sup>st</sup> of 2007.

<sup>43</sup> Comments of Chun-Fa Tung on January 19<sup>th</sup> of 2008.

<sup>44</sup> Li-Fu Pan, 1997. p 193

## 2.5. Social Structure

The family is the basic unit of a Paiwan tribe. It is also the most important unit. Families are based on marriage. A marriage increases the size of a family and can also increase the size of a family's land holdings. Property is passed on to the oldest son or daughter and so can be transferred through marriage.<sup>45</sup>

Paiwan people lived together and formed tribes. According to the blood relationship, Paiwanese's kinship group system was called bi-lineal which was a combination of patrilineal and matrilineal. Also, social structure of Paiwan was based on the center of noblemen. Chun-Sheng Ling called this residential lineage group. The firstborn son inherits the family - a big clan and others in the family through were married formed, which was called small clans. Yet, if the small clan did the same thing four times, the small clan would lose their nobility men's position and to joins the be an ordinary people.<sup>46</sup>

There are three classes in Paiwan society: chiefs, noblemen, and ordinary people. The levels are extremely clear. The social structure is built on the land systems and the oldest daughter or oldest son accedes the family.<sup>47</sup>

This essentially means that there are female chiefs within Paiwan society.<sup>48</sup> If the oldest child is a boy, he inherits the family possession and continues the lineage. Alternatively, if the oldest child is a girl, she inherits the family and her husband joins her in her family as with Shui-Neng Xie. The most powerful of the nobles becomes the chief.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Que-Mei Li. 1987. p 97.

<sup>46</sup> Qi-Wei Liu. 2002. p 46, p 51.

<sup>47</sup> Sha-Li Li, *Paiwanese Clothing*. 1993, p34.

<sup>48</sup> Ou Sen Chen, *Aboriginal Customs*. 1999. p 47.

<sup>49</sup> Que-Mei Li, 1987. p 95

Moreover, by tradition the chiefs of both the Paiwan and Rukai tribes inherited their father's status as landlord automatically. The people of tribes had to give 13% of their farm yields to their chiefs. If people went hunting and were successful, they were required to give one leg of this animal to the chief.<sup>50</sup>

The class system is deeply ingrained in Paiwan society. Despite this, the Japanese imposed their authority over the people of Taiwan, especially upon the aboriginals, after their occupation of Taiwan. The Japanese broke down Paiwan social classes causing the collapse of the social structure in an attempt to break the authority of chiefs and nobles over their tribes.

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<sup>50</sup> Rong-Ren Chen, *Feature of Century*, 2003.