

# INDIGENOUS SIGHT



PAHAISHIAN NI SAW KI YAMI

## The Forgotten Peoples

# INDIGENOUS <sup>Vol.</sup> 26 SIGHT

PAHAISHIAN NI SAW KI YAMI

## The Forgotten Peoples

Words from Publisher

- 02 **ya makovot do onowned ko a nakenakem**  
Hold Dear the Dream of Returning Home

Editorial

- 03 **Patosokan: Sasi'ayawen no Tangafolan  
a raropayen a demak**  
A Long Journey Ahead: Name Rectification  
for Plains Indigenous Peoples
- 06 **Not Just "Becoming Non-indigenous":  
The Neglected History of the Taiwanese  
Plains Indigenous Peoples**
- 12 **Kavalan and Ketagalan: Taiwan Plains  
Indigenous Peoples in Northern Taiwan**

Publishing Organization:  
Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation  
Publisher: Maroas  
Chief Editor: Kacaw · Fuyan  
Coordinator: Doyu · Masao  
Executive Editors: Lovenose, Bali  
Art Coordinator: Bali  
Address: 5F., No.120, Chongyang RD., Nangang Dist.,  
Taipei City, 11573  
Tel: 02-2788-1600/0800-581-600  
Fax: 02-2788-1500  
E-mail: [ipcfservice@mail.ipcf.org.tw](mailto:ipcfservice@mail.ipcf.org.tw)  
Price: TWD 100

Editing & Production: Business Today Publisher  
Art Editors: Zheng Liang-long, Liao Xin-hua  
Translators: Deh-I Chen, Sally I.C. Wu, Yu-hsuan Lai, Shih-fen Lin, Phoebe Szu-Yu Huang  
Indigenous Language Translators: Vagyatan(Tao), Ohay Sewana(Pangcah)  
Indigenous Language Translation Consultant: Ofad Kacaw(Pangcah)  
Address: 8F, No.96, Sec. 1, Nanjing E. Rd., Zhongshan Dist., Taipei City  
Tel: 02-2581-6196 ext. 336  
Fax: 02-2531-6433  
Cover Art: Jia-Dong Lin

Looking at the world from an indigenous perspective.  
Online version: [insight.ipcf.org.tw](http://insight.ipcf.org.tw)



All rights reserved, reproductions of this publication will be prosecuted. Do not repost without written consent from the publisher.  
All content in the publication does not represent the view of the Foundation. License Code: Chunghwa Post Taipei Magazine No. 2064 ( mail category: "Magazine" ) ISSN : 2313-111X

- 
- 14 The First Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples  
with the Indigenous Name ~~Rectification~~ Restoration  
Kavalan People
- 22 To Forget is to Remember  
Reminiscences about Ketagalan
- 30 The Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples  
Absent from Textbooks
- 40 The Southwest Region of the Island: Home to  
the Southern Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples
- 42 The Diverse and Vivacious Makatao People
- 44 The Steadfast and Dedicated Siraya People
- 46 Overcoming Great Obstacles and Being Reborn Again: The Taivoan
- 48 The Mistaken Names: ~~Hoanya~~, Lloa, and Arikun

# ya makovot do onowned ko a nakenakem Hold Dear the Dream of Returning Home



ko rana nimownay a ya omnakenakem sia do onowned ko, so ka pikala ko so ngongyod a macingosongoso no vazay no tao do Pongso aka no kabledbedan a vazay no yancomin. no kasanensi ko pa do daygako am, nimacilovot ko a macingosongoso no makahahango a kosozi do Pongso, ka ji da nimapakasan so kosozi do Pongso, nimaciminda no kanonang na, a ka ji ko rana nimivatvatekan do daygako, ji nimionownay, a kangay ko mivazay do dipoiing, aka do tizibi no yacomin, siciaikoa ya am, ko vayo pa ya da nibnek a panirsiringen do yanbongay.

ya rana nimownay a niparala da no seyvo o makahahango a kosozi do Pongso, aka no aro a ya omranes do Pongso a pangangavangan, aka no ya mapaned so Pongso a marahet a banaikbek, mamimin ori a na ikabalinas no icicirawat no tao do Pongso, da masazi oya no yancomin do Taywan. makdeng a vazay am, da rana macita no seyvo o nimalas a vazay no kakowa, da rana panadnaden o yacomin, ya rana amia so ya mimong no makakaday a vazay no yacomin a yanbongay.

o nakem ko do onowned ko am, inawey no marakep da o cicirawat no yancomin no ya mivazay do tizibi a malalavayo a tao. nosi mikepkep o tizibi, aka no zajio, aka no makakaday a vakong a milimwang no vazay no yacomin am, ori o ipakacita da sia no mitoktok do pongso a tao so isavasavak da no mata a vazay no yancomin.

I always have a career path in mind. That is to work as someone who can speak up for the people of Orchid Island and serve the indigenous peoples. When I was a junior student in college, I took part in the protest against nuclear waste storage at Orchid Island and we successfully barred 100 thousand barrels of nuclear waste from entering into

Orchid Island. I gave up my study as a medical student and my future career as a physician without hesitation and dedicated fully myself to legislature work to propel legislation for indigenous peoples. Afterward, I committed myself to media work to give indigenous people a voice to right the wrongs. Now I assumed the role as the third chairman of Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation (IPCF), a position that carries heavy responsibilities.

The island has suffered from issues like nuclear waste, transportation, culture, pollution and tourism impact. These all led to the rapid vanishing and fading of the language and culture. The state of Orchid Island encapsulates the states of all indigenous communities in Taiwan. Fortunately, our country is making progress with attempts to amend historical mistakes and establish equality for indigenous peoples. Alongside laws, regulations and institutions, there is also a dedicated system for media and broadcasting network. IPCF itself serves as a critical platform to monitor the development of indigenous society. It also enables a network of indigenous talents from areas like media and culture.

I hope during my term as the chairman, I can support our team to capture the characteristics of indigenous communities and integrate existing platforms ranging from radio broadcast, TV network and publications. I would like to see the synergy of different media to be put to good use and form marketing strategies to reach far and beyond. It is our job, as media and cultural professionals to truthfully represent the characteristics of indigenous communities and give both the general public and colleges within the foundation a rich exposure to the diversity of indigenous cultures.

panirsiringen no ya tomalamozong no iweywalalam  
no yancomin a yanbongay  
Chairman of Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation

瑪拉歐斯  
MaraoS

# Patosokan: Sasi'ayawen no Tangafolan a raropayen a demak

## A Long Journey Ahead: Name Rectification for Plains Indigenous Peoples

Nai 2001 mihecaan ko Tangafolan miteka a patawtaw to ngangan nangra, sa i 2010 mihecaan pakokot i Lin-ho-ko to pisakasak no cengfo to salongoc no nikalatamdaw, halo iraay ho hakiya ko tatapangan no Tangafolano kalosasowalen han to konini a demak. Ano wasilen a mipo'elac ko Tangafolan a kasafinacadan, ira ko Kavalan, Ketagalan, Taokas, Pazeh, Papora, Babuza, Hoanya, Siraya ato Makatao a finacadan.

Ano doedoen ko nitilidan, nai 17 a rayray no reked a mihecaan, micongangah to cangra a misi'ayaw to pidacong ato sapalowad to salongoc no finacadan, nika, tangasa anini caho kalasawad ko Tangafolan a kasafinacadan. Ano tooren ko so'elinay a sowal, o dadacongen nangra ato palowad ko salongoc no finacadan, nika, pakomaan kita a minengngeng to Tangafolan hakiya?

Anini, tala'ayaw to ko pinangan no tamdamdaw, ala mili'ay to ko kasakitakit to Yin-co-min to patelacay nangra a demak i 'a: yaw ho, o patalahekal no mita to sakalali'ay a nitahafan no kakarayan. I pala no mita Taywan, matatodongay hakiya patatekoen i 16 a finacadan no Yin-co-min-co-iingkey ko Tangafolan, o roma i papicidek han cangra patireng tono Tangafolan Yin-co-min, tangasa anini caayay ho kalacecay ko faloco'.

Itini i serangawan ato sowal ko piteselan no mita to patawtaw to ngangan no finacadan, malaheci i 2017 a mihecaan mapatireng ko rikec O rikec no sapalowad to sowal no Yincominco, mapacakat i kitakit ko sowal no finacadan, nika, nano 'aya'ayaw wataay to ko horihoran no sici to serangawan ato sowal no finacadan, ano cifaloco'loco' to kita a palowad i, caay to kafilo a mataroh ko masidayay ita a rayray ato faloco' ko harateng no rarem. Anini sa, nanay patiyolen ko ngangan niyam saan a mifilo ko kasaTangafolan a palowad to serangawan ato patireng to sowal no finacadan, araw han wata: iho ko sasi'ayawen no Tangafolan a raropayen a demak.

Plains Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan started the campaign for name rectification in 2001. In 2010, Plains Indigenous Peoples filed a complaint to the United Nations accusing the Government of Taiwan of violation the rights of Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples. The act led to a discussion involving the existence and subjectivity of Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples. In general, Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples include but are not limited to Kavalan (officially recognized), Ketagala, Taokas, Pazeh, Papora, Babuza, Hoanya, Siraya, and Makatao.

According to historical records, as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples already faced cultural identity crisis and struggled to preserve their culture from



perishing. Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples still exist today and have not vanished. To be fair, they have every right to ethnic identities and community revitalization. But how are these groups of indigenous peoples perceived by others?

In recent years, governments of many countries, one after another, openly apologized to indigenous peoples for the historic mistakes made. This gesture suggests the mature attitude of a democratic country and also marks the beginning toward reconciliation. In Taiwan, so far no consensus is reached yet with regard to the question that should the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples be merged with the officially recognized 16 groups or be recognized as a stand alone group.

Language and culture serve as the basic criteria of identification and recognition for name rectification. Indigenous Languages Development Act was passed in 2017, elevating indigenous languages to the status of national languages. However, as politics deeply affected the use of indigenous languages in the past, there is a lack of willingness to learn indigenous languages. The problem has to do with the lack of indigenous identity awareness and thus the motivation is weak. Although lots of efforts went into the cause of language revitalization, the motivation to learn indigenous languages in contrast dropped. To reclaim their names, Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples have been working hard to promote culture and language revitalization. The journey is a hard and long one.

Sakiserangawan a kikingkay no Yincominco a caytanghoing  
~mitongoday a kakeridan  
Acting CEO of Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation

*Kacaw. Fayan*



PAHAIMIAN NI SAW KI YAMI

# The Forgotten Peoples







# Not Just “Becoming Non-indigenous” **The Neglected History of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples**

Written by Muni Druluan; Illustrated by Yellow Nose

Colonialism and invasion concepts brought forth by imperialism are dismissed as diplomatic power struggles in history. The indigenous peoples who fought relentlessly against the foreign powers, who were forced to migrate and into hiding again and again throughout history lost their culture and roots, and gradually “became Non-indigenous (people)” - this is the basic impression the Taiwanese public has of the plains indigenous peoples.



## The History Left Out of Textbooks: the Kingdoms of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, European countries announced to the world that the development of capitalism will bring forth civilization. Yet the countries were actually expanding their powers and starting trade wars as they discovered new trade routes and embarked on discovery adventures. Taiwan was also unable to escape the fate of being colonized.

In 1624, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) landed on Taiwan at Anping. Using weapons and force, they summoned the indigenous communities and confederations to surrender. Many Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples eventually relented in order to preserve their people and culture, and entered a subject political culture relationship with the Netherlands. In 1645, Tatuturo Confederation was attacked by the Netherlands forces again. But because the neighboring indigenous communities supported the Netherlands, Tatuturo Confederation was forced to sign documents which gave up a portion of their rights. In 1642, the Netherlands armed forces moved south. The attacked Seqalu Kingdom signed the Langqiao Treaty which significantly reducing the power of the village chief.

During the period when imperialism and nation-state ideologies were at their height, forming coalitions or signing treaties with the invaders were only temporary solutions. Indigenous confederations, regardless of size, will eventually have to face the colonizers at their doorstep once they sign the treaties.

## The Heroic General of the Non-indigenous People, the Bane of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples

In 1661, Koxinga attacked Taiwan. At that time the Netherlands had not yet recovered from the war with the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj and was defeated by Koxinga's army which captured Fort Zeelandia. The Netherlands officially surrendered to following year, ending their 38-years of occupation in Taiwan. The army led by Koxinga continued to colonize Taiwan and called themselves the "Kingdom of Tungning". While many Taiwanese optimistically view this as the beginning of the development of Taiwan, it was the beginning of the loss of their homeland for the plains indigenous peoples.

Koxinga gave out land to his soldiers to farm when they were not at war. Yet the land he distributed actually belonged to the indigenous peoples already living on the lands, and Koxinga did not conduct any negotiations with the original residents or establish any contracts prior to his policy. To the indigenous peoples, this action was even more offensive and preposterous than the Netherlands colonizers' land grabbing methods, not to mention it significantly threatened the existence of the





Taiwan Indigenous Peoples. The Zheng's army constantly tried to expand their settlement areas and invade indigenous territories. The Battle of Shalu Village between the Tatuturo Confederation and Koxinga army in 1670 caused massive deaths. In the end only six Papora people survived, and Dadu community members retreated to the mountains and Shuili Village in Puli. Koxinga did not come to Taiwan to rule the island - he occupied it as a base camp for his army to fight against the Qing Dynasty regime.

In 1683, the Qing Empire defeated Zheng and his forces, leading to a rapid increase of non-indigenous immigrants in Taiwan. There were many cases of non-indigenous people trespassing into indigenous territory, conspiring with local gentry to register indigenous lands as "owner-less wastelands" and later change it into private lands owned by non-indigenous settlers. Although the Qing government had laws forbidding the sales of plains indigenous peoples' land and even set up stone landmarks, but the rights of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples were usually ignored or even sacrificed by the ruling powers in fear there would be a riot.

### Gradually Deprived of Their Sovereignty, the Western Indigenous Confederation Collapsed

Unlike the Netherlands and Spanish colonizers, Zheng and the Qing Empire completely deprived the indigenous communities

of their autonomy and governance, and directly threatened the survival and existence of the indigenous peoples.

### The Plains Indigenous Peoples in Central Taiwan Kept on Retreating

Unwilling to tolerate the greedy officials any longer, the Taokas people in Tunghsiao village initiated the first riot against the Qing Empire's colonizing policies in 1699. The Qing ruling power worked with plains indigenous communities who had surrendered (the Siraya in Xingang area and the Pazeh of Anli village) to suppress the uprising. Discontentment continued to brew among the plains indigenous peoples in central Taiwan due to excessive forced labor and taxes, and eventually in 1731, the Taokas from West Dajia Village started what became a series of plains indigenous peoples' rebellions. The Qing rulers used both force and incentives to combat the uprisings: they annihilated rebelling plains indigenous communities and burnt everything down to the ground; while on the other hand awarded resources to indigenous communities that surrendered. But the latter policy was not effective.



Disgruntled that the non-indigenous settlers had gone too far, the Papora people of Confederation, including West Dajia Village, joined forces with eight other Taokas communities in Bengshan and rebelled the following year. Almost every plains indigenous community in central Taiwan joined in. After seven long months of battle, the Qing government decided to completely eradicate local plains indigenous people forces and publicly beheaded the leaders of every community in Dadu region. The royal house of Tatuturo was destroyed and never recovered, and the rest of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples were terrified by this incident. Accepting their oppressive fate, they retreated to the Yilan and Puli regions.

Starting from 1790, the Qing regime implemented a new policy which claimed to award indigenous groups with additional land; but in reality, it was a scheme to let indigenous forces counteract each other. The Taiwanese Plains indigenous peoples were assigned to live and settle in the areas between plains and mountains to keep mountain indigenous community members out of the plains. A lot of plains indigenous peoples who originally lived along the seacoast and on the plains were relocated to western low elevation mountains border areas and mountain regions. Afterwards, there were many cases of non-indigenous settlers stealing land from indigenous communities. The Taiwanese plains indigenous peoples in the west faced harder and harder living and farming conditions and eventually moved into

Puli Basin. Although they surrendered, the plains indigenous peoples were ultimately forced to relocate and lost their lands in the end. And now their future is still uncertain.

### A Later Invasion Did Not Lessen the Damage for the Kavalan in the Northeastern Corner

The Yilan area, which was mainly populated by the Kavalan, was affected by foreign colonial powers much later than other areas due to its location and geographical advantages. In 1796, Wu Sha led a group of non-indigenous immigrants into Lanyang Plain, bring in waves of invading settlers into the area. In 1829, seeing the increasing number of non-indigenous settlers moving into the plain, the Kavalan had no choice but to gradually move to neighboring places, such as Sanxing and Su'ao. But in the following ten years, the Kavalan began to rapidly lose their land. A total of six communities, led by the Karewan people in Dongshan Township, moved to Beipu in Hualien to set up new communities. The new village cluster spread out as far as Tafalong area in the south.

After the Lanas na Kabalaen in 1878, the Qing regime ordered the remaining Karewan community members and the Sakizaya people who were also involved in the Incident to leave their original homelands. The Kavalan people dispersed and hid among the Pangcah, and never formed a unified community again.

### Southern Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Communities Fell as Different Colonizing Power Came

Southern Taiwan was once the home to two large Confederations. In the region above Fenggang River was the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj, established by the Tjaquvuquvulj Village led by upper Paiwan people, and was part of the Up 18 Communities of Lonckjau. In the area below Fenggang River was the Down 18 Communities of Lonckjau established by the Seqalu people. The community was later known as 18 Communities of Lonckjau.

Before 1874, the Qing regime was not interested in governing southern Taiwan. It was not until the Mutan Village Incident and the Japanese invaded Taiwan did the Qing regime realize the importance of Taiwan's strategic location and began to actively colonize the island. As the regime began to enter the mountains and overpower indigenous peoples, they ignited many conflicts and battles; nevertheless, as the colonization period began to stretch out, surrendering and paying allegiance became inevitable for the indigenous communities. The Seqalu communities were classified as "civilized savages" by the Japanese colonizers and in policies, which indicated that the groups were the same as non-indigenous people. However, this categorization quickly reduced the ethnic characteristics, including language, of the Seqalu.

"The so-called 'civilized savages' refers to plains indigenous peoples who have assimilated into the non-indigenous lifestyle a century ago and settled in the plains. Now they are living in general administration areas and are as compliant as the other islanders."

Under the assimilation and Japanization education schemes of the Japanese colonizers, the plains indigenous peoples who lived among the non-indigenous were further deprived of their original culture and languages, thus greatly affected by the forces of colonialism.



## Seeking the Identity of Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples

Looking back in history, the name "Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples" originated from the colonizing government's categorization of "uncivilized savages" and "civilized savages". But this type of classification is not based on any bloodline or scientific factors and merely a convenient method for the regime to manage the peoples. The definitions for mountain and non-mountain indigenous peoples, and "assimilated savage" and "plains savage" were also very vague. For example, the term "plains savage" was used for indigenous people living in the plains, so Pangcah community members living in the plains were also called "plains savages".

The methods the colonial government used to classify ethnic groups back then affected the lives of later Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples. Community members who once registered as "civilized savages" are not protected by indigenous peoples' laws since the laws consider civilized savages the same as the non-indigenous people. The distinction between non-indigenous and plains indigenous peoples is unclear, making the identity of indigenous peoples even more invisible.

Centuries have passed, new sprouts appear and grow from the ground under heavy wooden coffins. As history progress and ethnic group relationship issues gradually develop, identity awareness among the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples is a topic that has resurfaced in Taiwanese society. Now we realize that the "Taiwanese plains indigenous peoples" are not only a group of people with a label, but living and breathing indigenous peoples living on this land. The journey to ethnic identity recognition and culture revival has just begun. The younger generations are actively seeking common grounds and reviving their peoples' culture, rituals, and languages, reintroducing the plains indigenous peoples to the Taiwanese public. It may take a lot of effort to rectify their names, but we should never forget our history and past experiences. ❖



## References

- ◎蔡宜靜，〈荷據時期大龜文（Tjaquvuquvulj）王國發展之研究〉《台灣原住民族研究論叢》，6期，p157-192，花蓮：臺灣原住民教授學會，2009年。
- ◎康培德，〈環境、空間與區域：地理學觀點下十七世紀中葉「大肚王」統治的消長〉《臺大文史哲學報》，第59期，p 97-116，臺北：臺灣大學文學院，2003年。
- ◎楊克隆，〈清代平埔足土地流失原由新探〉《興大人文學報》，第61期，p47-78，臺中：國立中興大學文學院，2018年。
- ◎楊鴻謙，〈清代台灣南部西拉雅族翻攝地權制度變遷之研究—以鳳山八社領域為範圍〉。臺北：國立政治大學地政研究所，2002年。
- ◎黃唯玲，〈日治時期「平地蕃人」的出現及其法律上待遇（1895-1937）〉《臺灣史研究》，第19卷第2期，p99-150，臺北：中央研究院臺灣史研究所，2012年。
- ◎詹素娟，〈歷史轉折期的噶瑪蘭人—十九世紀的擴散與變遷〉《臺灣原住民族歷史文化學術研討會論文集》，p109-147，臺北：國史館台灣文獻館，1998年。
- ◎葉神保Drangdrang Validy，〈日治時期排灣族「南蕃事件」之研究〉，臺北：國立政治大學民族學系，2014年。
- ◎潘顯羊，〈核心部落、核心家族、人群互動關係與整合：近年恆春半島族群文化活動的參與觀察〉《民族學研究所資料彙編》，第25期，p45-98，臺北：中央研究院民族學研究所，2017年。
- ◎楊鴻謙、顏受靜，〈清代臺灣西拉雅族番社地權制度之變遷〉《台灣土地研究》，第6卷第1期，p17-50，臺北：國立政治大學地政學系，2003年。
- ◎段洪坤，〈失去土地，怎麼找祖先足跡：吉貝耍西拉雅的土地經驗〉《原教界》，第76期，p58-61，臺北：國立政治大學原住民族研究中心，2017年。
- ◎廖志軒、李季樺、劉志強、劉秋雲、李宗信、郭怡榮，〈道卡斯族專題〉《原住民族文獻》，第12期，p2-44，臺北：行政院原住民族委員會，2013年。



# Kavalan and Ketagalan:

## Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples in Northern Taiwan





Originally settled down on Lanyang Plain, the majority of Kavalan people relocated on Huatung Coast after invaded by non-indigenous peoples and were often mistakened as Pangcah people. Now, Kavalan has been officially recognized by the government as the members of 11<sup>th</sup> indigenous community but for Kavalan people, they have not found their own name.

Because of Ketagalan Boulevard, most Taiwanese are no stranger to the name, Kavalan. Distributed in Tamsui, Taipei, and Keelung, Kavalan people, however, due to long history of settlement and sinofication, have faced the challenges to preserve and pass down its culture.





## The First Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples with the Indigenous Name ~~Rectification~~ Restoration

# Kavalan People

Written by **Uki Bauki**; Photo credit: **Uki Bauki**; Illustrated by **Lin Jia-Dong**

The name of “Kavalan people” was included in Article 2.1 of “The Indigenous Peoples Basic Law” after the indigenous name rectification but this is only applicable to those with indigenous peoples status who registered in 1956 or completed supplementary registration before 1963. For descendants of Kavalan people marked as “uncivilised savages” on the household registration books during the Japanese colonial period, the classified “Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples,” are not acknowledged as indigenous peoples and their name has not really been “restored.”

Hence, if we look at Kavalan people from the national classification, there are deficiencies and careless omission. It is expected that we are able to interpret contemporary ethnic culture of “Kavalan people” from the perspective based on the history of Kavalan people and their encounters.

## Kavalan Myth:

### Warning of Goddess Mutumazu-Importance of Promise and Labor Division

The Goddess in the heaven, Mutumazu, saw the poor Siangau who did not have any food and came down to the earth and taught him to farm. Later, they fell in love and married to each other. They had a kid. Each day, Mutumazau went to the field to work and told her husband not to feed their kid qanaw (a land crab). But in order to comfort the crying kid, her husband gave the kid qanaw. The kid then stopped crying. When Mutumazu returned home, she saw qanaw in the stomach of their kid and scold her husband.

Next day, before going out, Mutumazu again asked her husband not to give qanaw to their kid. Her husband did not listen to her and gave the qanaw to stop the crying kid. When coming home, Mutumazu saw qanaw in the stomach of her kid and scolded her husband in a loud voice. On day 3, Mutumazu prepared to work in the field and told her husband not to give qanaw to their kid. She asked him to bring the crying kid to the field for breast feeding. Her husband, however, gave the crying kid qanaw. This time after fiding the qanaw in the stomach of her kid, she was angry and scold her husband, "Since you do not keep your promise, I will return to the heaven." Mutumazu set up the fire on the empty ground and returned to the heaven. She never returned.





## Plundering & Slaughtering, the Hundred-Year Long Race Tragedy in Human History

The Kavalan people either living in Yilan or relocating on Huatung Coast share the collective memory-plundering and by non-indigenous peoples and slaughtering by the Qing Dynasty in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, the hundred-years long race tragedy.

In 1976, Wu Sha led about 1,000 non-indigenous peoples from Zhang, Quan, and Yueh to land on Wushi Harbor and settle the 1<sup>st</sup> headquarters in Touwei. A few years later, the population of non-indigenous peoples grew dramatically. The Qing government passively included Lanyang Plain into its territory in 1810. The place was renamed from “Kbalan” into “Kavalan.”

The inclusion of land and settlement of Kavalan people in the territory of Qing Dynasty means the invention of national machine that forced re-distribution of land of Kavalan people. In the end, Kavalan people could not fight with strong power of non-indigenous peoples and plundering of national force. In 1830, they began running away from the indigenous home and first relocated in Yilan and later Hualien. In today's Jiali Village, Xincheng Township, the big community, “Lanas na Kabalaen,” with the population over 2,000 people was gradually developed.

### The Slaughtering in Lanas na Kabalaen

The Kavalan people moved to south and built Lanas na Kabalaen in Hualien. In 1878, an official of the Qing Dynasty came here to swagger, swindle, and even sexually insult women. The Kavalan people in Lanas na Kabalaen worked with Sakizaya people to fight against the Qing Dynasty military in the “Lanas na Kabalaen Battle.” After fighting for several days, the community was burned and about 5,000 members died. After the war, Wu Guang-Liang, the Chief Commander of the Qing Government adopted “Forcible Resettlement Policy to Weaken the Indigenous Power” by ordering the majority Kavalan people and Sakizaya people to move to East Coast and East Rift Valley. That resulted in exile of Kavalan people and Sakizaya people (This war was referred to as “the Dagubuan Battle” by Sakizaya people.)

They were forced to live in exile and since then, they “disappeared” in history and became Wandering Peoples. In order to commemorate this sad history, Kavalan people and Sakizaya people in 2008 and 2018 respectively organized conferences on “the Lanas na Kabalaen Battle/ the Dagubuan Battle” to present the collective memory of living in exile from the historical perspective based on ethnical



### Seasonal Change, Gratitude, and Life Perspective in Rituals

The Kavalan communities on Huatung Coast such as PateRungan and Kodio in Fengbin Township, Hualien County and Kalewan in Xincheng Township, Hualien, Polo't as well as Kolado't in Changbin Township, Taitung County still preserve religion and culture of Kavalan people. The highway was built in PateRungan until 1968 and although it lives next to or with Pangcah people, traditional rituals, practices, knowledge, songs and language have been well preserved. It is the cultural headquarters for Kavalan people in Yilan to learn, practice, and participate in ethnical living.

PateRungan, for example, has its seasonal and unique cultural rituals around the year. In the early spring when India Coral Trees are blooming and before the male in the community go fishing, Sbaw Tu Lazin (sea ritual; Kodio, Kolado't and Polo't refer it to Laligi) to pray the Sea God for harvests and safety in the coming year.

During the Japanese colonial period, PateRungan was known as "the rice barn of Fengbin Township" where the major crop is rice. Gataban (Harvest Ritual) is held to express the gratitude for the land and ancestral spirits in the early August every year, the biggest ritual of PateRungan.



In the end of year, each household in the community holds year-end ritual for ancestors, Palilin. In PateRungan, there are two types of Palilin: Kavalan Palilin and Dupuwan Palilin. Kavalan Palilin is an evening ritual. Offerings such as Isi (red and white wine made of glutinous rice), glutinous rice cake, mocha, cigarette, and beetle nuts are offered on the small altar in the kitchen to pray for blessings of ancestors. Dupuwan Palilin is held in the morning and shall be completed before 12:00 in the afternoon. Strict restrictions are imposed for this ritual and only members of direct family can take a part. No participation and observation of outsiders are allowed. The community people believe bad luck will come to the family if any outsider sees Dupuwan Palilin.

Additionally, Kavalan has the Metiyu (Priestess) Ritual- Kisaiz and Pagalavi. Kisaiz is the ritual, a collective religious event that treats diseases for girls. After being cured, girls are qualified as a Metiyu and can become a member of Metiyu group. Pagalavi is dedicated for worshipping and medical treatment. Metiyu is often held in the end of summer and early autumn on an evening without moon for treating ill Metiyu and blessing for the community. At present, there are about seven Metiyus in PateRungan who continue communicating with ancestral spirits and gods for their community members. But since the middle 1960s, no Kisaiz Ritual was ever held followed by Pagalavi a couple of years ago. These two rituals are now converted into cultural presentation and remains popular in the Kavalan community.

The ritual held for spirits of the dead by Kavalan people is called Padohogan, presentation of unique life and cosmos perspective of Kavalan people. On the ritual day and a day before, Metiyu and family members of a dead person need to fast. Metiyu sits at the center of living room and knocks bamboo stick to call the dead spirits home while family members feed the spirits and worship. This ritual allows the spirits to meet friends and families for the last time. Emotionally, it is for the spirits to cut links with their families to some degree.

Kavalan people highly respect ancestral spirits. A Sbaw is always held when they begin a construction, go out, go hunting or engage in other activities. Even when drinking, a Sbaw is a must to invite ancestral spirits to enjoy together.



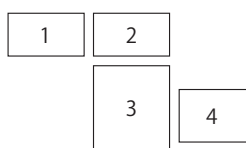


## Unique Banana Weaving

Banana weaving is one of the historical vehicles of Kavalan people that reflects time change and hard work, memories, sentiments, and spirit of weavers as well as core value of Kavalan.

*“When weaving, the barbarian woman uses big wood as the hollow core and bamboo is put horizontally to weave upwards. Round shape wood is tied to her waist as the axis for weaving. With barks and dyed dog hair, Dagobum is made. Color thread and bird and animal hair are woven with grass dye to present the beautiful colors. Strong and high quality cloth is also made.” (1952, “Kavalan Office Chronicle, Chen Shu-Chun).*

In the early time when Kavalan people settled down in Lanyang Plain, literature during the Qing Dynasty documented relevant skills of banana weaving of Kavalan people. In the 1870, Kavalan people moved to PateRungan continued this weaving technique to make articles such as shade cloth and rice bags. In the middle of the 1990s, in order to rectify its indigenous name, PateRungan presented this unique weaving material and technique to the outside world and now banana weaving has been developed into delicate handcraft and the cultural and creative industry. In 2002,



Picture1: In July, 2019, Kiripooan Community reorganized the Sea Ritual that was terminated 100 years ago to restore tradition of Kavalan People.

Picture2: This PateRungan's Harvest Ritual was organized in August, 2019 when Kavalan People dedicate songs to gods and spirits. Since the name rectification of Kavalan People, rituals are held each year to hand down culture and traditional songs to next generation. The leading singer of these rituals is now a Kavalan youngster.

Picture3-4: Traditional weaving patterns of Kavalan ancestors are re-represented under the effort of LaLaBan Banana Weaving Studio in PateRungan. Picture 3 shows a wrapped skirt made by Kavalan people in 1938 and collected by National Taiwan Museum. Picture 4 shows the master of banana weaving, the 80-year old madam, Yen Yu-Ying.

under the assistance of Professor Hu Chia-Yu of NTU Museum of Anthropology, Rev. a woman dress acquired by Dr. George Leslie Mackay in Lanyang Plain in 1890 was found. Now it is collected by Royal Ontario Museum. That dress was weaved with delicate pattern and with the effort of master Ngulan Banday and others, Kavalan people has revived this traditional weaving; by integrating with modern Kavalan costume, a new meaning is generated.

### Do not Call Us “Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples.” We have Our Name

Taiwan’s contemporary ethnic group classification follows “Uncivilised and Civilised Savages” surveyed by the anthropologists Inō Kanori and Ryuzo Torii during Japanese colonial period. This definition of others provided the purpose for the Japanese colonial government to control ethnic groups. But this classification was adopted by the ROC government to let “civilised Savages” to continuously “disappear.”

Since the 1980s, the elderly of PateRungan, Xie Wan-Lai, began to go back to Yilan to search for Kavalan members and that marked the beginning of name rectification and recognition of Kavalan People. On November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1987, Taiwan Provincial Museum by that time borrowed Taipei City 228 Memorial Park to organize “the Evening of Fengbin” and invited community members of PateRungan and Kodio to performance songs, dances, and ritual practices. That performance caused a big sensation and the audience was amazed that the “long sinoficated and disappeared” Kavalan People under misconception can speak their own language so well. On that night, Xie Wan-Lai called for the government to acknowledge Kavalan as Taiwan’s indigenous peoples and officially began the movement of name rectification.

In the 1990s, Kavalan People actively pursued name rectification and in various public occasions, they



In 2018, Kavalan people and Sakizaya people respectively organized academic conferences on “The 140<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Lanas na Kabalaen Battle/ the Dagubuan Battle” to interpret this important historical event from their ethnic perspectives to commemorate this historical tragedy of Taiwanese indigenous peoples.



The alliance was formed by Kavalan people and Sakizaya people and they jointly proposed the “Land Right Declaration: Lanyang Plain is the home land of Kavalan people.”

presented Kisaiz ritual songs and dances, Kavalan language, stories, appraisals, and banana weaving technique for the representation of unique culture of Kavalan people with the attempt to prove its existence with concrete acts.

On December 25, the Taiwanese Government finally acknowledge Kavalan as the 11<sup>th</sup> indigenous community in Taiwan but that did not guarantee to resolve the issues of Kavalan development and existence. In August, 2003, Kavalan community in Hualien set up “Hualien County Kavalan People Development Association” different from other community based associations with the aim to position ethnic development model and define future development.

### Indigenous Peoples What Shall We be?

“Those Taiwanese Plains Indigenous peoples speak Minnan Dialogue and they are not indigenous peoples...” said by a head of indigenous administrative institute and this portrays the framework about mainstream thinking towards indigenous peoples.

Policies ranging from “Mountain-opening and Savage Pacification” of the Qing Dynasty, “Civilizing Savage” of Japanese colonial period, and “Shandi

Pingdi Hua” to make the mountains like the plains” of the ROC Government had the background of slaughtering and plundering tragedy. Losing the identity of indigenous peoples is not only “being sinoficated,” “speaking Minnan Dialogue,” “blood nationalism,” or “fighting for resources,” but also a certain form of “being decontextualized” with the differentiation discourse of colonist perspective. This is like in modern society; people are speaking the language of colonists.

No ethnic group in Taiwan shall be named as “Taiwanese Plains Indigenous peoples” and each ethnic group shall has its name that presents unique historical context, cultural features, living spaces, and core ritual ceremonies. Kavalan People in Kirippon Community in Yilan, for example, sing their traditional songs, learn their ethnic weaving and language, and restore Sepaw tu lazing an Qataban.

These people with collective historical memories and experiences show us their wills and attitudes different from non-indigenous peoples through their own cultural participation, practice, and daily life recognition.

Indigenous peoples are “living” things and from the ancestry heritage, we find the value of being indigenous peoples for further development, consolidation, and continuousness of ethnic lives. We have to work hand in hand to face common ethnic challenges. ♦♦

## References

- ◎潘朝成（木枝・龍爻），《噶瑪蘭族香蕉絲文化情》，臺東：東部海岸國家風景管理處，2008年。
- ◎潘朝成Bauki Angaw，〈從掠奪、離散、認同、復名到主體建構〉《原住民族文獻》：第十九期，臺北：原住民族委員會，2015年。
- ◎噶瑪蘭族與撒奇萊雅族結盟，〈土地權利宣言：蘭陽平原是我們噶瑪蘭族的故鄉土地〉，宜蘭烏石港，2018年。



# To Forget is to Remember

## Reminiscences about Ketagalan

Written by Jhan Su-Jyuan; Illustrated by Lin Jia-Dong



In March, 1996, based on the suggestions provided by scholars and experts, the then Taipei City Hall renamed Jieshou Road in front of the Presidential Office Building Ketagalan Boulevard in commemoration of the history and culture of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. It was not until then did the people of Taiwan realise that an indigenous people called Ketagalan existed in Taiwan. After all these years, most people still have no realisation about who they are, what happened in the history, and where they are right now.

The truth is Ketagalan do not just exist in the distant past. Until now, some Ketagalan descendants have still been trying to seek for the traces of their ancestors in order to find out their history and identity.

### The Ketagalan in the Taipei Basin

Ketalagan, as part of the Austronesian family of languages, inherited social and cultural traditions unique to the Malayo-Polynesian family. The archaeological sites and unearthed relics pinpoint the link between Ketagalan and part of the Shihsanhang Archaeological Site, indicating the fact that Ketagalan had once been very active residents during the prehistoric age.

Originally, they dwelled in the Taipei Basin, coastal area of Northern Taiwan, the north-eastern coast, Linkou Plateau, or along Nankan River, etc. They resided at Keelung and Tamsui whose ports were open to the world. Thanks to the geographical location, Ketagalan people had engaged themselves in the maritime commercial activities with Japan and China before the Age of Great Discovery. Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Taiwan had been successively ruled by Spain, the Netherlands, the Zheng's family, and Qing Empire, resulting in tremendous changes to the traditions and social structure of Ketagalan. The references to Ketagalan as "civilised savages" or "plains savages" in the literature on Taipei area in the Qing Dynasty were made by foreign regimes or non-indigenous peoples.

The census taken by the Netherlands during the 1650's provides an overview of the number of Ketagalan population before the major structural changes. They found approximately 5,358 indigenous people making up 1,439 households in about 44 indigenous villages in the Great Taipei Basin. Take the most prosperous Taipei Basin as an example. The population of the indigenous people was at a number higher than 3000. The population in each community was not large in scale with only about a dozen to 100 people. Only a few bigger villages such as Bulauoan (the area now around Jiangzhicuei of Banciao District in New Taipei City) or Massauw (now Shihlin District in Taipei) had a population exceeding two

to three hundred. The Mandarin literature from the Qing Dynasty used the word “she (Chinese word meaning ‘village’)” to refer to those communities. The examples are Sirongh Village (now Jhonghe District in New Taipei City), Siah-khau Village (now Songshan District in Taipei), or Kipatauw Village (now Beitou District in Taipei).

In the report “Taiwan’s Aboriginal Affairs” published in 1900, the Japanese scholars, Inō Kanori, Awana Dennojou, etc. categorised the indigenous peoples in Taiwan for the first time. This book put Ketagalan people residing in the plains of Taipei, Keelung, and Tamsui under the category of “Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples,” but did not elaborate on the meaning of the name of the people. Inō Kanori travelled to every corner in Taipei to conduct thorough field studies and record oral narratives, which has enabled the historical stories, mythologies, words of Ketagalan language and definition of the words all recounted by the villagers, and images and photos to be kept.

In the description of the genesis of Ketagalan, Inō Kanori wrote, “We had originally lived in Sansai. We went fishing and drifted at sea because of a typhoon. Two of the boats arrived here, and we came ashore and established Kivanowan Village. That was thousands of hundreds of years ago.” The account of the oral history further indicated the following: “They were the founding fathers of the Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples. Their descendants emigrated to other corners of Taiwan, partly to Yilan and others to Keelung.” Based on this narrative, Inō Kanori proposed a bold and renowned hypothesis that Kivanowan Village (now Shuangsi River in Gongliao District of New Taipei City) was the cradle of the indigenous villages in the North of Tamsui and Yilan. This story of two villages sharing a common history and then dividing became the theoretical basis for Ketagalan when they pushed ahead with the revitalisation movement.

Subsequently, with Inō Kanori’s underlying theory and comprehensive data from various sources, the linguists, anthropologists, and archaeologists active in the late Japanese Occupation to the contemporary time claimed that to explain the diversity of Ketagalan, there should have been three subgroups.



In 1985, Tsuchida Shigeru, a linguist, put forward an intriguing classification system, which puts Ketagalan people living in the east of Keelung River to the north-eastern coast under the category of Basay; those living in the west of Keelung River to the brink of Linkou Basin under the category of Luilang (or perhaps the real Ketagalan people), and those living in Linkou Basin to Taoyuan under the category of Kulon.

Nevertheless, the documents from the 17<sup>th</sup> century referred Basay people to the residents living in Jinshan and Wanli of the north coast to Fulong in Shuangsi River area of the northeast coast, i.e. Kitapari Village, Kimaurri Village, and Kivanowan Village specified in Qing Dynasty's report. Basay people made a living on fishing, hunting, and evaporating brine; they had a dexterous hand to make bows and arrows, clothes, and knives and build houses. They were nomadic and business savvy. People who had traded them picked up Bassay language, so that they could communicate with one another. According to the linguistic data from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Basay language became a common language among the indigenous peoples living in part of Taipei as time passed by, which is the so-called "the spread of Basay language" as coined

by experts. The map of language distribution by Tsuchida Shigeru accurately depicts the dynamics of language. With regard to the Luilang people, they gathered at the centre of Taipei Basin, whereas Kulon people scattered in low-elevation mountains and valleys in the form of small villages. Their language and culture are different from Kategalan in the plains.

### Retrieving Evidence of Existence from Old Community Names

Since the Chen Lai-Jhang Settlement Establishment applied to reclaim a vast area ranging from "Leisia and Sirongh to the east, Parecachu and Gandou to the west, the foot of Singjhih Mountain to the south, to Pourompon to the north" in 1709 (48<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Emperor Kang-si), years after Taiwan was ruled by the Qing government, non-indigenous people closed in on the indigenous territory at Great





Taipei. The once green fields of luxuriant grass and with deer running on it had been replaced by rice paddies, and the systems of non-indigenous people's streets and towns had completely taken over. The indigenous peoples were stripped of their lands and engulfed by the non-indigenous ones. Even so, the evidence of their existence is still traceable today.

The names of Ketagalan communities are quite unique. For example, names such as Pourompon, Catayo, Kitapari, Kizingan (for



places), and Sirongh (for New Taipei Municipal Sioulang Elementary School), Pataauw (for Beitou District), and Datun (for mountain) are used for places, but not only that, they have even been adopted as names for roads, stations, schools, administrative districts, and mountains and rivers.

The documents recording land relations (relationships of people to land) were the rare data produced by Ketagalan people first-hand. Although these documents were drafted on behalf of the parties concerned, they gave a vivid account of how indigenous people in question dealt with their land and properties. With a yellowish tinge and musty smell, these documents recorded the names of communities, land, and people with inky handprints as well as the seals of indigenous officials and supervising translators. Every pen stroke, every word depicted subtle changes in the lives of indigenous peoples and the society.

Nevertheless, before the 1980's, Ketagalan as part of the indigenous peoples kept a low profile. After martial law in Taiwan was lifted,

there was a growing interest among the public in delving into indigenous cultures, making those who had long considered themselves to be orthodox Chinese descendants reflect if their ethnic ideology was too rigid. Thus, the exploration of collective memory and self-identity of indigenous peoples took place. At this time, the household registration census records became extremely important references.

Japan established the household registration system in 1906, and since then, every change in a person's life from birth, marriage/divorce, migration, having/raising children, death, and so on, had been recorded on the household registration transcript. In addition, thanks to the complex structure of ethnic groups, the colonist Japan designed an "ethnicity column" to show status of each group. Words such as "Fu," "Guang," "Civilised," and "Uncivilised" were used on the records. "Fu" and "Guang" referred to people who used Hokkien or Hakka to engage in daily conversations, whereas "Uncivilised" meant "Uncivilised savages" living in special administrative districts (the so-called "indigenous areas") and general administrative areas such as the indigenous peoples of Pangcah, Pinuyumayan, and Paiwan residing in Hualien and Taitung. "Civilised" was short for "civilised savages," which had been used by the Qing government. The term referred to the Taiwan

Plains Indigenous Peoples in the general administrative areas. From these key words in the household registration census records, people would be able to appraise one's ethnic background.

## Emergence of Ketagalan

The ethnic identity revitalisation movement of Ketagalan was triggered by the battle over the budget of Taipower's Fourth Nuclear Power Plant in the Legislative Yuan in July, 1994. The then legislator, Wong Jin-Jhu, called a press conference entitled "Saving Cultural Relics, Terminating the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant Project." She invited a descendant of Ketagalan, Mr. Lin Sheng-Yi, to address the issues of the movement history of Kivanowan Village and the preservation of Yanliao Archaeological Site as an anti-nuclear appeal to the press. Due to this event, the fact that indigenous peoples had once existed in Great Taipei Area and its history and culture drew public's attention with Taipei City Government changing Jieshou Road into "Ketagalan Boulevard."

Now, the public of Taiwan finally know who "Ketagalan" are through the publicity of Taipei throughout the country, the official announcement and promotion of policies, reports in magazines, and in newspapers.

The emergence of Ketagalan resulted from the controversy over the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant in Taiwan, but the subsequent development focused on reminiscing about its origin and past. Part of the advocates of revitalisation movement assumed that Ketagalan were the founding ancestors of all indigenous peoples in Taiwan, based on Inō Kanori's theory that Kivanowan Village was the place where the two big groups of people stepped ashore and



later on separated into Taipei and Yilan along with the rich archaeological evidence in Kivanowan area and the oral narratives of the “landing site of ancestors.” In 2003, the movement participants returned to Kivanowan Village to commemorate the landing of ancestors. Also, they incorporated Shansi Temple, which was once connected with Sanshi Province in China and worshipped by indigenous peoples for ancestry, into the mythology of Sanasai. This mythology is shared by the indigenous peoples living in the North and Northeast of Taiwan, Yilan, Hualien, and Taitung.

Additionally, other elements such as underground passages, smoky caves, ritual grounds, pyramids, etc. were added to the theory of Kivanowan Village as landing site to develop the new and famous thesis, “Mt. Cising, the Cradle of Ketagalan Civilisation.” The advocates claimed that Ketagalan people were the descendants of aliens, and left behind them the remains of Ketagalan Kingdom, which centred on the pyramid on Tianping in Mt. Cising. “Tianping” was the flat region surrounded by the main peak, eastern peak, and southern peak of Mt. Cising. Other relevant relics include a triangle worshipping

stela, a crescent pond, tombs, man-made Stonehenge, and stone totems, etc. Although these statements are not supported by solid evidence, they still attract many believers and enrich the historic texts of Ketagalan Civilisation.

All in all, Ketagalan did not only exist in the past, but also can be seen in Taiwan’s modern society. The mythical names of places, riddle-ridden documents, special family names, and status recorded in the past registration records serve as a bridge to the past; as a result, we can understand and connect ourselves to history at large. We will even find out that we are the main players because we have that DNA in our blood. With this data, no matter what conclusions we come to, we will be able to trace the history of our family, the identity of our people, and the root of who we are.❖





# The Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples

## Absent from Textbooks

Written by Kaisanan Ahuan; Photo credit: Central Taiwan Plains Indigenous Groups Youth Alliance; Illustrated by Lin Jia-Dong

As is known to most of us, historically Taiwan has been undergone the successive rule of different foreign forces, from the Netherlands, Ming Zheng, the Qing Empire to Japan. These regimes have had a profound influence on the island, and their governance has contributed to the shaping of its modern-day geographical and cultural landscape. Yet, very few of us are aware that the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples who used to live in central Taiwan were massacred and persecuted during the invasion and colonization of these foreign regimes. To find more chances of survival, they had no choice but to abandon their homelands and relocate to somewhere else.

The Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples are mainly comprised of the Pazeh, the Kaxabu, the Papora, the Taokas, and the Babuza. At present, a group of young descendants of these peoples are striving fearlessly toward revitalization in hopes of rediscovering the history and memories of their ethnic groups that have long been neglected.





The fossilized bones of a mother and baby excavated from Central Taiwan, which can be dated back to roughly 4,800 years ago.

## The Prehistoric Origin of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples in Central Taiwan

Recent studies by international academic circles have found that Taiwan could be one of the birthplaces of the Austronesian-speaking peoples, while the cultural relics unearthed at the archaeological sites in the Greater Taichung area also indicate that the evidence of ancient Austronesian peoples living there can be dated back to at least 5,000 years ago. Among these findings, one of the most noticeable is the fossilized bones of a mother and baby excavated from what is now called the Anhe Ruins at Taichung's Dadu Terrace, which are the earliest human fossils ever found in Taiwan and are therefore dubbed as the “most senior resident” of central Taiwan.

Around 1,000 to 600 years ago, the regional development across the South China Sea was peaceful and stable, and the Austronesian nations that formed the island chain were generally strong. The maritime trade thus flourished in the region. Nowadays jade items from Taiwan can be found in the Philippines, Vietnam and southern Thailand, while foreign agate and jade artifacts are also unearthed in the former habitat of the

Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples. This indicates the group behavior of these peoples had helped to stimulate their rise as an emerging economic force that maintained long-term stability in the Pacific economy.

## The Tatuturo Confederation in the Era of Sea Trade

500 years ago, Western European sea powers made their way into the Southeast Asia region, initiating their competition with local sea trade groups (pirates). In 1553, the Portuguese took over Macau, opening the chapter of European economic and trade development in East Asia. Although the Portuguese had stopped by Taiwan en route to East Asia, their logbooks did not contain any description of the Tatuturo Confederation in central Taiwan back then. In 1573, the Chinese pirate group led by Lin Feng grew in power across the Taiwan Strait,



The ancient map of Taiwan drafted by the Netherlands in 1625.

and was constantly looting the nearby coastal areas. Later it was besieged and routed by the Chinese officers and soldiers from Fujian, fled to the Penghu Islands, Wanckan (today's Budai Township of Chiayi County), and China in succession, but never stopped by the coastal area of central Taiwan. They were said to have deliberately avoided the domain of the Tatuturo Confederation, to which they were not allowed to come ashore.

The Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) one of the Western sea powers, came to Taiwan in 1624. Back then, the Kingdom of Tatuturo was under the leadership of Kamachat Aslamie. “Kamachat” is the respectful form



The landdag (“country assembly”) on Netherlands Taiwan. As historical records show, the King of Middag had partook in the southern country assembly held by the VOC. From this we can see that the king had played an important role under the Netherlands colonial rule.



of address to the king, while “Aslamie” one of the traditional names of the Papora people. The indigenous villagers referred to their king as “Lelien,” which means “the King of Middag” or “the King of Sun.” The term has its counterpart in today’s Pazeh language, “dalian,” which means “midday.” The Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples employed such a form of address to praise the strength of the kingdom and the exalted status of its leader. It is also thanks to the preservation of the Pazeh language that the term “Lelien” remains imprinted in the memories of the Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples throughout generations.

According to the records of Scotsman David Wright and *The Daily Journals of Fort Zeelandia*, during its heyday the kingdom of Tatuturo had up to 27 communities under its rule, the dominion running south to Lugang and north to Taoyuan. Exactly under the jurisdiction of the kingdom were 18 communities, which, compared to today’s Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples, included four major ethnic groups: the Papora people (the communities of Dorida amicien, Dorida babat, Dorida mato, Bodor, and Babusaga), the Babuza people (the communities of Asock and Tavokol), the Pazeh people (the communities of Tarranongan and Aboan Auran), the Arikun people (the communities of Tausa Talakey and Tausamato), and so forth. It can be said that almost the entire central Taiwan region had fallen within the kingdom’s jurisdiction. A Dutch John Struys had even mentioned in his travelogue that “the most affluent place in Taiwan is ruled by King of Middag.”

The Netherlands and Spain arrived in Taiwan successively in 1624 and 1626. Since then each of them had occupied the southern and northern parts of the island respectively for 14 years, but never met in the central region. From this we can see how powerful the Tatuturo Confederation was at that time. According to the Netherlands literature, King of Middag had set up rules across the territories under his jurisdiction stipulating that Christians were prohibited from dwelling in his dominions, that they had to learn the kingdom’s lingua franca,



and that missionaries could not make any stay when passing through the confederation. To consolidate its sphere of influence the confederation employed a two-fold strategy: Internally, it imposed restrictions and control over foreign religious activities, while externally establishing economic ties with foreign forces by trading such goods as deerskins and stones. These practices continued until 1662, when the Netherlands were expelled from Taiwan.

### The Fearless Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples in the Face of Foreign Forces

On April 30<sup>th</sup>, 1661, Zheng Cheng-Gong (Koxinga) led armed forces ashore to Luerhmen, Tainan, and took control of the Tai-jiang Inland Sea. In July, A Tek Kaujong<sup>1</sup> (aka Maloe), the leader of the Tatuturo Confederation, led his people to fight against Zheng's army and won the battle eventually. Yet A Tek Kaujong himself was killed in the ambush. This hard-won victory brought about a dramatic change to the Confederation's fate.

In 1670, Liu Guoxuan was sent by Zheng Jing, Koxiga's successor, to attack the Passoua community, the traditional territory home to the Babuza people, in order to expand the regime's territorial control. The invasion was met with the resistance of multiple

communities within the Confederation, including Tatuturo, Salagh, and Tarranongan. The battle was so large that even Zheng Jing participated personally. Hundreds of residents of the Salagh community were killed by the enemy, leaving only six survivors fleeing to the seaside. Some people from the Tatuturo community were chased by Liu's army to the Xingang River (today's Guoxing Township) and eventually fled into Puli. This conflict is historically known as "The Battle of Salagh," which marks the first time that the Tatuturo Confederation had suffered a mass slaughter. It also foreshadowed the mass migration of Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples to Puli thereafter.

The massacre and exploitation of Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples by Zheng's regime resulted in the decline of the Tatuturo Confederation. As is recorded in *Hai Shang Shi Lüe* (A Brief Record of Sea Affairs), the Taokas people in the communities of Torovaken and Pocaal were enslaved by Zheng's army, who whipped them ruthlessly simply because they were not used to carrying heavy loads on the shoulders like non-indigenous people did. Hence, there was a popular song in the Torovaken community that goes like this: "Zheng Cheng-Gon relentlessly subjugated the barbarians in and nearby the Torovaken community, killing countless untamed people."

N.B.1: Maloe is also known as A Tek Kaujong, which tended to be transliterated as "阿德·狗讓" in Chinese historical records. Such translation is deemed discriminatory with a sense of disparagement implied by the word choice of "狗" (dog). After comparing the Netherlands literature and their traditional naming system, the modern Papora people consider it more appropriate to replace "阿德·狗讓" with "愛著·加勞" to show respect for this legendary king of the Tatuturo Confederation.



The year 1699 saw the first indigenous revolt against the Qing government officials launched by Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People. The incident was triggered by the Parrewan community of the Taokas people, who were infuriated by the autocratic style of management of Huang Tung, the translator and liaison between the indigenous communities and the Qing government. In 1722, there were two other large-scale joint anti-government operations: The Battle of the West community of Taokas in 1731, and the Incident of the Tatuturo Community in 1732.

In December 1731, as the Qing government assigned excessive physical work over a long period of time, the West community of Taokas decided to stage a revolt. The operation was joined by over one thousand indigenous people from the eight Pangsoa communities, targeting the Qing's coastal defense office located at the Salagh community. Later several communities of the Papora and Pazeh peoples, including Salagh, Gomagh, Aboan balis, Aboan Pali (now self-proclaimed kaxabu), also joined the battle. The revolt ended up with over 200 houses in the Aboan Pali community destroyed by the fire and a heavy toll of deaths and casualties.

In 1732, to take credit for suppressing the uprising, a relative of the Qing official Ni Xiang-Kai, who had quelled the disturbances, decapitated 5 indigenous people who came to help with the transport of provisions, falsely claiming them as "uncivilized barbarians who went on the rampage." This infuriated the communities of Doridamato and Salagh, who joined hands with other communities from the former Tatuturo Confederation to launch a revolt, the members including the West and East communities of Taokas, Tanatanaka, Waraoral, Maoyu (the Taokas people), Asock, Baberiengh (the Babuza people), Aboan balis, and Aboan Pali (the Pazeh people).

The scope of this uprising extended as far as to the Chu-lo border, covering an area nearly one thousand miles in radius, and involving over 50 indigenous communities.

These two conflicts lasted for three years and were Taiwan's largest mass rebellion across indigenous peoples in history, which made a profound impact on the subsequent development of Taiwan's ethnic groups.

From these large-scale anti-Qing operations of Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples, we can find that these communities of multiple ethnic groups maintained a close tie with one another and had outstanding organizational abilities. The related literature also shows that they seldom battled with each other vying for hunting fields. They had maintained a fairly stable and friendly relationship for thousands of years. In the battle with the Parrewan community in 1699, the Qing court chose to send Tainan's Siraya people northwards to help subdue the rebellious Taokas people instead of mobilizing the nearby Babuza communities. This evidently suggests that the Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples still kept on good terms and maintained a certain degree of intimacy during the Qing dynasty. It is such unique connection and cohesion that contributed to the largest mass migration of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan's history.



## The Largest Mass Migration of Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan's History

The year 1814 saw the invasion of the Puli Basin by non-indigenous people led by Guo Bai-Nian, resulting in heavy casualties in the indigenous Puli community. This is known historically as “the Guo Bai-Nian Incident.” In order to protect the Basin from the non-indigenous people’s constant invasions, the Puli community, through the introduction of the Thao people, invited the Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples who had suffered a great loss of their territories to move inland to the Puli Basin. This initiative marked Taiwan’s largest mass migration of Indigenous people in history, including the following ethnic groups:

- The Papora People: the communities of Tatuturo and Bodor
- The Taokas People: the communities of Tanatanaka, Waraoral, Varaval, and Parrewan
- The Babuza People: the communities of Dobale, Babousack and Tarkais (Gilim)
- The Pazeh People: the communities of Aboan Auran and Aboan balis
- The Arikun People: the communities of Tausa Talakey, Tausamato and Wandouliu
- The Lloa People: the communities of Talack and Badsikan
- The self-proclaimed Kaxabu People: the communities of Varrut, Karahut, and Tarawel

A total of 30 communities relocated to Puli and continued to use their original names in the new settlements, such as Waraoral, Aboan Auran, Tatuturo, and so on. They also referred to each other as “Taritsi,” which means allies and relatives.

In many historic records of allotment agreements found in Puli, we see that these immigrant communities also signed settlement contracts that stipulated the shares of land for use. The land was divided in proportion to the size of each community. Such practice bore witness to the harmonious partnership between the Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples. Also, in order to express their gratitude to the Thao people for introducing them into Puli, the descendants of headmen from each ethnic group developed a tradition of presenting them with such gifts as “pulled rice cake”, rice wine, and pork annually, which has been passed down to the present day. Such a custom is called by the Thao people as “rice cake picking.”



## Continuing Ancestral Cultural Legacy that Lasts for Thousands of Years

Despite the fact that they had moved away from their homelands, the Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples did not abandon their languages and still continued their traditions in Puli. However,



The settlement contract of the Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples migrating into Puli. This contract is signed between the communities of Kabilan (Pu-li Village) and Kankwan.

their culture was faced with suppression by the Japanese colonial rule, under which the indigenous languages and rituals were forbidden for the sake of the assimilation policy. The Japanese officials even humiliated indigenous residents by ridiculing them publicly at their festivals. The Pazeh elders recall that back then village elders who spoke their mother tongue were brought to the police station and got punished. It is such a dire situation that led to the decline of traditional cultures among the Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples.

Looking at the traditional Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples' cultures in terms of food, we see that many communities in Puli share a custom to make a special kind of rice cake as the offering for worshipping their ancestors. The rice cake is made by mixing grounded bur grass with glutinous rice paste, which is to be steamed and wrapped in yuetao (Alpinia) or banana leaf. This dish has a different name in each ethnic group: In the Taokas it is called "hinpu," while in the Pazeh "umu," and in the Papora "tutu."



## The Distinctive Culture of Each Ethnic Group

### The Papora

The Papora's "Daducheng" community in Puli hold the traditional "Alomai" ceremony in worship of ancestral spirits annually on the first day of the seventh lunar month. The ritual begins with community members calling out for their ancestral spirits in the ritual area, who are then carried back to the community on the backs of their descendants symbolically to pray for peace for the village. Solemn and sacred, the ceremony is held exclusively within the community and has never been open to the public, which shows how serious the Papora people are about their traditional culture and ritual ceremony.

### The Taokas

The Torovaken community maintains a more complete ritual culture of the Taokas people. The "Chian Tien" Ritual (牽田祭) is held annually from the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the seventh lunar month to the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the next lunar month. The community members have to make three huge flags representing the ancestral spirits one month ahead. The flags are about 1.8 to 2.1 meters tall and are to be carried respectively by a "issama" (flag bearer) on the back to march around the ritual area. During the procession each issama is assisted by two flag guards to prevent the flag from falling. As the flag symbolizes the community's highest respect for and belief in their ancestral spirits, the Taokas people believe that if it falls, there will be misfortunes to the village.

### The Babuza

The Babuza's Dobale community also holds the Chian Tian Ritual to worship ancestors, which falls on the evening of the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the eighth lunar month. Unlike its counterpart in the Taokas communities, the ritual here is held on a household-basis, and the tradition has continued until the present day.

### The Arikun and the Lloa

The communities of the Arikun and Lloa hold their ancestor worship ceremony on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of the seventh lunar month. Today they still maintain the ritual of worshipping the ancestral spirits in front of the red cedar in Puli.

### The Pazeh and the Kaxabu

The Pazeh and the Kaxabu peoples share a brotherly kinship in their culture. They both celebrate "Azem," the traditional new year, on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the eleventh lunar month. On the day of the ritual, people dance and sing the ancient chant of "Aiyan," which tells the story of their origin and remembers the spirits of ancestors.



Above: Descendants of the Arikun and the Lloa peoples hold the ancestor worship ceremony in front of the tree representing their ancestral spirits. Photo courtesy of Deng Xiangyang, an expert on Puli's local history.

Middle: The protest for the name rectification of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples organized by the Central Taiwan Ping-Pu Indigenous Groups Youth Alliance.

Below: Members of the Central Taiwan Ping-Pu Indigenous Groups Youth Alliance attend the Kaxabu people's New Year celebration, which bears witness to their close friendship.



The Taokas people's "Chian Tien" Ritual held in Torovaken community.

As far as language is concerned, thanks to the introduction of Western religions, the Pazeh and the Kaxabu languages are better preserved through the documentation of churches. Now they are the only two of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples who are yet to be recognized officially that have developed their own language textbooks with 9 levels of difficulty. Nowadays, in Puli's Suwanlukus community, one can still find elders who can talk fluently in their native tongue. In recent years, the Taokas people has published their own dictionary: *Matitaukat* (Matitaukat Taokas Dictionary), while the Arikun and the Lloa peoples are increasingly striving to get rid of the traditional tag of Hoanya in hopes of rectifying their names. The Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples have enjoyed a close bond of friendship that ran far and deep in the course of history. Likewise, their contemporary descendants are working steadfastly in their own ways for the continuation of traditional cultures.

Despite the 400 years of suffering of colonization, the Central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples have never abandoned their responsibility of continuing their cultures. They also place much emphasis on the pursuit of the rights for their younger generations and have been active in such civil rights campaigns as the Aboriginal Land Movement in Taiwan, and the Name Rectification Movement of Taiwan Indigenous People. Over the past two decades, these peoples, following in the steps of their ancestors, kept asking the government to return the basic human rights they deserved. Recently, such an appeal has been further carried on by the Central Taiwan Plains Indigenous Groups Youth Alliance, which is established by young members of the seven major ethnic groups of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples in central Taiwan. The aim of this cross-ethnic collaborative organization is to continue their traditional ways of life that have been passed down over centuries, and to regain self-confidence and pride of being indigenous people of the island of Taiwan. ♦♦

## References

- ◎劉益昌，《考古學與平埔族群研究》，平埔族與台灣歷史文化論文集，臺北：中央研究院台灣史研究所籌備處，2001年。
- ◎林景淵，《濱田彌兵衛事件及十七世紀東亞海上商貿》，臺北：南天書局，2011年。
- ◎翁佳音，〈被遺忘的台灣原住民史——Quata（大肚番王）初考〉《臺灣風物》，臺北：臺灣風物，1992年。
- ◎康培德，《環境、空間與區域：地理學觀點下十七世紀中葉「大肚王」統治的消長》，台大文史哲學報，臺北：臺灣大學文學院，2003年。

# The Southwest Region of the Island

## Home to the Southern Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples

Written by Chen Yi-Zhen; Photo credit: Chen Yi-Zhen; Illustrated by Lin Jia-Dong





Who once lived in the vast plains of Taiwan's southwest region? The southwestern plains were once occupied by the Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples, yet their history has been lost in time. Fortunately, historical documents studies and research offer more information to the descendants seeking their roots, as the stories of their ancestors are gradually uncovered.

The Makatao, Siraya, Taivoan, Lloa, and Arikun are the five major Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples in the southwest region. Current community members are dedicated to reviving their traditional culture, including holding Night Rituals to pray to their deities and ancestral spirits with offerings of pork. With the largest indigenous population, the southern plains indigenous peoples continue to look for the missing parts of their history. Piece by piece, they are reclaiming the collective memories of their people.

# The Diverse and Vivacious Makatao People



In addition to the well-known Paiwan and Rukai peoples, Pingtung is also home to the Makatao, one of the Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples. An accumulation of diverse cultures and people, the Makatao has often been mistakenly classified in terms of ethnic group throughout history.

The earliest record of the people appeared during the Netherlands Occupation Period. The Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples population in Pingtung was already the largest in Taiwan at that time: around 1650, the total population of plains indigenous peoples in Taiwan was a little under 50,000, but over 10,000 of them lived in Pingtung. It is worth noting that the Netherlands officials and missionaries were unable to handle the Pingtung wilderness and never managed to have full control over the indigenous peoples in the plains, thus were not successful in fully documenting and understanding the local indigenous languages and cultures. Initially, the Netherlands colonists mistakenly used the Siraya language spoken in Tainan to write textbooks to educate indigenous peoples in the plains of Pingtung. When they finally realized that the plains of Pingtung

indigenous peoples did not understand a word at all, the Netherlands started to collect local language resources. However, they were forced out of Taiwan by Koxinga before they could actually accomplish anything.

## The Migrating Inhabitants at the Bottom of the Hill

The history books of the Qing Dynasty referred to these Pingtung residents as the “eight communities of Fongshan”. Nevertheless, the policies of the Qing regime and the large numbers of non-indigenous people moving into and developing Pingtung Plain forced the original indigenous residents near Donggang River to eventually move east and settle at the foot of the Central Range mountains (the present area along No.185 County Road). From Qing history books, we can see the regime deliberately planned to use the Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples as a defense barrier between the mountain indigenous people and non-indigenous immigrants. Many land deeds from the Qing Dynasty show indigenous people from the eight communities of Fongshan selling their land. But besides these land deeds, there are nearly no other records of the plains indigenous peoples in Pingtung Plain within the two-hundred years of Qing Dynasty rule. We have no clue of their migration history. However, we do know the soil at the top area of the alluvial fan at the mountain foot was not suitable for agriculture, and the Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples were surrounded by non-indigenous immigrants and mountain indigenous peoples; also near the end of the Qing Dynasty rule, more community members moved to Hengchun and eastern Hualian. Thus, we can suspect the people of the eight communities of Fongshan did not have a comfortable life and were constantly seeking better living environments.



Picture 1-2: Makatao Night Ritual at Jiaruipu. “Jiaruipu” was the former name of Taishan Village in Gaoshu Township, Pingtung. Every year on the night of November 15th of the lunar calendar, Jiaruipu residents sing and dance the “Ma-olau” at the Kuwa temple. (Photo credit: Zhao Shou-Yan)



This group of indigenous peoples living in Pingtung Plain finally got the name “the Makatao” near the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Japanese anthropologist Inō Kanori collectively called the peoples in Pingtung Plain “the Makatao”, but other researches still referred all indigenous peoples in Pingtung, Kaohsiung, and Tainan as “the Siraya”. Some researchers classified the indigenous peoples in Pingtung Plain into the northern and southern communities. Interestingly, none of the present Makatao people living at the mountain foot on Pingtung Plain know the original meaning of this community name, and no one recalls their ancestors calling themselves by this name. While the respectful collective name “Makatao” is accepted within the community, villagers usually refer to each other as “Shanjiao Ren (people living at the foot of the mountain)” or “Pingbu’a (Taiwan Plains Indigenous person)”.

### Diverse Historic Rituals to Revive Traditional Culture

The Makatao fought for survival under different circumstances throughout history and have lost pieces of their collective memories since the people often migrated. But current generations are dedicated to carry on their traditional beliefs and revive their ritual cultures. For example, the extremely famous Jiaruipu Village in Gaoshu Township holds their Night Ritual at mid-November of the lunar calendar. The community is celebrated for its offering

to the deity “A-mu-mu”, the “Tiaoxi” dance, ritual songs, and embroidered garments. The Gabulong community in Wanluan Township holds their “Xianguzu” Ritual mid-January of the lunar calendar, which is another effort to rekindle the cultural fire of the Makatao. Laupi Village in Neipu Township also restored their “Laozuci” Ritual in mid-October of the lunar calendar in the recent five years.

In addition to a wide array of traditional beliefs and folk religions, local Catholics congregate at the Wanjin Catholic Church at Wanjin Village in Pingtung, presenting the diverse religions and beliefs of the Pingtung Makatao people. In recent years, Makatao people who have moved to Changbin Township in Taitung and Fuli Township in Hualien have also started cultural revival projects that focus on garments and accessories.

The widespread Makatao people has a large population. The group was known to hold “Collective Rituals” in collaboration with at least twelve villages located mainly along the mountain range of Pingtung in the past. The villages took turns hosting the event to worship their ancestors, and the massive ritual was still held less than a hundred years ago. Now, the Makatao people in Pingtung Plain, Hengchun Peninsula, and eastern Hualien area are still figuring out their next step to move forward and solidify collective identity.❖



Above & below: During mid-November of the lunar calendar, Jiaruipu residents pray to A-mu Tsou and prepare offerings for the Night Ritual. (Photo credit: Zhao Shou-Yan)

# The Steadfast and Dedicated Siraya People

One of the most well-known Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples to the present public, the Siraya people not only has been fighting fiercely for name rectification with the Tainan City Government for the past decades, but also are the first group of indigenous people to have contact with individuals from other countries in history. The “Formosans” the Netherlands referred to were actually the four major communities in Tainan (Xingang, Xiaolong, Backloun, and Madou), the indigenous peoples who are now known as the Siraya.

## Siraya People on the Seacoast, Low Elevation Mountains, and Plains

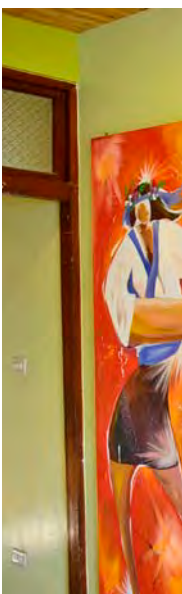
The Siraya, who originally lived on the coastal plains in Tainan, has witnessed how regimes turned their homeland into a ruling base in the past 400 years. The Netherlands colonists used Tainan as a basecamp for trade. Because of missionary purposes, the culture and language of the Siraya was recorded in detail and unintentionally became crucial data sources for current culture revival projects. However, the Siraya was later forced to migrate due to large scale soldier-gathering schemes

during the Period of Ming Zheng, and non-indigenous immigration and indigenous policies during the Qing Dynasty. The Siraya gradually moved from the coastlines to low elevation mountain areas in Tainan. During the Japanese Occupation Period, the regime's indigenous schemes caused community members move to low elevation mountain areas in Kaohsiung and eastern Hualien. Now there are only very few Siraya living in their original Tainan Plain home villages, next to non-indigenous villages and towns.

It is not far off the truth to say that the Siraya is the indigenous group that has the most foreign power exposure in the past 400 years. The Siraya was used and tricked by the Netherlands, which led to deadly internal conflicts such as the Madou Incident. The Siraya's traditional belief system was also brutally destroyed: in order to reduce the influence of Inibs (female village priests) in communities, the Netherlands “banished” over 200 Inibs's to other places. Yet the surviving Siraya did not just passively wait for their fate to be determined. They used tools left behind by the regimes and consciously chose their own family name, language, and written words. Now many Siraya people carry a rare Chinese character family name connected with a Siraya-language family name suffix, for example: Akatuang, Talavan, Domok, Talalomay, Tavali, etc. After the Netherlands left Taiwan, the Siraya still used latin letters to write their own language, keep books, or put together contracts for 160 to 170 years. These documents from various sources were later collectively called the “Xingang Documents”. The Siraya has the longest history of writing in their own native language among all Taiwanese indigenous peoples.



Donghe Village in Dongshan District, Tainan City. It was known as “Kabuasua.” The sacred annual ritual celebrating the birthday of “Alimu” is a major event at Kabuasua Village. Pork and wine offerings are important rites.





## Charging Forward on the Path of Culture Revival

Whether it is because they do not agree with the methods of the regime, or because they know how to maintain their dignity in trying environments, the Siraya people are known for their achievements in modern Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples identity and name rectification movements and culture revival efforts. For example, the Toushe Village in Danei Township (Tainan), and Kabuasua Village in Dongshan Township are famous for their strong and unifying ancestral spirit worshipping rites, annual Night Rituals, and “Kan-hi” culture. Furthermore, the Siraya people have large communal temples for A-li Tsoo, A-li Mu, or Kuva. Branches of Taiwan Agrimony and other plants are placed in a bottle of “Xiangshui”, which symbolizes the power of spirits, to protect worshipers. The Night Ritual follows strict procedures and lasts well into midnight. The A-li Tsoo belief still lives on in the daily lives of the people as well. Community members still hang plastic bags carrying Taiwan Agrimony branches on their



1

2

Picture1: The bamboo houses at Kabuasua Village.

3

Picture1: The village school at Kabuasua Village.

Picture3: The Kabuasua fill glass, ceramic or wine containers with water (“Xiangshui”) and place green branches in them. The “Xiangshui” symbolizes that ancestral spirits are protecting the people.

scooters, and parents give the branches to children to wish them safe travels when they leave the house.



The walls of Kabuasua Village Schoolhouse. The colorful paintings show community members dancing “Kan-hi” during the Night Ritual.

Some villages chose to carry on their traditional ancestral spirits beliefs, while others became pious Presbyterian Church followers, such as Koupi Village in Tainan Xinhua District, Gongguan Village in Zuozhen District, and Muzha Village in Kaohsiung Neimen District. Yet Christianity did not stop the Siraya from reviving their culture. Through the Gospel of St. Matthew written in the Xingang language of Netherlands, the Siraya integrated language learning and promotional work and name rectification related projects into church activities. Church members could also do transition and documentation work on oral history and traditional arts when they visited the elders in the community to keep them company.

Although forced to relocate to rural mountain foot areas of Tainan, Kaohsiung, and eastern Hualien, the Siraya still managed to find a way to live with dignity. The younger generation continues to seek their own ways to protect the very identity and values that have been safeguarded by their ancestors for over 400 years.❖



# Overcoming Great Obstacles and Being Reborn Again: The Taivoan

If you ask which group of Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples is the least-like “plains” indigenous peoples, the answer would be the Taivoan. Currently the Taivoan mainly reside in Kaohsiung's mountain areas such as Jiasian, Sanlin, Liugui, and Neimen, and these locations are actually at a higher elevation than many mountain indigenous peoples' villages.

The home village of the Taivoan people was originally near the Yujing basin in Tainan, covering places such as Upper Taivoan Village, Xiaoli Village, Qieba Village, and Vogavon Village. These four villages were later referred to as the “four plains indigenous peoples' villages”. However, after the Siraya who originally lived on the coastal plains in Tainan moved to the low elevation mountain areas in the east, the living territory of the Taivoan was threatened. As late as before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Taivoan people migrated into higher mountain areas in Nanzih River valley and Laonong River valley in Kaohsiung. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some Taivoan in Kaohsiung followed Xinwu River and moved to the East Rift Valley.

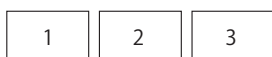
The sorrowful history of the Taivoan people included not only numerous forced migrations, but also many deaths during the Tapani incident which occurred during the Japanese Occupation Period. Because of these perilous incidents in history, the Taivoan developed a secret language, “Xiangjiao Baihua”, which is a combination

of the Taivoan language and Minnan dialect. There are still village elders who speak the language.

## Distinctive Facial Features and Outstanding Hunting Skills

Similar to the Makatao, the Taivoan was often mistaken as one of the branches of the Siraya in the past. Adamantly guarding their self-identity, the Taivoan is now gradually being recognized as an independent ethnic group after researchers compared their languages and cultural details with other groups. Although the argument of bloodline is often viewed as myth, but the Taivoan people do have relatively distinctive facial features, especially the community members in Nanzih River and Laonong River regions in Kaohsiung. They had deep-set eyes, and their skin color is darker and slightly warmer than the neighboring Bunun people. When you drive through Provincial Highway 27 and 29, it is difficult to not to notice the Taivoan community members living there.

The Taivoan have a strong connection with their mountain dwelling. Village hunters still hunt wild boar and use their teeth to make necklaces. Flying squirrel is another popular prey. If they get a Reeves's Muntjac, the hunters leave it there until the meat is slightly spoiled, then stir fry it with full flame. The Taivoan also raise deer next to the mountains and harvest pilose antlers for trading or to make soup.



Picture1-3: Every September 15<sup>th</sup> of the lunar calendar, the Taivoan at Liuzhong River hosts their Night Ritual. The complete traditional ritual includes welcoming Kuva, offering of the pig, Kan-hi dancing, flipping over the pig, and burning paper money. This is how the Taivoan at Liuzhong River shows their respect to Kuva.

## Undefeated by Natural Disasters, They Sing to Pass on the Peoples' Courage

The relationship between the Taivoan community and mountain environment is reflected in their current culture revival projects. For example, Liuzhong River Village in Tainan records the making of hunting tools, mountain paths, and traditional territory. Rauron and Fangliao Villages in Kaohsiung compiled traditional recipes with special local ingredients such as cowpeas and star jelly. Siaolin Village did a survey on the traditional names and purposes of local plants and reintroduced them at the permanent housing community after the typhoon. They even published the survey records to reinforce the collective memory of the village.

Siaolin Village re-established their rituals very early on. Unfortunately, the entire village was destroyed in 2009 by Typhoon Morakot. After the villagers relocated to the permanent housing at the mountain foot, they found solace in song and dance, theater, embroidery, and bamboo and rattan weaving. The Taivoan village in Kaohsiung was also heavily hit by Typhoon Morakot. The community started their post-disaster recovery by reviving their traditional culture through their annual ritual. Every mid-September of the lunar calendar, the Taivoan holds their Night Ritual in front of the “Kuwa”, or village temple. The Kuwa has a Xiangshen Pillar and Xiangshen Shrine, which are the temple's features. The Taivoan refer to the deities they worship as “Kuva” or “Anang”. Their song and dance, which is done by men and women holding hands dancing in a circle, is called “Kan-hi”.

The Night Ritual is very significant to the Taivoan people now, for the ritual itself is not only an event that represents traditional culture and self-identity, but a joyful yet solemn opportunity in the modern times to heal wounds and connect with other Taivoan community members. Numerous incidents of migration, fleeing from Japanese soldiers hunting them down, rebuilding their homes after the typhoon - the pain and wounds accumulated in history and inflicted on the village and individuals are all soothed with the protection of Kuva and the songs of the people. ❖



Above: To recover the memory of Siaolin Village, the Taivoan sings traditional songs to preserve the voices of Amumu (“grandparents”).

Below: The Taivoan at Dinglaonong set up their offerings at the Kuva temple to celebrate the birthday of the deity, and to pray that the deity will safeguard the Taivoan at Rauron Village.



# The Mistaken Names:

## ~~Hoanya~~, Lloa, and Arikun

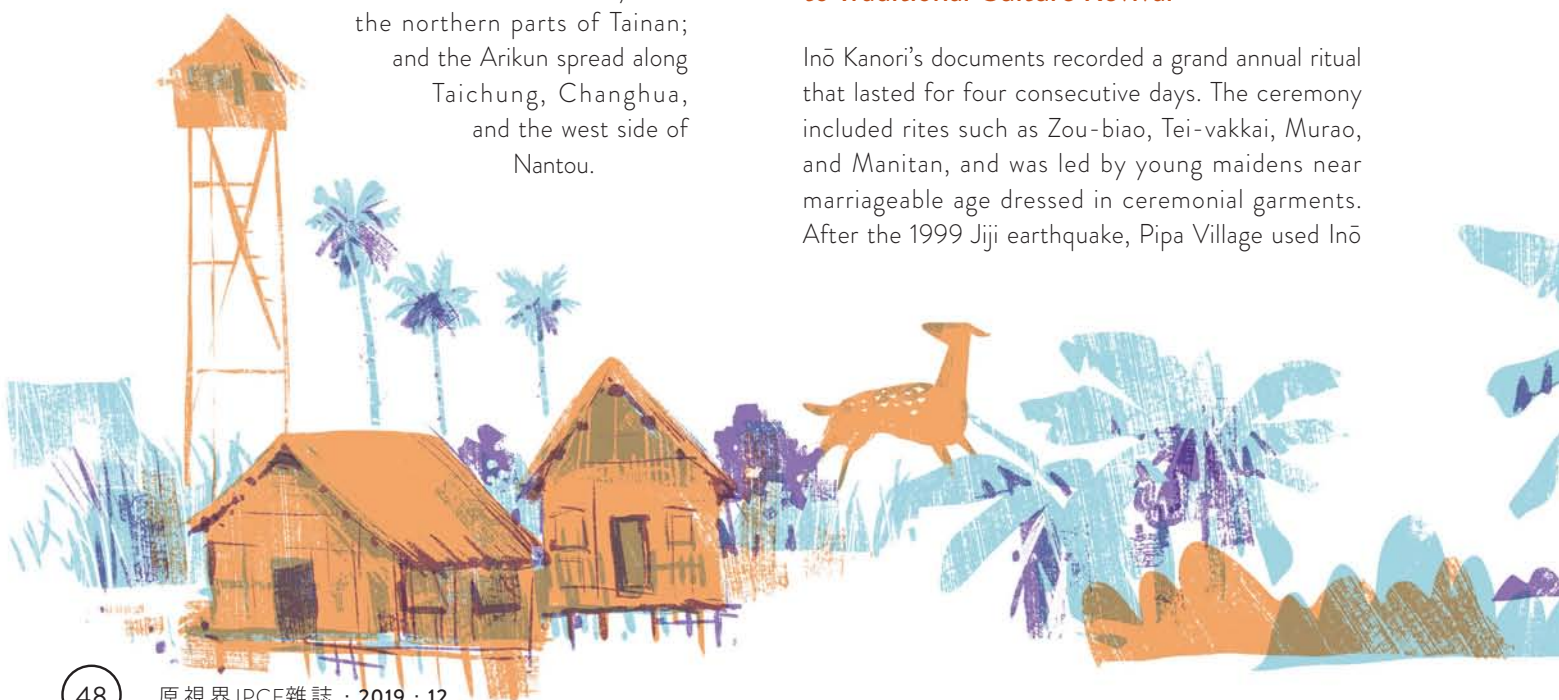
In the past, the numerous Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples' communities spread out in Yunlin, Chiayi, Tainan, Taichung, Changhua, and Nantou were referred to as the Honya or Hoanya. But this name recorded by Inō Kanori (and had been used for so long) very likely had originated from the Taiwanese dialect word "Hoan-ā" ("savage") and does not actually refer to any particular ethnic group at all. The Lloa and Arikun peoples, who are considered branches of the Hoanya, are probably more accurate names for the indigenous peoples who have lived on this

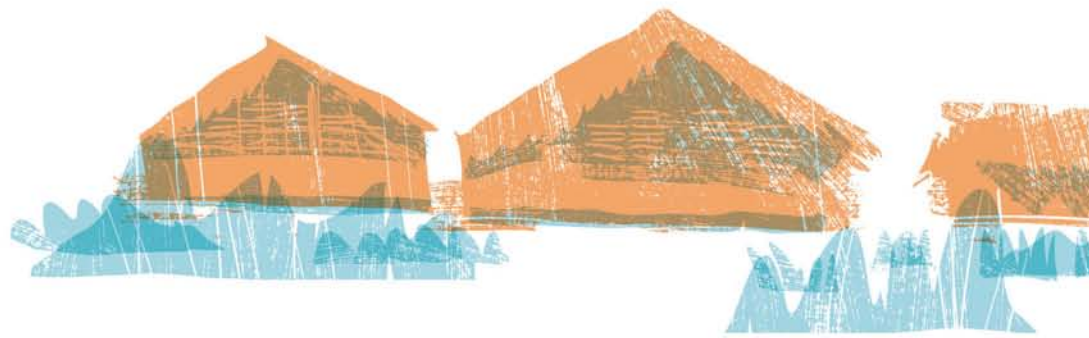
land for decades. Historically speaking, the Lloa lived in Yunlin, Chiayi, and the northern parts of Tainan; and the Arikun spread along Taichung, Changhua, and the west side of Nantou.

Currently we do not know much about the history of the Lloa and the Arikun. What we do know is that before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some Lloa and Arikun peoples accepted the invitation of the Pu Village people originally living in Puli and resettled in Puli with other central Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples. The population in present Pipa and Pacheng Village in Puli - basically the entire eastern and southeastern area of Puli Township - are all descendants of the Lloa and Arikun peoples.

### Missing History Challenges the Path to Traditional Culture Revival

Inō Kanori's documents recorded a grand annual ritual that lasted for four consecutive days. The ceremony included rites such as Zou-biao, Tei-vakkai, Murao, and Manitan, and was led by young maidens near marriageable age dressed in ceremonial garments. After the 1999 Jiji earthquake, Pipa Village used Inō





Kanori's records as reference and organized the Honya People Cultural Ritual event in attempt to revive the ceremony. Although the social and cultural environments of the Lloa and Arikun have been drastically altered, but the Honya People Cultural Ritual spurred on disaster recovery and community building projects after the 1999 Jiji earthquake, reviving communal memories and pulled community members in the southeastern area of Puli Township closer.

Arikun artifacts in museums present the existence of the peoples and their sufficient lifestyles. The Honya (according to museum categorization) garments and accessories displayed in the NTU Museum of Anthropology share similar silhouettes with those of other plains indigenous peoples in central Taiwan, such as the Kaxabu and Pazeh peoples; however, the weaving patterns show a unique style: rich red and blue threads form complex and 3-dimensional diamond and humanoid patterns on white hemp cloth.

It is challenging for the Lloa and Arikun to revive their traditional cultures at the moment. But like other indigenous peoples, these two groups are still dedicated to reviving their culture and have never forgotten the painful experiences in

their history. Whether forced to migrate, oppressed, forgotten, or lost, history and fate handed out different opportunities and challenges to each group of people. It would be foolish to be arrogant when interpreting history, especially when we have so limited documentation as reference, for the fate and fortune of every ethnic group are only temporary in different points in time. The Lloa and Arikun should not forget the grace and pride of their ancestors as they wove and wore the grand and delicate ceremonial garments.❖





视界

ISSN 2313-111-X



9 772313 111001